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School of English (Kent)
Faculdade de Letras / Faculty of Humanities (Porto)

Canterbury Centre for Medieval and Early Modern Studies (Kent)
Centre for English, Translation, and Anglo-Portuguese Studies (CETAPS) (Porto)

Text and Event in Early Modern Europe (TEEME)
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Ph.D. Dissertation

Reduced to a Map:
Poetic Geographies of 'Australia', 1606–1708

Liam Benison

Supervisors:

Prof. Bernhard Klein,

Acting Head of School, School of English, University of Kent

Prof. Maria de Fátima de Sousa Basto Vieira,

Vice-President for Culture, Associate Professor with 'Agregação',
Faculdade de Letras, Universidade do Porto

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Abstract

Bandaiyan is a place inhabited and known since time immemorial by the Indigenous peoples of the continent now called Australia. When mariners from the Dutch United East India Company (VOC) landed on its shores in 1606, they sought gold and other sources of profit reputed to exist in *Terra Australis Incognita* ('the unknown southland'), a Renaissance theorization of the classical notion of the antipodes. Over the next century, a geographical discourse emerged in voyage accounts, maps, and utopian speculations, based on the observations of visitors to the continent, but notable for an absence of Indigenous knowledge, a scarcity of endogenous details, and negative misinterpretations about its inhabitants. Soon after the onset of the British colonial invasions in 1788, the continent was officially named 'Australia' after the Renaissance theory. Why did the collection of empirical observations of locations along the shores of Bandaiyan produce a poetic geographical discourse which continued to be associated with *Terra Australis Incognita* and ignored Indigenous people's presence?

I adopt a geocritical approach based on Edward Casey's phenomenology of place to evince how myth, theory, observation, description, and projection were combined in poetic geographies produced in response to European experiences of Bandaiyan. An analysis of texts, maps, and illustrations published in Dutch, French, English, and other languages between 1606 and 1708 is set in the context of anthropological, linguistic, archaeological, and botanical evidence of classical (pre-Invasion) Aboriginal societies. I find that a standardized poetic geography of *Hollandia Nova* was created in the 1640s from VOC charts, whose main function was to visualize Dutch imperium. Aside from parts of the shore, it conveyed no details of Bandaiyan nor its peoples, who had often rejected their uninvited visitors' overtures to become 'known'. At the same time, few accounts of visitors' experiences of the continent were published, so that *Terra Australis* came gradually to be associated with metropolitan geography's new *terra incognita*, inspiring projections of colonial utopias in Europe's antipodes. Unpublished mariners' accounts provide more complex impressions, and make the best sources for further research into pre-colonial relations between visitors and Bandaiyan's peoples.

Keywords: Geography—History—17th century; Geography in literature; Place (Philosophy) in literature; Utopias in Literature; Australia—Discovery and exploration

Resumo

Bandaiyan é um lugar habitado e conhecido desde tempos imemoriais pelos povos indígenas do continente a que hoje chamamos 'Austrália'. Quando os marinheiros da Companhia Unida (Holandesa) das Índias Orientais (VOC) desembarcaram, em 1606, procuravam ouro e outras fontes de lucro que se supunha existirem na *Terra australis incognita* ('o desconhecido sul'), uma teorização renascentista da noção clássica de antípodas. O século seguinte assistiu à emergência de um discurso geográfico feito de relatos de viagens, mapas e especulações utópicas, baseado nas observações dos visitantes do continente, mas marcado pela ausência de conhecimento indígena, uma escassez de detalhes endógenos e interpretações errôneas e pressupostos negativos em relação aos seus habitantes. Logo após o início das invasões coloniais britânicas, em 1788, o continente foi oficialmente denominado 'Austrália', de acordo com a teoria renascentista. Por que razão terão as observações empíricas de localizações ao longo das costas de Bandaiyan resultado num discurso geográfico poético que continuou a ser associado com a *Terra australis incognita*, ignorando a presença dos povos indígenas?

Nesta dissertação, adoto uma abordagem geocrítica baseada na fenomenologia do lugar de Edward Casey para evidenciar a forma como mitos, teorias, observações, descrições e projeções foram combinados em geografias poéticas produzidas em resposta às experiências europeias de Bandaiyan. Procedo ainda a uma análise de textos, mapas e ilustrações publicados em neerlandês, francês, inglês e outras línguas, entre 1606 e 1708, considerando-os no contexto de evidências antropológicas, arqueológicas, linguísticas e botânicas das sociedades aborígenes clássicas (do período anterior à Invasão). Concluo que foi criada, na década de 40 do século XVII, uma geografia poética estandardizada da *Hollandia Nova* a partir de mapas VOC que tinham como principal função oferecer uma imagem do imperium holandês. Identificando apenas partes da costa, os mapas não forneciam quaisquer detalhes sobre Bandaiyan ou os seus povos, que frequentemente recusavam aliás as solicitações de visitantes indesejados para se darem a conhecer. Paralelamente, foram publicados poucos relatos de experiências de visitantes ao continente; a *Terra australis* foi sendo assim associada à geografia metropolitana da nova *terra incognita*, inspirando projeções de utopias coloniais nos antípodas da Europa. Relatos não publicados de marinheiros, contudo, fornecem perspectivas mais complexas, constituindo as melhores fontes para uma investigação mais profunda sobre as relações pré-coloniais entre visitantes e os povos de Bandaiyan.

Palavras-chave: Geografia histórica do século XVII; Geografia na literatura; Filosofia de lugar na literatura; Literatura utópica; Austrália — descobrimento

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	iii
Resumo.....	iv
Acknowledgements.....	vii
Names and Style.....	viii
List of Figures.....	x
Introduction: More than a Map.....	1
Research Questions.....	9
Benefit of These Questions.....	13
Methodology and Theoretical Approach.....	14
Temporal Focus.....	19
Benefit of Methodological Approach.....	22
Previous Answers to the Research Questions.....	27
Chapter Summaries.....	40
Chapter 1: Theory: The Poetic Geography of <i>Terra Australis Incognita</i>.....	43
Ancient and Medieval Geography.....	50
The Renaissance Cosmography of <i>Terra Australis Incognita</i>	55
Mercator's <i>Terra Australis Incognita</i>	60
A New Chart for Navigators.....	64
Approach to the Southern Continent.....	68
Other Geographies of <i>Terra Australis Incognita</i>	72
Poetic Discoveries.....	75
Conclusions.....	82
Chapter 2: Drama: Conquests of the Antipodes.....	84
Tamburlaine's Antipodes.....	90
Armusia's Commerce of Conversion.....	107
Peregrine's Conquest of Curiosity.....	118
Conclusions.....	132
Chapter 3: Observation: Countersigns of Aboriginal Presence.....	134
Accidental Exploration.....	141
'Utter Barbarians, All Resembling Each Other'.....	145
Fear of Singing Giants.....	160
Watching for the Fires of the Marooned.....	171
The Want of the 'Miserablest' People.....	180
'Everything Was Timid in Our Presence'.....	191
Conclusions.....	203

Chapter 4 Description: The Poetic Geography of <i>Hollandia Nova</i>	205
Aboriginal Icon-Maps and Songlines.....	210
Pilots and Hydrography.....	216
Blaeu’s Model of <i>Hollandia Nova</i>	219
Pre-Blaevian Remodelling of <i>Terra Australis</i>	222
Blaeu’s 1659 Archipelago Map as Encomium.....	227
Toponymy: Naming and Claiming.....	235
Historical Authority in Naming: Coronelli’s Globe Gores.....	243
Strategies of Preterition in Illustration of <i>Hollandia Nova</i>	246
<i>Hollandia Nova</i> , Part of <i>Terra Australis</i>	259
Landscapes of <i>Hollandia Nova</i> in Manuscript Sources.....	265
Conclusions.....	283
Chapter 5: Projection of Utopian Landscapes in <i>Terra Australis</i>	285
Historical Context.....	294
Models of Utopian Space: More, Campanella, Bacon.....	294
Early Fictions Set in <i>Terra Australis</i>	304
Four Utopias in <i>Terra Australis</i> : Publication History and Authorship.....	308
Plot, Location, and Landscape.....	314
Crossing the Utopian Periphery.....	333
Journey to the Utopian City.....	340
City Architecture: The Riddle of Babel.....	348
The Riddle of Taloujaël.....	353
Colonial Projection of Uncultivated Wasteland.....	358
Conclusions.....	363
Conclusion: Speculations beyond a Map	365
Bibliography	369
Appendix: Figures	393

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Names and Style

Aboriginal Names

The spelling of Aboriginal ethnonyms, languages, and place names varies. For ethnonyms, my reference of choice is David R. Horton, 'The AIATSIS Map of Indigenous Australia' (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press and AIATSIS, 1996), except where it is clear from more recent sources that the local Aboriginal people concerned prefer a different name or spelling. For example, I use 'Noongar', rather than 'Nyoongar' and other variants, since this is the form used by Native Title claimants and the authors of the Kaartdijin Noongar knowledge forum of the South West Aboriginal Land and Sea Council. In Cape York, I also use the forms preferred by Aboriginal shire councils wherever possible. For languages, I refer to AUSLANG. Inadvertent mistakes in the use of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander names are my own.

Dutch Names

Dutch toponyms for spaces of Bandaiyan, such as *Hollandia Nova* ('New Holland') and *Anthoni van Diemens Landt* ('Van Diemen's Land', now Lutruwita or Tasmania) are given in Dutch or Latin after explaining their meaning in English. The use of italics signals the uncertainty of their use and meaning in the seventeenth century. English forms such as 'New Holland' and 'Van Diemen's Land' have a separate history under British colonization, and their use would therefore be equally as anachronistic in the seventeenth-century context as I argue the use of 'Australia' is.

I adopt the more modern practice of spelling Dutch patronymic surnames in full using '-zoon', rather than abbreviated as -z. (hence, *Janszoon* not *Jansz.*). The abbreviated form appears in many historical works still in common use, such as those by Schilder and others. The modern form is both less confusing for non-Dutch readers and more historically appropriate.¹

1 See Peter Reynders' appendix to J. E. Heeres, *The Part Borne by the Dutch in the Discovery of Australia 1606–1765*, online at: <http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks05/0501231h.html>.

Dutch spelling

In the early modern period, the modern Dutch digraph *ij* was generally printed and written as *y*, or sometimes, in VOC manuscript documents, as *ij*. There is inconsistency in scholarly use. Schilder, for example, modernizes *Nyptang* to *Nijptangh*, but retains *Duyfken*. I use the early modern form in *y* in most cases, hence, *Duyfken* not *Duijfen*. In transcriptions, I have used the form used in the manuscript.

English Style

This thesis adopts the formatting, referencing, and spelling conventions of the *MHRA Style Guide: A Handbook for Authors and Editors*, 3rd edn (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2013) and *New Hart's Rules: The Oxford Style Guide*, 2nd edition, edited by Ann Waddingham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014). In case of doubt, Oxford English spelling preferences are adopted. The 'Oxford comma' is also used.

The gender-neutral pronouns 'they', 'them', 'their', 'themselves' are used with a singular sense to avoid the gender binaries 'he/she', 'him/her', 'his/her', 'him/herself', which are both awkward and non-inclusive.

Citations of e-books

A number of works have been consulted in the form of e-books. *The MHRA Style Guide* (11.2.13) advises the citation of page numbers 'only if these are fixed and stable'. Because iBooks and Kindle pagination varies depending on the device, the reader's viewing preferences, and the last downloaded update, I have cited these by chapter and section (with subsection headings in inverted commas), as recommended by *New Hart's Rules: The Oxford Style Guide*, ed. by Ann Waddingham, 2nd edn [iBooks edn] (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), section 18.8.5: 'Types of digital citation: Ebook'. For some works with long chapters and no subheadings, the page numbers in my version are also given in square brackets as a guide to the approximate position within the book.

List of Figures

All figures appear in the Appendix, following p. 393.

- Figure 0.01.** ‘Bandaiyan—the Body of Australia, Corpus Australis’, by David Bungal Mowaljarlai. Credit: David Bungal Mowaljarlai and Jutta Malnic, *Yorro Yorro: Everything Standing up Alive: Spirit of the Kimberley* (Broome, WA: Magabala Books Aboriginal Corporation, 2015), p. 213
- Figure 0.02.** *Archipelagus Orientalis sive Asiaticus*, by Joan Blaeu (1659). Credit: Wikimedia Commons: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Archipelagus_Orientalis_sive_Asiaticus_1659_-_Atlas_of_the_Great_Elector.jpg
- Figure 0.03.** *Typus Orbis Terrarum*, by Abraham Ortelius (1570). Credit: The Library of Congress, Public Domain, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=6872417>
- Figure 0.04.** *Archipelagus Orientalis sive Asiaticus* (details), by Joan Blaeu (1659). Credit: Darmstadt: Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek: http://tudigit.ulb.tu-darmstadt.de/show/Gr-Fol-09_087/0002 (Public Domain)
- Figure 1.01.** *Typus Orbis Terrarum*, by Abraham Ortelius (1570). Credit: The Library of Congress, Public Domain, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=6872417>
- Figure 1.02.** ‘Tempe’, by Abraham Ortelius. Credit: Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Antwerp 1570), ed. by R. A. Skelton (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1964)
- Figure 1.03.** Macrobius, world image showing ‘Temperata Australis Antipoduos’ in the southern temperate zone (ninth or tenth century), from Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, MS 10146, fol. 109v. Credit: Reproduced in Alfred Hiatt, ‘The Map of Macrobius before 1100’, *Imago Mundi* 59.2 (2007), p. 166
- Figure 1.04.** Amerigo Vespucci’s drawing showing the relationship between Europeans (‘Nos’) and the antipodes (‘Illi’). Credit: Amerigo Vespucci, *De ora antarctica per regem Portugallie pridem inuenta*, ed. by Matthias Ringmann (Strasbourg: Matthias Hupfuff, 1505)
- Figure 1.05.** Burgo de Osma Cathedral Library MS. Osma Beatus (eleventh century). Credit: Reproduced in William Eisler, *The Furthest Shore: Images of Terra Australis from the Middle Ages to Captain Cook* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), Plate 2
- Figure 1.06.** Ulm Ptolemy map of the world (1482). Credit: Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antique Maps Inc., <https://img.raremaps.com/xlarge/14277.jpg>; **Figure 1.06a.** Detail of label on the southern *terra incognita*: ‘Terra incognita secundu[m] ptholomeu[m]’
- Figure 1.07.** *Vniversalis cosmographia secundem Ptholomæi traditionem et Americi Vespocii alioro[m] que lvstrationes*, by Martin Waldseemüller (1507). Credit: Public domain: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Waldseemuller_map_2.jpg#/media/File:Waldseemuller_map.jpg
- Figure 1.08.** Drawing of Johann Schöner’s globe (1515). Credit: Franz Wieser, *Magalhães-Strasse und Austral Continent auf den Globen des Johannes Schöner* (Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagner’schen Universitaets-Buchhandlung, 1881), Outsert

Figure 1.09. Drawing of the southern hemisphere of Johann Schöner's globe (1533). Credit: Franz Wieser, *Magalhães-Strasse und Austral Continent auf den Globen des Johannes Schöner* (Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagner'schen Universitaets-Buchhandlung, 1881), Outsart

Figure 1.10. *Noua, et integra uniuersi orbis descriptio*, by Oronce Finé (1531). Credit: Library of Congress: <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3200.ct001393>

Figure 1.11. Globe gore by Gerhard Mercator (1541) showing the Beach promontory of *Terra Australis Incognita*. Credit: National Library of Australia, YYef 2014-514: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-233256894>

Figure 1.12. Manuscript world map by Guillaume Brouscon (1543). Credit: Huntington Library, HM 46: http://dpg.lib.berkeley.edu/webdb/dsheh/heh_brif?Description=&CallNumber=HM+46

Figure 1.13. *Nova et aucta orbis terrae descriptio ad usum navigantium emendate accomodata*, by Gerhard Mercator (1569). Credit: Bibliothèque nationale de France: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b7200344k>; **Figure 1.13a.** Detail showing the inscription entitled 'De meridiana continentis ad Javam Majorem accessu'. Credit: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Karten-Lesesaal: KTA:2"@Kart. 56/232/1-2

Figure 1.14. *Cosmographie universelle, selon les navigateurs tant anciens que modernes par Guillaume Le Testu, pillotte en la Mer du Ponent: de la ville francoyse de Grace*, fol. 40 v. Credit: Bibliothèque nationale de France, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8447838j>

Figure 1.15. World map with 'encircling' islands of *Terra Australis Incognita*, by Urbano Monte (1587), digitally reassembled. Credit: David Rumsey Map Collection: <https://www.davidrumsey.com/blog/2017/11/26/largest-early-world-map-monte-s-10-ft-planisphere-of-1587>

Figure 2.01. *Ceremony*, by William Barak (c. 1895). Credit: Art Gallery of Ballarat (<https://artgalleryofballarat.com.au/collection/>)

Figure 2.02. Photo of a reproduction of the world map by Gervase of Ebstorf (thirteenth century). Credit: Public domain: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ebstorf_Map#/media/File:Ebstorfer-stich2.jpg

Figure 2.03. *Aevi veteris, typus geographicus*, by Abraham Ortelius (1595). Credit: Barry Lawrence Ruderman (<https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/53794/aevi-veteris-typus-geographicus-ortelius>)

Figure 3.01. 'Roaring forties' trading routes to Southeast Asia from the Cape of Good Hope, between 30° and 40°S. Credit: Günter Schilder, *Australia Unveiled: The Share of the Dutch Navigators in the Discovery of Australia* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1976) p. 57

Figure 3.02. Chart drawn on board the *Duyfken* in 1605–1606, copied by Vingboons and/or staff, c. 1670. Credit: Reproduced in *The Atlas Blaeu-van Der Hem of the Austrian National Library, Vol. V: Africa, Asia and America, Including the 'Secret' Atlas of the Dutch East India Company (VOC)*, ed. by Peter van der Krogt and Erlend de Groot (Houten: HES & De Graaf, 2005), map 41.29

Figure 3.03. Folio 212v from Jonck's logbook, 'Dagh Register gehouden bij den Schipper Aucke Pieters Jonck schipper op 't gallioot Emeloort seijlende met deselve van Batavia naer 't Zuyjtlandt Int. Jaer ano. 1658'. Credit: The Hague, Nationaal Archief, inv. nr. VOC 1225, fols. 204–217

Figure 3.04. Three inhabitants' houses, detail from *'t Lant van Eendracht: oft Afbeeldinge van 't Zuyjtlandt Ontdeckt door den Schipper Aucke Pieters Jonck in de Maend Februario En Maart A[nn]o 1658 met Emeloort*, by Johan Nessel, 1658, after Aucke Pieters Jonck. Credit: The Hague, Nationaal Archief, Kaarten Leupe 4.VEL 504

Figure 3.05. Open-sided dome house depicted by Louis Auguste de Sainson (1826). Credit: Paul Memmott, *Gunyah, Goondie and Wurley: The Aboriginal Architecture of Australia* (St Lucia, Qld: University of Queensland Press, 2007), Plate 6

Figure 3.06. Reconstructed house built for a researcher by Jack Karadada and Ildefonse Cheinmoro on Corneille Island, Kimberley (1978). Credit: Photo by Ian Crawford, Western Australian Museum; printed in Paul Memmott, *Gunyah, Goondie and Wurley: The Aboriginal Architecture of Australia* (St Lucia, Qld: University of Queensland Press, 2007), Plate 13

Figure 3.07. Illustration by Caspar Luyken from a Dutch edition of William Dampier's *A New Voyage Round the World*, published by Abraham de Hondt (1698). Credit: Pacific Collection, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i-Mānoa. Online at: Liz Conor, 'Found: the earliest European image of Aboriginal Australians', *The Conversation*, 5 November 2018. <https://theconversation.com/found-the-earliest-european-image-of-aboriginal-australians-106176>

Figure 4.01. Detail of the antipodes of Venice on the terrestrial table globe by Vincenzo Coronelli (1696). Credit: Author's photo/National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, GLB0124

Figure 4.02. *India quae orientalis dicitur et Insulae adiacentes*, by Hugo Allard (c. 1652). Credit: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cartes et plans, GE DD-2987 (6813 B);

Figure 4.02a. Lower right detail; **Figure 4.02b.** Lower left detail

Figure 4.03. 'Crocodile and Fire Dreaming', by Djamika Mununggurr. Credit: David Turnbull, Helen Watson, and Yolngu community at Yirrkala, *Maps are Territories: Science is an Atlas: A Portfolio of Exhibits* (Geelong, Vic: Deakin University Press, 1989), Exhibit 5

Figure 4.04. *Nova et Accurata Totius Terrarum Orbis Tabula ex optimis quibusq. in hoc genere auctorib. desumpta. et duob. planisphaeriis delineata, auct. Gul. Ianssonio MDCXVIII*, by Joan Blaeu (1645–46). Credit: Rotterdam, Maritiem Museum. Reproduced in William Eisler, *The Furthest Shore: Images of Terra Australis from the Middle Ages to Captain Cook* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 94–5

Figure 4.05. 'Eugene' map: Chart of Tasman's voyages, by Vingboons and/or staff, c. 1670, after François Jacobszoon Visscher. Credit: Reproduced in *The Atlas Blaeu-van Der Hem of the Austrian National Library, Vol. V: Africa, Asia and America, Including the 'Secret' Atlas of the Dutch East India Company (VOC)*, ed. by Peter van der Krogt and Erlend de Groot (Houten: HES & De Graaf, 2005), map 41.30

- Figure 4.06.** *Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis Tabula*, by Joan Blaeu (1648). Credit: Harry Ransom Center, Kraus Map Collection, online at <https://hrc.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p15878coll9>; **Figure 4.06a.** Detail of the classical *oikoumene*. Credit: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Joan_Blaeu_-_Map_of_the_World_1648.jpg
- Figure 4.07.** *Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis Geographica ac Hydrographica Tabula*, by Jodocus Hondius Jr. (1622–29). Credit: Reproduced in Avan Judd Stallard, *Antipodes: In Search of the Southern Continent* (Clayton, Vic: Monash University Publishing, 2016), Figure 8.2
- Figure 4.08.** *Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis Geographica ac Hydrographica Tabula. Auct. Henr. Hondio*, by Henricus Hondius (1630). Credit: The Old Print Shop New York City, online at: <http://oldprintshop.com/product/4686?inventoryno=2522&itemno=2>
- Figure 4.09.** *De la Terre Universelle: Typus Orbis Terrarum*, by Jodocus Hondius Jr. (1630). Credit: Reproduced in Günter Schilder, *Australia Unveiled: The Share of the Dutch Navigators in the Discovery of Australia* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1976), pp. 308–9 (map 33)
- Figure 4.10.** Terrestrial globe by Arnold Florent van Langren (c. 1625). Credit: Reproduced in Glyndwr Williams and Alan Frost, eds. *Terra Australis to Australia* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, in association with Australian Academy of the Humanities, 1988), Figure 3.5
- Figure 4.11.** Detail of manuscript map of the Indian Ocean and Far East, by João Teixeira (1630). Credit: Reproduced in Günter Schilder, *Australia Unveiled: The Share of the Dutch Navigators in the Discovery of Australia* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1976), pp. 312–13 (map 35)
- Figure 4.12.** *Noua Orbis Terrarum Delineatio Singulari Ratione Accommodat Meridiano Tabb. Rudolphi Astronomicarum*, by Philipp Ekebrecht (1658). Credit: Reproduced in Robert Clancy, *The Mapping of Terra Australis* (Macquarie Park, NSW: Universal Press Pty Ltd, 1995), p. 76, (map 6.4)
- Figure 4.13.** *Archipelagus Orientalis sive Asiaticus*, by Joan Blaeu (1659). Credit: Wikimedia Commons: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Archipelagus_Orientalis_sive_Asiaticus_1659_-_Atlas_of_the_Great_Elector.jpg; **Figure 4.13a.** Detail of *Hollandia Nova* and *Carpentaria*. Credit: Darmstadt: Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek: http://tudigit.ulb.tu-darmstadt.de/show/Gr-Fol-09_087/0002 (Public Domain)
- Figure 4.14.** *India quae orientalis dicitur, et Insulae adiacentes*, by Willem Blaeu (1635). Credit: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cartes et plans, GE DD-2987 (6809)
- Figure 4.15.** Terrestrial table globe, by Vincenzo Coronelli (1696). Credit: Author's photo/National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, GLB0124
- Figure 4.16.** *Isole dell'India, e parte de'Paesi di nuoua scoperta*, by Giacomo Cantelli da Vignola (c. 1692). Credit: London, British Library C.39.f.7: map 63. Reproduced in Alfred Hiatt, *Terra Incognita: Mapping the Antipodes before 1600* (London: British Library), p. 263 (Figure 47)
- Figure 4.17.** Detail of hunters and animals from *Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis Tabula*, by Hugo Allard (c. 1652). Credit: Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, KBK 0-0-1665

Figure 4.18. Globe gore detail by Vincenzo Coronelli (1693). Credit: Reproduced in *Libro dei globi, 1693 (1701)*, ed. by Helen Wallis (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1969)

Figure 4.19. Detail of *Nouvelle Hollande* from the terrestrial standing globe made by Vincenzo Coronelli for King Louis XIV (1681–83). Credit: Author’s photo/Bibliothèque nationale de France; **Figure 4.19a.** Close-up of pursuit

Figure 4.20. *Hollandia Nova and Terre Australe* by Melchisédec Thévenot (1663). Credit: *Relations de divers voyages curieux, qui n’ont point esté publiées, ou qui ont esté traduites d’Hacluyt, de Purchas, & d’autres Voyageurs Anglois, hollandois, portugais, allemands, espagnols, et de quelques persans, arabes & autres auteurs orientaux, enrichies de figures de plantes non décrites, d’animaux inconnus à l’Europe, & de cartes geographiques de pays dont on n’a point encore donné de cartes. Première Partie* (Jacques Langlois, Paris, 1663), Outsert

Figure 4.21. *Carte universelle du commerce, c’est-à-dire carte hydrographique où sont exactement décrites les costes des 4 parties du monde...*, by Pierre du Val (1674). Credit: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cartes et plans, GE D-12483

Figure 4.22. *A Complete Map of the Southern Continent Survey’d by Capt. Abel Tasman & depicted by Order of the East Indian Company in Holland In The Stadt House at Amsterdam*, by Emanuel Bowen (1744). Credit: Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antique Maps Inc. Online at <https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/48023/australia-a-complete-map-of-the-southern-continent-surveyd-by-capt-abel-tasman-depicted-by-order-of-the-east-indian-company-in-holland-in-the-stadt-house-at-amsterdam-bowen>

Figure 4.23. *Archipelagus Orientalis sive Asiaticus*, Joan Blaeu (1659). Detail showing the gap in the hydrography of the west coast. Credit: Darmstadt: Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek: http://tudigit.ulb.tu-darmstadt.de/show/Gr-Fol-09_087/0002 (Public Domain)

Figure 4.24. *’t Lant van Eendracht: oft Afbeeldinge van ’t Zuytlandt Ondeckt door den Schipper Aucke Pieters Jonck in de Maendt Februario En Maart A[nn]o 1658 met Emeloort*, by Johan Nessel after Aucke Pieters Jonck (1658). Credit: The Hague, Nationaal Archief, Kaarten Leupe 4.VEL 503

Figure 4.25. *’t Lant van Eendracht: oft Afbeeldinge van ’t Zuytlandt Ontdeckt door den Schipper Aucke Pieters Jonck in de Maend Februario En Maart A[nn]o 1658 met Emeloort*, by Johan Nessel after Aucke Pieters Jonck (1658). Credit: The Hague, Nationaal Archief, Kaarten Leupe 4.VEL 504

Figure 4.26. *’t Lant van Eendracht: oft Afbeeldinge van ’t Zuytlandt Ondeckt door den Schipper Samuel Volckertsz. in de Maend Februario En Maart A[nn]o 1658 met de Wakende Boeij*, by Johan Nessel after Samuel Volckertszoon (1658). Credit: The Hague, Nationaal Archief, Kaarten Leupe 4.VEL 507

Figure 4.27. Detail of Rottnest Island and Cockburn Sound from *’t Lant van Eendracht: oft Afbeeldinge van ’t Zuytlandt Ondeckt door den Schipper Samuel Volckertsz. in de Maend Februario En Maart A[nn]o 1658 met de Wakende Boeij*, by Johan Nessel after Samuel Volckertszoon (1658). Credit: The Hague, Nationaal Archief, Kaarten Leupe 4.VEL 507

Figure 4.28. Huydecoper copy of coastal profiles by Isaac Gilsemans (1642–44). Credit: Robert Jenkin, 'Was Gilsemans really Tasman's primary draughtsman?' Abel Tasman 1642, 12 April 2015, <http://abeltasman.org.nz/was-gilsemans-really-tasmans-draughtsman/>

Figure 4.29. 'T Zuidlandt [The Southland], by Victor Victorszoon (1697). Credit: The Hague, Nationaal Archief, Kaarten Leupe 4.VEL 509

Figure 4.30. Mt Lesueur comparison (details): Samuel Volckertszoon ('Een Tafel Bergh'); Aucke Pieters Jonck ('Hooge duijnen'); Victor Victorszoon's profile No. 3 and chart. Credit: The Hague, Nationaal Archief, Kaarten Leupe 4.VEL 507; 4.VEL 504; Rotterdam, Maritiem Museum. Reproduced in Günter Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land: Willem de Vlamingh 1696-1697* (Sydney: Royal Australian Historical Society/the Australian Bank, 1985), Plate 21; The Hague, Nationaal Archief, Kaarten Leupe 4.VEL 509

Figure 4.31. The Hummocks comparison (details): Aucke Pieters Jonck's 'Emeloorts Uijtkijk'; Samuel Volckertszoon's profile; Victor Victorszoon's coastal profile No. 2 and general chart. Credit: The Hague, Nationaal Archief, Kaarten Leupe 4.VEL 504 and 4.VEL 507 (above); Rotterdam, Maritiem Museum. Reproduced in Günter Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land: Willem de Vlamingh 1696-1697* (Sydney: Royal Australian Historical Society/the Australian Bank, 1985), Plate 21; The Hague, Nationaal Archief, Kaarten Leupe 4.VEL 509 (below).

Figure 4.32. Details of Cockburn Sound by Johan Nessel after Aucke Pieters Jonck (1658), showing coastal profile and cartography. Credit: The Hague, Nationaal Archief, Kaarten Leupe 4.VEL 503

Figure 4.33. 'T Eijlant T' Rottenest [inset chart of Rottnest Island], by Victor Victorszoon (1697). Credit: The Hague, Nationaal Archief, Kaarten Leupe 4.VEL 509

Figure 4.34. Watercolour coastal profile No. 1 showing Rottnest Island, by Victor Victorszoon (1697). Credit: Rotterdam, Maritiem Museum. Reproduced in Günter Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land: Willem de Vlamingh 1696-1697* (Sydney: Royal Australian Historical Society/the Australian Bank, 1985), plate 21 (detail)

Figure 4.35. *View of Boston*, by John Smibert (1738). Credit: Reproduced in Edward S. Casey, *Representing Place: Landscape Painting and Maps* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), Plate 2

Figure 4.36. Watercolour coastal profile 10–11 showing the southern end of Dirck Hartog Island, by Victor Victorszoon (1697). Credit: Rotterdam, Maritiem Museum. Reproduced in Günter Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land: Willem de Vlamingh 1696-1697* (Sydney: Royal Australian Historical Society/the Australian Bank, 1985), Plate 24

Figure 4.37. Watercolour coastal profile No. 12 (above), showing northern coast of Dirck Hartog Island (Turtle Bay) with site of Hartog's pewter plate marked towards the western end ('A') and Cape Levillain at eastern point ('B'), by Victor Victorszoon (1697). Credit: Rotterdam, Maritiem Museum. Reproduced in Günter Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land: Willem de Vlamingh 1696-1697* (Sydney: Royal Australian Historical Society/the Australian Bank, 1985), Plate 25

Figure 4.38. Comparison of Isaac Gilseman's different versions of the coastal profile of Mordenaers Baij (Murderers' Bay or Golden Bay, New Zealand): Huydecoper (top) and

The Hague Nationaal Archief (middle); and modern photograph (bottom). Credit: Robert Jenkin, 'Was Gilsemans really Tasman's primary draughtsman?' Abel Tasman 1642, 12 April 2015, <http://abeltasman.org.nz/was-gilsemans-really-tasmans-draughtsman/>

Figure 4.39. *View of Delft*, by Johannes Vermeer (1660–61). Credit: Mauritshuis, The Hague; <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Vermeer-view-of-delft.jpg>

Figure 4.40. Willem de Vlamingh's ships at the entrance to Derbarl Yerrigan (Swan River) in 1697, by Johannes van Keulen (1796) after Victor Victorszoon. Credit: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Vlamingh_ships_at_the_Swan_River,_Keulen_1796.jpg

Figure 4.41. Details showing gestures of demonstration in *Vew of Boston*, by John Smibert (1738) (left) and Hugo Allard, *India quae orientalis dicitur et Insulae adiacentes* (c. 1652) (right). Credit: Reproduced in Edward S. Casey, *Representing Place: Landscape Painting and Maps* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), Plate 2; Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cartes et plans, GE DD-2987 (6813 B)

Figure 4.42. Ships modelling a survey of the shore on Victor Victorszoon's chart (detail). Credit: The Hague, Nationaal Archief, Kaarten Leupe 4.VEL 509

Figure 5.01. *Hollandia Nova and Terre Australe*, by Melchisédec Thévenot (1663). Credit: *Relations de divers voyages curieux, qui n'ont point esté publiées, ou qui ont esté traduites d'Hacluyt, de Purchas, & d'autres Voyageurs Anglois, hollandois, portugais, allemands, espagnols, et de quelques persans, arabes & autres auteurs orientaux, enrichies de figures de plantes non décrites, d'animaux inconnus à l'Europe, & de cartes géographiques de pays dont on n'a point encore donné de cartes.* Première Partie (Iacques Langlois, Paris, 1663).

Figure 5.02. 'Anthoni van Diemens Landt', from *N. I. Visscheri Tabularum Geographicarum Contractarum Libri Quatuor Denuo Recogniti*, by Claes Janszoon Visscher (1649). Credit: Dorothy Prescott, 'A Little Master's Piece', *LaTrobe Library Journal* 79, 2007; online at <http://www3.slv.vic.gov.au/latrobejournal/issue/latrobe-79/t1-g-t4.html#latrobe-79-037a>. From State Library Victoria Rare Book Collection (*S 912 V82T); **Figure 5.02a.** Detail of *Pedro Brancko and Stompe toorn*

Figure 5.03. 'Description, Situation & Vue de la Ville de Mexique, des deux Lacs sur lesquelles elle est batie du Grand Temple de cette Ville, des Sacrifices d'Hommes qu'on y faisoit de l'Idole des Mexicains, de leurs Jeux, Divertissements, Coutumes, Superstitions & autres usages pratiqués parmi eux', from *Atlas historique ou nouvelle, Tome VI: Africa & America North & South ...* by Chatelain et Gueudeville (1719). Credit: Biblioteca Digital Hispánica, <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000001717&page=1>

Figure 5.04. 'Babilonia Muris', by Athanasius Kircher (1679). Credit: Athanasius Kircher, *Turris Babel, Sive Archontologia Qua Primo Priscorum post diluuium hominum vita, mores rerumque gestarum magnitudo, Secundo Turris fabrica civitatumque exstructio, confusio linguarum, et inde gentium transmigratio, cum principalium inde enatorum idiomatum historia, multiplici eruditione describuntur et explicantur* (Amsterdam: Janssonis-Wassbergiana, 1679), pull-out between pp. 52–3

Introduction: More than a Map

I'll tell you something, how we see this country. The whole of Australia is Bandaiyan. The front we call *wadi*, the belly-section, because the continent is lying down flat on its back. It is just sticking out from the surface of the ocean. ... Uluru is the navel, the centre, *wangigit*. The part below the navel is *wambut*, the pubic section. There is a woman's section, *njambut*; and a man's section *ambut*.

DAVID BUNGAL MOWALJARLAI²

Papas landt or Nova Guinea, Nova Hollandia [or New Holland], discovered in the year 1644, Nova Zeelandia or New Zealand reached in 1642, Antoni van Diemens land found in the same year, Carpentaria, thus named after general Carpentier, and still other lands, partly discovered, are shown on this map. But of all these ... we cannot speak more fully because of the want of space; nor has there yet been published anything, or but little, concerning these last named.

JOAN BLAEU³

These two epigraphs express different claims to visualize and define a vast space unseeable by the naked eye, the continent now called Australia. The first by the Aboriginal Ngarinyin elder David Mowaljarlai (1925–1997) describes the continent as a living body. The meanings of the Ngarinyin word *bandaiyan* include 'landmass, nature, people in relationship'.⁴ Amsterdam geographer and publisher Joan Blaeu (1596–1673) offers a list of some place names in the second text, two of which are given dates of 'discovery' and another its derivation. Superficially, these epigraphs might appear to contrast Mowaljarlai's poetic metaphor with Blaeu's empirical geography, but both are informed by geomorphological knowledge, as well as being shaped by a poetic imagination that connects the writer's society to the land described. A brief comparison of the empirical, poetic, and political aspects of these two geographical discourses will highlight the main research questions for consideration in this thesis.

2 David Bungal Mowaljarlai and Jutta Malnic, *Yorro Yorro: Everything Standing up Alive: Spirit of the Kimberley* (Broome, WA: Magabala Books Aboriginal Corporation, 2015), p. 191.

3 Günter Schilder, *Australia Unveiled: The Share of the Dutch Navigators in the Discovery of Australia*, trans. by Olaf Richter (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1976), p. 402.

4 Mowaljarlai and Malnic, p. 215; *a* is pronounced as the 'a' in 'father'; *i* as in 'pit'. Ngarinyin stresses the first syllable; H. H. J. Coate and Lynette Frances Oates, *A Grammar of Ngarinjin, Western Australia* (Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1970), p. 11.

Mowaljarlai's statement arose in the course of a conversation with photographer Jutta Malnic during a journey they made to Mowaljarlai's country in the Napier Range of the Kimberley in 1980. He told her how Aboriginal peoples are interconnected with each other across the whole continent through the marriage system and the songline network, which enabled travel and trade over vast distances.⁵ As he spoke, he drew a map of Bandaiyan on a sketchpad, and with a gesture, 'lifted' the image to show its form as a three-dimensional body (*Figure 0.01*). The squares indicate the hundreds of different social and linguistic communities living across the continent, and the lines show the trade routes or songlines ('the way the history stories travelled') that have connected them 'from long-long time ago'.⁶ Uluru, the place that embodies the heart of Aboriginal identity, appears in the centre.

Joan Blaeu was one of the most notable and prolific publishers of maps and atlases in seventeenth-century Europe. As chief mapmaker to the Dutch United East India Company (VOC), he had access to most of the logs and charts that were produced by the company's pilots and mariners on voyages to Asia, including those that visited the coasts of Mowaljarlai's Bandaiyan.⁷ Blaeu's epigraph comes from a postscript to a text that glosses a map first printed in 1659, *Archipelagus Orientalis sive Asiaticus (Eastern, or Asian, Archipelago)* (*Figure 0.02*).⁸ This map shows a large part of the VOC's trade

5 Classical Aboriginal marriage customs varied across the continent, but certain fundamental aspects were common to most groups. Each social grouping was divided into two moieties, and it was obligatory for a person's spouse to be from the other moiety. See Mitchell Rolls and Murray Johnson, *Historical Dictionary of Australian Aborigines* (Plymouth, UK: Scarecrow Press Inc., 2011), q.v. 'marriage'. On the songlines and their use in long-distance navigation, see Ray P. Norris, 'Dawes Review 5: Australian Aboriginal Astronomy and Navigation', *Publications of the Astronomical Society of Australia*, 2016 <<https://doi.org/DOI:10.1017/pas.2016.xxx>>.

6 Mowaljarlai and Malnic, *Yorro Yorro*, pp. 190–91.

7 The best analysis of Blaeu's career is by Kees Zandvliet, *Mapping for Money: Maps, Plans and Topographic Paintings and Their Role in Dutch Overseas Expansion during the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Amsterdam: Batavian Lion International, 1998), pp. 118–30.

8 Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*, pp. 402–3 (map 80). Schilder identifies the postscript as the first item of extant textual discourse (rather than a map label) to treat the results of the two exploratory voyages commanded by Abel Tasman in 1642–43 and 1644, although Tasman himself is not mentioned. The description appears in Latin, Dutch, and French, and frames

monopoly area, the *octrooigebied*. The text in Latin, Dutch, and French is printed in the map's left, right, and lower margins, and describes the resources, political history, religion, fauna, and flora of some of the places shown on the map. However, no such information is included about *Hollandia Nova* nor the other 'partly discovered' places such as *Zeelandia Nova* and *Anthoni van Diemens Landt*, because, Blaeu claims, 'but little' has been published about them. Instead, Blaeu takes the opportunity to advertise a planned future volume of his *Atlas Maior*, which he promises will contain more information about these other places. The volume was never published, however.

Both Mowaljarlai's and Blaeu's geographical discourse need to be understood in terms of their own cultural references. Each draws on both empirical details and poetic forms of expression to complete an image of the continent that conforms to cultural and political needs. In both cases, neither text nor map stands alone. Geographical discourse entails a dialogue between the signs of a space that might be primarily textual, cartographic, illustrative, or performative, and usually combines some or all of these elements. In the process of interpretation, the reader or viewer brings additional ideas and discourses from experience of place to bear on the representation described, which might be familiar or unknown to different degrees.

Bandaiyan should be understood as a personal reflection based on Mowaljarlai's knowledge as a Ngarinyin elder.⁹ It is not a classical Aboriginal 'icon-map', one of the

three sides of the map. The postscript appears in Latin and Dutch only. The transcriptions in all three languages are printed by Egon Klemp, *Kommentar zum Atlas des Großen Kurfürsten* (Berlin: Belser Verlag, 1971), pp. 192–205.

9 Bandaiyan has gained limited use among Aboriginal people. An exception is Bardi woman Munya Andrews, *The Seven Sisters of the Pleiades: Stories from around the World* (North Melbourne: Spinifex Press, 2004), who uses 'Bandaiyan' to refer to the continent as known to Aboriginal peoples. Mowaljarlai's map also appears as an illustration in a report on governance challenges for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities; see Toni Bauman and others, *Building Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Governance: Report of a Survey and Forum to Map Current and Future Research and Practical Resource Needs* (Canberra: AIATSIS and the Australian Indigenous Governance Institute, 2015), p. 29. The limited use of Bandaiyan is probably owing to the strength of local identities among Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders, and different views about how to articulate political responses to the assertion of colonial power by the Australian state. For an in-depth analysis of self-determination options for Aboriginal people from a legal perspective, see Michael Mansell,

ephemeral ceremonial images painted before the colonial invasions on bodies, tools, or the ground. It adapts the forms of European cartography to emblemize the continent as a single body of Aboriginal peoples from past and present, and their relationships with each other and the land. Bandaiyan expresses the centrality of place in classical Aboriginal societies, in which all knowledge and life practices are recorded and performed through relationships to place and landscape features.¹⁰ It constitutes an expression of both classical Aboriginal place, and the classical non-linear sense of time, described by W.E.H. Stanner as 'everywhen'.¹¹

Treaty and Statehood: Aboriginal Self-Determination (Sydney: The Federation Press, 2016).

- 10 For example, Fred R. Myers, *Pintupi Country, Pintupi Self: Sentiment, Place, and Politics among Western Desert Aborigines* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), p. 59, states that place is 'prior and central' for the Pintupi people. Knowledge was recorded in memory through connections to place. Custodians of these places were responsible for maintaining and transmitting knowledge associated with their totem, which was defined at birth according to their place in a complex web of overlapping social formations. The understanding of classical Aboriginal social and territorial categories is complicated by their differences from Eurasian models and their complex variations across the continent. For an introduction to terms for social groupings and the changing understanding of them, see Piers Kelly and Patrick McConvell, 'Evolving Perspectives on Aboriginal Social Organisation: From Mutual Misrecognition to the Kinship Renaissance', in *Skin, Kin and Clan: The Dynamics of Social Categories in Indigenous Australia*, ed. by Patrick McConvell, Piers Kelly, and Sébastien Lacrampe (Acton, ACT: Australian National University Press, 2018), pp. 21–42. In the same volume, Laurent Dousset considers the history of attempts to reconstruct classical forms of Aboriginal territoriality within European paradigms: 'Systems in Geography or Geography of Systems? Attempts to Represent Spatial Distributions of Australian Social Organisation', in *Skin, Kin and Clan: The Dynamics of Social Categories in Indigenous Australia*, ed. by Patrick McConvell, Piers Kelly, and Sébastien Lacrampe (Acton, ACT: Australian National University Press, 2018), pp. 43–84. The best known of such reconstructions are the maps by Norman Tindale (1974) and David Horton (1996). Dousset notes that it is not new to acknowledge the difficulties entailed in such reconstructions.
- 11 W. E. H. Stanner, *White Man Got No Dreaming: Essays 1938–1973* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1979), p. 24. Mowaljarlai told Malnic (p. 192), '[t]he land remained, you can't get away from that. It acts for the people and their imprint is still there'.

Although many would argue that pre-Invasion Aboriginal peoples had no conception of the continent as a whole,¹² communications between peoples spanned vast distances.¹³ There is good anthropological, archaeological, and linguistic evidence that, although classical Bandaiyan was diverse in social, linguistic, artistic, architectural, agricultural, dietary, and other cultural forms, communities were also interconnected and shared fundamental systems. Marriage customs showed much local particularity, but certain fundamentals were common.¹⁴ Long-distance trade and travel, sometimes spanning thousands of kilometres, were guided by astronomy, using star maps and the songlines.¹⁵ Trade goods included technological artefacts such as tools, seeds, and resources for manufacturing clothing, food, and tools, as well as cultural goods such as song cycles.¹⁶ The existence of seven or eight hundred language varieties demonstrates diversity, but equally, the majority of languages belonged to the Pama-Nyungan family, testifying to historical connections between societies across the continent.¹⁷

12 Peter Sutton, 'Aboriginal Maps and Plans', in *Cartography in the Traditional African, American, Arctic, Australian, and Pacific Societies*, ed. by David Woodward and G. Malcolm Lewis, *The History of Cartography*, 6 vols (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), II, 387–416 (p. 413), wrote that pre-Invasion Aboriginal peoples did not have 'a geographical knowledge of the Australian continent as a whole or an explicit continent-wide political identity as a people'.

13 For example, Myers, *Pintupi Country*, pp. 58–9, shows that, for the Pintupi, wider space is made up of places which are linked by narratives of beings travelling from place to place.

14 On marriage and dietary customs, see Ian Keen, *Aboriginal Economy and Society: Australia at the Threshold of Colonisation* (South Melbourne, Vic: Oxford University Press, 2004).

15 Ray P. Norris and Bill Yidumduma Harney, 'Songlines and Navigation in Wardaman and Other Australian Aboriginal Cultures', *Journal of Astronomical History and Heritage*, 17.2 (2014), 141–148. Trade also crossed the Torres Strait into New Guinea; see F. D. McCarthy, "'Trade" Aboriginal Australia, and "Trade" Relationships with Torres Strait, New Guinea and Malaya [Part 1]', *Oceania*, 9.4 (1938), 405–38.

16 Isabel McBryde identified a 'disturbing' mix of diversity and pervasiveness in Aboriginal cultural patterns of exchange across the continent: 'Exchange in South Eastern Australia: An Ethnohistorical Perspective', *Aboriginal History*, 8.2 (1984), 132–153.

17 Harold Koch and Rachel Nordlinger, 'The Languages of Australia in Linguistic Research: Context and Issues', in *The Languages and Linguistics of Australia*, ed. by Harold Koch and Rachel Nordlinger (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2014), pp. 3–21 (p. 3). Language varieties denote both languages and dialects. About 270 out of 350 main languages belong to the Pama-Nyungan family. The Pama-Nyungan languages arose about six thousand years ago near the southeast coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria and then spread across ninety percent of the continent; see Remco R. Bouckaert, Claire Bowern, and Quentin D. Atkinson, 'The Origin and Expansion of Pama-Nyungan Languages across Australia', *Nature Ecology & Evolution*, 2018 <<https://doi.org/10.1038/s41559-018-0489-3>>.

Mowaljarlai evokes a poetic anthropomorphic visual image of the land submerged in the ocean, which is immediately intelligible, even if the Ngarinyin words are unfamiliar. Bodies, communication, trade, history, and people in connection with each other and with the land across time are evoked by Mowaljarlai's concise and dynamic expression. His performative discourse combines voice, gesture, and writing, echoing in a modern context how questions of identity and knowledge were performed in painting, dance, and song in classical Aboriginal societies.¹⁸

Blaeu's *Hollandia Nova* contested an earlier Renaissance conception of the southern hemisphere. During the sixteenth century, European cosmographers created a theoretical geographical entity in the absence of empirical data about the lands of the southern hemisphere. *Terra Australis Incognita* ('the unknown southland') was a huge south-polar continent. Gerard Mercator's standard version, first published in 1541, became the most popular, in part, through its dissemination by his contemporary, Abraham Ortelius (*Figure 0.03*).¹⁹ It lay opposite the continents of Africa, Europe, Asia, and America, as a Renaissance realization of the Ancient idea of the antipodes. From Greek ἀντίπους 'having the feet opposite', the antipodes were the people who stood on the opposite side of the earth, but the concept gradually shifted to denote the place where they were supposed to live. For two millennia, the antipodes had also been a subject of philosophy, a distant horizon that stimulated reflection on humankind's place in the cosmos. *Terra Australis Incognita* acquired the antipodes' dual role as geographical space and metaphysical site. Its conjectural geography of bays, capes, and

18 I use Peter Sutton's definition of 'classical', by which I mean Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander social and epistemological formations, as they can be reconstructed at the time of encounter with permanent settlers of the Invasions that began in 1788 and then spread gradually across the continent. See Peter Sutton, 'Icons of Country: Topographic Representations in Classical Aboriginal Traditions', in *Cartography in the Traditional African, American, Arctic, Australian, and Pacific Societies*, ed. by David Woodward and G. Malcolm Lewis, *The History of Cartography*, 6 vols (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), II, 353–86 (p. 353).

19 *Terra Australis Incognita* was often defined as a third or a fifth part of the world. The geographical classification of the continents was more fluid in the early modern period than it is today.

estuaries was often elaborated with place names, mountain ranges and lakes, and verdant landscapes peopled by hunters, cannibals, devil worshippers, and wondrous birds and beasts.

Blaeu first published his geography of *Hollandia Nova* in 1645 or 1646, based on the logs and charts produced by pilots of the Dutch United East India Company (VOC), who had charted roughly half of the coastlines between 1606 and 1644.²⁰ He updated the copperplate of a world map first published by his father Willem Blaeu in 1619 to add the coastlines of the ‘partly discovered’ lands southeast of Java. To do this he beat out the outline of *Terra Australis Incognita*, part of which overlapped the ‘new’ lands, but left the label *Australis Incognita* near the south pole.²¹

Blaeu’s *Hollandia Nova* became widely disseminated over the course of the seventeenth century, but his removal of *Terra Australis Incognita* to the south-polar margins gained more limited acceptance. The theoretical southern continent persisted in European geographical discourse beside *Hollandia Nova* for at least another 150 years. Peter Heylyn’s *Cosmographie in Four Bookes*, first published in 1652, soon after Blaeu’s revised geography of the southern hemisphere, continued to disseminate a poetic notion of the unknown continent. In an appendix to descriptions of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, Heylyn described *Terra Australis Incognita* as ‘neer a nescience’, and inhabited it with fictional places, including Joseph Hall’s satire *Mundus alter et idem*, Thomas More’s *Utopia*, and Miguel de Cervantes’ land of chivalry.²² The appendix was still being reprinted in the eighteenth century. This raises the question why *Terra Australis*

20 Australia has a coastline of about 25,000 km and Blaeu’s maps delineate about 50–60% of it. Blaeu’s new geography was produced soon after Abel Janszoon Tasman had completed the second of two voyages in 1644.

21 Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*, pp. 364–65 (map 61). Joan did not update the map’s date, which still appears as 1619.

22 Only Hall’s *Mundus* was explicitly located in *Terra Australis Incognita*. Peter Heylyn, *Cosmographie in Four Bookes: Containing the Chorographie and Historie of the Whole World, and All the Principall Kingdomes, Provinces, Seas and Isles Thereof* (London: Henry Seile, 1652), IV, p. 195. Heylyn licensed his imaginative turn by citing the Horatian commonplace on poetic privilege at the foot of the Appendix’s title page: ‘Pictoribus atque poetis | quidlibet audendi semper fuit aequa potestas’ (‘Painters and poets alike, you may say, have always had the right to attempt any such thing as this’) (Horace, *Ars Poetica*, ll. 9–10).

Incognita remained such a powerful element in metropolitan geographical discourse of the southern hemisphere long after the existence of the theoretical continent created by Mercator had been ruled out.

Both Bandaiyan and *Hollandia Nova* engage political discourses. For Peter Sutton, maps like Blaeu's mark the beginning of 'a struggle over a represented landscape'.²³ Sutton described Bandaiyan as an innovative 'cartographic statement of the spiritual and kin-based foundations of a pan-Aboriginality that has emerged as a serious political force' in modern Australia.²⁴ There are important differences between these two political geographies. Blaeu stakes a poetic claim to possession, unsupported by occupation or presence; an imperial desire for future exploitation of the continent. Blaeu includes no reference to VOC mariners' observations of Indigenous peoples nor their landscapes. The large toponym of *Hollandia Nova* floats over an otherwise empty background, as though the whole space were already possessed by the Dutch Republic, despite being almost entirely unknown to Dutch geographers (*Figure 0.04*). Mowaljarlai asserts a more tangible claim based on his ancestors' continued possession, use, and lived experience of the continent over at least sixty-five millennia, and profound knowledge of its fauna, flora, and landscapes.²⁵ Bandaiyan declares a sovereignty which Aboriginal people maintain was never ceded.²⁶

23 Sutton, 'Aboriginal Maps and Plans', II, p. 414.

24 For Sutton, Mowaljarlai's map is an innovative 'cartographic statement of the spiritual and kin-based foundations of a pan-Aboriginality that has emerged as a serious political force' in modern Australia. Mowaljarlai was politically conscious and active, a leader in the Ngarinyin people's struggle to reoccupy their native country; see Kamali Land Council, 'Obituary: David Banggal Mowaljarlai', *Australian Archaeological Association*, 1997 <<https://australianarchaeologicalassociation.com.au/journal/obituary-david-banggal-mowaljarlai/>> [accessed 10 February 2020]. Sutton's research on the geography of Aboriginal place has been instrumental in furnishing the evidence required by the National Native Title Tribunal to support Native Title claims. The Ngarinyin only succeeded in regaining title to their country in 2004, after Mowaljarlai's death; National Native Title Tribunal, 'Wanjina-Wunggurr Wilinggin Native Title Determination No 1, WCD2004/001' <http://www.nntt.gov.au/searchRegApps/NativeTitleClaims/Pages/Determination_details.aspx?NNTT_Fileno=WCD2004/001> [accessed 7 April 2020].

25 The current consensus is that Indigenous peoples have occupied the continent for at least sixty-five thousand years; see Chris Clarkson and others, 'Human Occupation of Northern Australia by 65,000 Years Ago', *Nature*, 547.7663 (2017), 306–10.

Research Questions

These two distinctive visualizations of the same site raise important questions about the representation of the continent now called Australia in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The geographies created by Blaeu and his contemporaries are rarely discussed in relation to the geographical knowledge of the peoples who occupied the continent when VOC mariners recorded their first observations, perhaps because it is assumed that no connection exists between these two discourses. Blaeu's *Hollandia Nova* is held to constitute a representation of the continent's geomorphology, and continues to be admired for an empiricism which (gradually) replaced the conjectural geography of *Terra Australis Incognita*, despite being limited to about half of the coastline alone. Meanwhile, discussions of Indigenous geographies are generally restricted to highly specialist contexts, gain limited public attention, and rarely in relation to Euclidean geography.²⁷ As a result, Blaeu's *Hollandia Nova* continues frequently to be defined as the beginning of a progressive growth of knowledge of the continent in an absolute sense, as though knowledge did not exist before the VOC's arrival; a false notion that affirms a colonial ideology.²⁸

26 Aboriginal peoples assert that their sovereignty 'has never been ceded or extinguished'; see 2017 National Constitutional Convention, 'Uluru Statement from the Heart', 2017 <<https://www.1voiceuluru.org/the-statement/>> [accessed 15 January 2019]. On the history of conceptions of Indigenous sovereignty, see Julie Fenley, 'The National Aboriginal Conference and the Makarrata: Sovereignty and Treaty Discussions, 1979–1981', *Australian Historical Studies*, 42.3 (2011), 372–89. The continent remains fiercely contested. No treaty has ever been concluded, and debates continue about the desirability of a treaty and constitutional recognition of First Nations, and what forms they might take. The federal government rejected all the recommendations of the Uluru Statement in 2017, despite investing in the convention that produced it. The government of the state of Victoria recently began a process to negotiate a treaty with the state's Koori peoples. See Aboriginal Victoria, 'Treaty in Victoria' <<https://www.vic.gov.au/aboriginalvictoria/treaty.html>> [accessed 13 April 2020].

27 Notable exceptions are the two excellent chapters on Aboriginal mapping by Peter Sutton appear in the University of Chicago's *History of Cartography*; see Sutton, 'Icons of Country', II, pp. 353–86; Sutton, 'Aboriginal Maps and Plans', II, pp. 387–416. There is also an accessible introduction to Aboriginal geography is David Turnbull, Helen Watson, and Yolngu community at Yirrkala, *Maps Are Territories: Science Is an Atlas: A Portfolio of Exhibits* (Geelong, Vic: Deakin University Press, 1989). My thesis draws on some of the key insights and principles of approach from these studies.

28 For the best analysis of the conception of the colonial explorer as the first to see and know the land, see Simon Ryan, *The Cartographic Eye: How Explorers Saw Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). Ryan's study is focused on British geographical discourse from the late eighteenth century.

The idea that *Hollandia Nova* is evidence of a European ‘discovery’ of Australia is deeply problematic. Ethically, it reinforces an ideology that defines the crimes of the colonial invasions that began in 1788 as a ‘natural’ consequence of the ‘inevitable progress’ that attended the arrival of peoples with superior forms of knowledge. This rationalization cannot be sustained epistemologically either, given copious evidence of millennia of Indigenous occupation, use, and knowledge of the continent’s ecosystems.²⁹ It is therefore necessary to question whether Blaeu’s cartography can be considered more than an empirical hydrography of a part of its coastline. If it were a continental description, some trace of continental landscapes, waterways, and patterns of human, animal, and plant habitation—which had been shaped by Indigenous peoples over millennia—might reasonably be expected. This thesis therefore asks, how did the collection of a variety of empirical observations of locations along the shores of Bandaiyan produce a poetic geographical discourse which continued to be associated with *Terra Australis Incognita*? An answer to this question requires an investigation of the overlaps and relationships between three different geographical conceptions. I therefore ask three main additional research questions: What was the meaning of the continental entity of *Hollandia Nova*? Why did it continue to be associated with *Terra Australis Incognita*? Why did it ignore or minimize Indigenous peoples’ presence and knowledge, and Bandaiyan’s endogenous characteristics?

It is important to consider metropolitan geographies in relation to the land as created and imagined by Indigenous peoples because, when metropolitan representations are studied from a geographical perspective, the main focus of attention is generally how they contributed to an increase in knowledge of ‘Australia’. I contend that this approach is misleading, because although a continent lay roughly in the position in

29 D. M. J. S. Bowman, ‘Tansley Review No. 101. The Impact of Aboriginal Landscape Burning on the Australian Biota’, *The New Phytologist*, 140.3 (1998), 385–410. See also R. Bliege Bird and others, ‘The “Fire Stick Farming” Hypothesis: Australian Aboriginal Foraging Strategies, Biodiversity, and Anthropogenic Fire Mosaics’, *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the USA*, 105.39 (2008), 14796–801.

which it lies today,³⁰ it was not called 'Australia' in the seventeenth century, nor did anyone have a notion of it as Australia. J. M. Arthur has identified five different conceptions of space, which are now referred to as 'Australia'. It is a colonial site of Indigenous dispossession; a 'geographical space of many human places', a 'bio/geographical region', a social imaginary of the Australian nation, and a place of belonging.³¹ A basic assumption of my thesis is that Australia as it is known today—the concept that combines these five different kinds of space—did not exist in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A bio-geographical region existed, known to its Aboriginal inhabitants, who had places of belonging and social imaginaries, perhaps of the continent as a whole, although that is questioned by Sutton and others. It was only at the beginning of the nineteenth century that 'Australia' came to be used for the geography of the whole continent, and in 1901, as the name of a nation.³² In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, metropolitan geography had an incomplete conception of the continent as a whole. Its knowledge was limited to the northern, western, and southern fringes. Navigators and geographers used a variety of names for the spaces described, including *Terra Australis*, '*t Landt van (d') Eendracht*' ('the land of the *Eendracht*', the name of Dirck Hartog's ship (the *Concord*), which landed on the west

30 Roughly, because the Australian continental plate currently moves northeast at about seven centimetres a year; see Fiona MacDonald, 'Australia's About to Move 1.5 Metres to the North', *ScienceAlert* <<https://www.sciencealert.com/australia-s-about-to-move-1-5-metres-to-the-north>> [accessed 24 July 2020].

31 J. M. Arthur, *The Default Country: A Lexical Cartography of Twentieth-Century Australia* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2003), pp. 5–6 .

32 Matthew Flinders recommended that either 'Terra Australis' or 'Australia' should be the name of the continent he had circumnavigated between 1801 and 1803; see Matthew Flinders, *A Voyage to Terra Australis: Undertaken for the Purpose of Completing the Discovery of That Vast Country, and Prosecuted in the Years 1801, 1802, and 1803, in His Majesty's Ship the Investigator; with an Account of the Shipwreck of the Porpoise, Arrival of the Cumberland at Mauritius, and Imprisonment of the Commander during Six Years and a Half in That Island*. (Adelaide: eBooks@Adelaide, University of Adelaide, 2015) <<https://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/f/flinders/matthew/voyage-to-terra-australis/index.html>>. Flinders' preference for 'Australia' over 'Terra Australis' gained acceptance among colonists, and was used in the first commemorations of the 1788 Invasion. It was formally recommended to the British government by Governor Macquarie of New South Wales in 1817, and eventually ratified by the Admiralty in 1830. See Elizabeth Kwan, 'Celebrating Australia: A History of Australia Day' <<https://www.australiaday.org.au/storage/celebratingaustralia.pdf>> [accessed 11 September 2019]. It did not become the official title of a nation until the Federation of the six colonies of Australia in 1901.

coast in 1616), 't *Zuydlandt*, ('the Southland'), and *Hollandia Nova* ('New Holland').³³ It is therefore necessary to consider each representation on its own terms, in its intellectual and historical context. It is anachronistic to use the term 'Australia' for seventeenth- and eighteenth-century representations of the continent that now bears that name, as its contemporary use was as part of '*Australia Incognita*', the cartographic term for the unknown regions of the south pole.³⁴

Mowaljarlai's Bandaiyan therefore makes a good starting point for this thesis, because it is an emblem of classical Aboriginal communities' complex synthesis of local cultural diversity and continent-wide interconnectedness, and evokes the place that the first visitors from Europe entered when they landed on parts of the coast in the seventeenth century. I use Mowaljarlai's Bandaiyan throughout this thesis, to keep in the foreground of discussion a consciousness of Aboriginal presence and knowledge at the time that claims to the continent were first asserted in metropolitan geographical discourse. As J.M. Arthur, wrote, 'it is only when Aboriginal Australia, the place

33 I use *Hollandia Nova* rather than 'New Holland' in this thesis, because its Latin form indicated its continental status for Blaeu, and because the English form has a separate history during British colonization, making its use anachronistic in a seventeenth century context. I adopt the same practice for other names created by VOC agents, such as *Anthoni van Diemens Landt* (called 'Van Diemen's Land' as a British penal colony until 1856), now Lutruwita or Tasmania.

34 This usage was initiated by Blaeu on his 1645–46 revision of the copperplate of his father's world map; Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*, p. 364 (map 61). Having erased the coastline of *Terra Australis Incognita*, he erased 'Terra' from the label '*Terra Australis Incognita*' and changed '*Australis*' to '*Australia*' on both the western and eastern hemispheres. Blaeu placed '*Australia Incognita*' around the latitude of 80°S on his influential new 1648 world map, *Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis Tabula*, a practice followed by others, including N. Visscher on his new world map of 1658, *Orbis Terrarum Nova et Accuratissima Tabula*. Hence, '*Australia*' became a regular part of specialist geographical discourse as an alternative to '*Terra Australis*', associated with unknown space. The only seventeenth-century use of 'Australia' in a literary text known to me is in the preface to the 1693 English translation of Gabriel de Foigny's *La terre australe connue, A New Discovery of Terra Incognita Australis, or the Southern World, by James Sadeur a French-Man. ... Translated from the French Copy, Etc* (London: Printed for John Dunton, at the Raven in the Poultry, 1693). This instance is more likely explained as a result of mistranscription of '*Austrialia del Espiritu Santo*', the name that Pedro Fernandes de Queirós gave to the southern continent which he claimed to have discovered in honour of the House of Austria. See Margaret Cameron-Ash, 'Juggling "Australia", "Austrialia" and New Holland', *The Globe*, 73 (2013), 29–38, 'Juggling "Australia", "Austrialia" and New Holland', op cit. It might also be evidence of the term's latent potential to enter general discourse in English.

occupied, imagined, loved by its indigenous inhabitants, becomes a construction in the settler's mind, that colonists' Australia as a separate but contesting place emerges.'³⁵

Benefit of These Questions

These questions are usually addressed separately in scholarship. The metropolitan geographical discourse of the seventeenth century in particular is often studied with a positivist focus on a progressive accumulation of geographical knowledge that privileges Euclidean space over other forms of spatial or placial knowledge. The result is that modern notions of geographical empiricism are projected backward and risk a misunderstanding of early modern texts that were created in a context in which distinctions between the empirical and imaginative were less certain and more fluid. The relationship of human occupation to the representation of space is often sidelined by a narrow focus on geomorphology, which stems from a misunderstanding of metropolitan geographical discourse. Although the first methodological step of Euclidean geography is to establish the location of sites in space, its use and interpretation entails the attachment of ideological, mythical, narrative, political, and social discourses, which give maps their social power.³⁶ These 'poetic' effects are often overlooked in historical studies of seventeenth century metropolitan maps pertaining to Bandaiyan. It might be argued that the maps and other texts that drew on information about Bandaiyan are less interesting for the geomorphological or hydrographic data they convey than for the myths and ideologies that were attached to those descriptions in the process of their making and reading.

35 Arthur, pp. 3–4.

36 Denis Wood proposes a useful paradigm for understanding the variety of forms of mythological rather than empirical ideas that come to be associated with maps through their discursive use; see Denis Wood, *Rethinking the Power of Maps*; with John Fels and John Krygier (New York: Guilford Press, 2010), pp. 81–82. On how Euclidean maps Europeanized the imagination of indigenous territories, see J. B. Harley, 'Texts and Contexts in the Interpretation of Early Maps', in *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*, ed. by Paul Laxton (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), pp. 33–49. On decoding maps' symbolic and political meanings, see J. B. Harley, 'Maps, Knowledge, and Power', in *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*, ed. by Paul Laxton (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), pp. 51–81.

The Indigenous peoples that possessed intimate, lived knowledge of the spaces represented are often ignored. Bringing these questions together makes it possible to widen the frame of analysis beyond the narrow focus of 'discovery', which in fact entailed the construction of Euclidean space. It is then possible to pay attention to the overlaps between a wider selection of concepts, interpretive frameworks, genres, and sources. Such perspectives can highlight the poetic aspects of empirical geography as well as empirical aspects of the poetic. An examination of the overlaps and relationships between all three geographical conceptions—*Hollandia Nova*, *Terra Australis Incognita*, and Bandaiyan—addresses problems that have been overlooked in previous studies. Most importantly, a consciousness of Indigenous forms of spatial knowledge opens up possibilities to discuss metropolitan geographical discourse without reaffirming the colonial assumption that a Euclidean framework is the only epistemological means to understand space.

Methodology and Theoretical Approach

The aim of this thesis is to show how Bandaiyan and its inhabitants were represented in seventeenth-century metropolitan geographical discourse, by investigating overlaps and intersections between metropolitan poetic geographies of the continent and Aboriginal conceptions of place. My greatest challenge was how to bring two completely different knowledge cultures into some form of productive dialogue. A great variety of metropolitan responses to the continent exist in the archives in text, cartography, and image; however, where examples of Aboriginal geography exist in story or painting, they are difficult to correlate with metropolitan descriptions of a particular time and place. I therefore decided to focus my analysis on a wide variety of metropolitan poetic geographies from the first century of the Dutch phase of exploration of the continent, and investigate two aspects: on the one hand, the circulation and transfer between them of traditional European ideas about the antipodes and *Terra Australis Incognita*; and, on the other, their representations of Aboriginal peoples, landscape and fauna, informed by anthropological, archaeological, linguistic, botanical, and other studies of classical Aboriginal cultures. In this way, my

objective was to illuminate overlaps and intersections between the metropolitan texts and Aboriginal conceptions of place.

The sources I identified for examination comprise a rich variety of representations in text, cartography, and image. They include pilots' and explorers' observations in logs and charts; maps, atlases, globes, and geographical treatises; fictional and performative representations in drama, poetry, and utopian literature; as well as illustrations and landscape art. These sources encompass both print and manuscript works, disseminated in Latin, Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, French, German, Italian, and English. I also identified a number of Aboriginal artefacts to support my interpretation of Aboriginal ideas of place.

In support of a comparative critical study of this eclectic range of sources pertaining to the site of Bandaiyan, and conceived in diverse cultural paradigms, I adopted a broadly geocritical approach. Bertrand Westphal's geocriticism, as disseminated by Robert Tally, emphasizes the study of place first, the inclusion of as great a range of textual witnesses as possible, and requires attention to the texts' sensorial aspects, which might include emotional responses to place, as well as to the layers they create in the social production of place over time.³⁷ Within this overarching approach, a number of useful methods and theoretical ideas are adopted in different parts of this thesis to support the analysis of the sources. I borrow and adapt from literary critical approaches such as John Gillies' notion of poetic geography and Bronwen Douglas's use of the 'countersign'; approaches to map interpretation developed by Christian Jacob and David Turnbull; methods of visual art analysis used by Svetlana Alpers and Thijs Weststeijn; and Bill Gammage's understanding of the classical Aboriginal landscape.³⁸

37 Bertrand Westphal, *Geocriticism: Real and Fictional Spaces*, trans. by Robert T. Tally (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); see also the review by John Miller, 'Ecocriticism and Geocriticism: Overlapping Territories in Environmental and Spatial Literary Studies, Edited by Robert T. Tally Jr and Christine M. Battista (Review)', *Green Letters*, 21.1 (2017), 106–108.

38 John Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Bronwen Douglas, *Science, Voyages, and Encounters in Oceania, 1511–1850* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Christian Jacob, *The Sovereign Map: Theoretical Approaches in Cartography throughout History*, ed. by Edward H. Dahl, trans. by Tom Conley (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); Turnbull, Watson, and Yolngu community at

My theoretical approach is informed most profoundly by Edward Casey's phenomenology of place. Casey defines place as the 'main unit of landscape; [a] scene of situatedness; experienced by the entire body; having its own history; not to be confused with space.' Space, however, is 'a totality of extension, unending and limitless', encompassing locations and sites within it. It is 'an abstraction from place ... experienced in disembodied detachment; it is mapped by cartographic rather than by chorographic or topographic means'.³⁹ The key to Casey's distinction between place and space concerns the embodied experience of a place versus the abstract disembodiment of space. An appreciation of this distinction rests on Casey's important clarification of the common misconception that space is *a priori* to place, and place a *posteriori* cultural 'construct, decoration or projection' imposed on space.⁴⁰ Rather the opposite is the case. He points out that this fallacy is rooted in the idea that the abstract is *a priori* to the complex details, whereas in fact, the messy details are original and provide the evidence for producing the reduced abstraction.

Both place and space are culturally constructed through discourse, and both have histories. Places are defined by collective ideas about the local and are created through the experience and shared histories of bodies living together in society in a specific locale over time. Space is an extent, comprising places, locations, and sites that are understood in abstract or geometric relation to one another. Casey defines a location as a 'pinpointed position on a map'; it comprises the 'specification of a site'. A site is 'a

Yirkkala, *Maps Are Territories*; Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983); Thijs Weststeijn, *The Visible World: Samuel van Hoogstraten's Art Theory and the Legitimation of Painting in the Dutch Golden Age*, trans. by Beverley Jackson and Lynne Richards, *Amsterdam Studies in the Dutch Golden Age* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008); Bill Gammage, *The Biggest Estate on Earth: How Aborigines Made Australia*, [iBooks edn] (Crows Nest, N.S.W: Allen & Unwin, 2011). These are introduced in more detail below and in subsequent chapters.

39 Edward S. Casey, *Representing Place: Landscape Painting and Maps* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), pp. 349–353.

40 Edward S. Casey, 'How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time: Phenomenological Prolegomena', in *Senses of Place*, ed. by Steven Feld and Keith H. Basso (Santa Fe: School of American Research, 1996), pp. 13–52 (p. 46).

place reduced to location and position in space'. Sites are described in topographic paintings and in 'scientifically exact cartography'.⁴¹

Space is a construction of geometry, mathematics, and the conventions of geographical representation. It is distinct from chorography or topography. Casey explains that geography creates 'the embrace of a unitary space that reduces places to points or positions' in space; chorography assumes a space is broken up into discrete places. A geographer speaks of places located in a region; a chorographer focuses on how a region's particularity 'resides in its places'. A landscape panorama of the whole earth is impossible, because a landscape is 'a cut' showing the topographical features of a localized vista of wider space. A comprehensive global view was the aim of early modern geographers. Therefore, geography is spatial, not placial.⁴²

The poetic geographies discussed in this thesis, evoked by textual, cartographic, and visual representations, including illustrations and various kinds of landscapes—all part of what I refer to as geographical discourse—might be considered to exist somewhere on a spectrum between space and place. The cartographies are primarily spatial; the illustrations and landscapes more placial; the texts somewhere between. My aim is not to decide where on the spectrum a given text might lie, but rather to observe the practices by which events, experiences, names, ideas, myths, and objects were transformed into reified visualizations. Accounts of experiences in Bandaiyan—descriptions of sand dunes walked on, waterholes dug, trees whose scents were smelled—constitute important evidence of experiences of place. The aim of analysis is to show how, in the representation, translation, and reception of these experiences, space was constructed from the experience of place; and to identify where mythical tropes or ideologies added interpretative meaning to representations of an embodied experience.

41 Casey, *Representing Place*, pp. 349–353.

42 Casey, *Representing Place*, p. 167.

This is important because these textual transformations might have been informed by commercial, political, or poetic demands; that is, exogenous factors, that had little to do with the experience of Bandaiyan itself or its inhabitants. Most interesting for the interpretation of the sources of this study are those examples where the endogenous persists. Hence the focus of much of the effort of analysis in this thesis has been to understand how and why that might have occurred, and what these representations meant to their makers and readers.

The elaboration of theory, conjecture, and myth about geographical descriptions is not a phenomenon peculiar to early modern geography. In his analysis of how maps convey meaning, Denis Wood has identified two main systems of signification. Codes of intrasignification inhere in the signs of the map itself. Codes of extrasignification come into play outside the map, in its interpretation; and work at the level of myth to create the map's authority. They even 'make off with the map for their own purposes', distorting and subverting its codes of intrasignification.⁴³ The sources of analysis for this thesis are not limited to maps, but geographical descriptions in text and illustration generally. I make use of Wood's schema for these intratextual and extratextual codes as part of my analysis of the way in which meaning was constructed through the reading of any text of geographical discourse. In this study, particular attention will be given to the way in which historical, rhetorical, and utilitarian codes of extrasignification attach myth, speculation, and authority to geographical descriptions or details observed in Bandaiyan to shape semblances of place through a three-way dialogue between text, cartography, and image.

An important aspect of my method is to foreground the Indigeneity of Bandaiyan, understood in the light of anthropological, archaeological, linguistic, and botanical evidence of classical Aboriginal societies. I attend to the way in which endogenous details of Bandaiyan were ignored, or translated and combined with mythical and theoretical tropes from the discourse of *Terra Australis Incognita* to create poetic geographies.

43 Wood, p. 82.

Temporal Focus

My focus is the period from 1606, the year of the VOC's first visit to Bandaiyan, to 1708, the year of publication of the first Dutch utopia, *Description of the Mighty Kingdom of Krinke Kesmes* by Hendrik Smeeks.⁴⁴ It was during this century that European geography was brought to bear on the site of the continent now called Australia, initiating a discursive contest with the inhabitants for its imaginative and physical control. Observations produced by agents of the VOC were the main source of empirical data about Bandaiyan during this century, and Dutch geographers created the framework for visualizing the continent by agents of other European nations.

The seventeenth century is of particular interest because, unlike the explosion of interest that followed Columbus's voyage to the Americas, information about Bandaiyan emerged slowly.⁴⁵ Until the last third of the century, published geographical discourse on Bandaiyan was mainly limited to maps; accounts of observations remained in manuscript logs and correspondence in the VOC's archives. In the 1670s, the first narrative details of Abel Janszoon Tasman's voyages of thirty years earlier were published, and other accounts began to appear alongside utopian speculations. It was also at this moment that the French state under Louis XIV embarked on a systematic effort to collect geographical knowledge to challenge the commercial power of Spain and the United Provinces, and Bandaiyan became a focus of attention for France as well as for England. Even then, circulating information was limited, perhaps because no Europeans were known to live there, unlike the colonies rapidly established in America. Indeed, the knowledge that some Europeans marooned on the western coasts might be living there appears to have been one reason for increased interest at

44 Hendrik Smeeks, *Beschryvinge van het magtig Koningryk Krinke Kesmes: Zynde een groot, en veele kleindere Eilanden daar aan horende; Makende te zamen een gedeelte van het onbekende Zuidland gelegen onder den Tropicus Capricornus ontdekt door den Heer Juan de Posos, en uit deszelfs Schriften te zamen gestelt door H. Smeeks* (Amsterdam: Nicolaas ten Hoorn, 1708).

45 William Eisler, *The Furthest Shore: Images of Terra Australis from the Middle Ages to Captain Cook* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 1, also makes this point: 'The Americas loomed ever larger in the European imagination over the centuries but, by contrast, the gradual unveiling of the mist surrounding the southern continent produced an inverse effect.'

this time. The metropolis showed limited curiosity in the land for its own sake despite its unique peoples and landscapes. In the meantime, fictional speculation about the continent and its potential usefulness took shape in utopias set in *Terra Australis Incognita*. The metropolitan geographical discourse on the continent of this period therefore provides opportunities to examine the representations stimulated by limited knowledge and much speculation.

As the aim of this thesis is not a historical study of the VOC's experience in Bandaiyan alone, it covers only the first century of the VOC's activities there.⁴⁶ Although interesting insights can be gained from records pertaining to the eighteenth century, limiting the scope to the first century enables a focus on the context in which *Hollandia Nova* was created. This period also has fewer continuities with the British colonial invasions that began in 1788, which can mislead the understanding of earlier periods. Even when scholars such as Schilder detail the seventeenth-century sources' significance in their own contexts, there is a temptation to compare them with the documentation of later British colonization and find them 'inadequate'. Had the Dutch asserted their claim to *Hollandia Nova*, they would unlikely have been less violent than the British, as their record elsewhere shows; that they did not is no cause for lament. Such comparisons undermine the effort to understand the documents on their own terms, and affirm colonization as progressive and benign, ignoring its genocidal impacts. Moreover, the discovery discourse of Dutch seventeenth-century commercial imperialism is not the same as that of late-eighteenth and early nineteenth-century British colonialism. Even when both were focused on the same location, their discursive and representative practices were distinct, and determined by contemporary interests, language, and culture. Limiting my study to the period from 1606 to 1708 enables a focus on the particular cultural and discursive context of the seventeenth century. *Hollandia Nova* needs to be appreciated as a representation of imperial intent, rather than a disinterested statement of knowledge.

46 The VOC's first and last visits to Bandaiyan were in 1606 and 1756.

The creation of the discourse on *Hollandia Nova* is particular to the cultural, political, commercial, and artistic context of the United Provinces during the seventeenth century. *Hollandia Nova* was created from the flow of information that the VOC, established in 1602, gathered in Asia and brought back to Amsterdam and its other ports in the United Provinces and to its Asian headquarters of Batavia, Java (from 1619).⁴⁷ An intense interest in geographical and topographical representation drew on the Renaissance realist aesthetic. Artists such as Rembrandt and Vermeer worked to achieve stunning illusions of lifelikeness, as studied by Svetlana Alpers and many others.⁴⁸ The purpose of representation was to acquire knowledge about the world within a Calvinist moral framework. Map-making was a focus for this activity. As Alpers argues, ‘maps were considered a kind of picture, and ... pictures challenged texts as a central way of understanding the world’.⁴⁹ A culture of attention to describing topographical surfaces was shared by natural philosophers such as Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, Christiaan Huygens, and others. Robert Huerta has studied how van Leeuwenhoek, Huygens, and Galileo employed ‘mental lensing’ – the use of the mind

47 The population of Amsterdam quintupled from 60,000 in 1600 to 235,000 in 1700. On the growth of the VOC, which became the largest trading corporation of the seventeenth century, see E. M. Jacobs, *In Pursuit of Pepper and Tea: The Story of the Dutch East India Company* (Amsterdam: Netherlands Maritime Museum, 1991). An indispensable analysis of the nexus between the VOC’s growth and cartographic developments is Zandvliet, *Mapping for Money*. He discusses the shift of mapmaking to Amsterdam at pp. 50–73.

48 Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century*. Alpers’ work has attracted much debate but her well-known monograph provides an essential foundation for my understanding of seventeenth-century Dutch maps and cartography. An important recent study of the artistic culture of the seventeenth century is Eric Jan Sluijter, *Rembrandt and the Female Nude* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006). An accessible introduction remains Mariët Westermann, *The Art of the Dutch Republic, 1585-1718* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1996).

49 Svetlana Alpers, ‘The Mapping Impulse in Dutch Art’, in *Art and Cartography: Six Historical Essays*, ed. by David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), pp. 51–96. In the early modern period, it was common to refer to maps as a ‘picture’ or ‘description’. Maps have been defined as ‘graphic representations that facilitate a spatial understanding of things, concepts, conditions, processes, or events in the human world’; see J. B. Harley and David Woodward, ‘Preface’, in *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, ed. by J. B. Harley and David Woodward, *The History of Cartography*, 6 vols (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), I, xv–xxi (p. xvi). The English word ‘map’, from Latin *mappa* ‘sheet’, need not imply a graphical description in the seventeenth century; it could refer to a visualization of space in words only, and was used in poetry with the sense of emblem; see Henry S. Turner, ‘Literature and Mapping in Early Modern England, 1520–1688’, in *Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed. by David Woodward, *The History of Cartography*, 6 vols (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), III, 412–426 (p. 412).

as both a visual and conceptual lens—to disseminate their findings through a dialectical combination of text and image.⁵⁰ Thijs Weststeijn has extended Alpers' work to show how, in Samuel van Hoogstraten's art theory, painting was considered a method of performative knowledge acquisition. The use of the visual arts in the cause of empiricism went hand in hand with an understanding of their potential for duplicity. Van Hoogstraten wrote that paintings 'make things appear to be that are not'.⁵¹ This research has much to offer the interpretation of the geographical discourse of *Hollandia Nova*, and I refer to aspects of these approaches in my interpretations of the visual texts analysed in this thesis.

Benefit of Methodological Approach

Spatial representations are highly complex phenomena with ideological histories that combine the empirical with the imaginative, myth with theory. *Hollandia Nova* has often been understood in a way that minimizes its ideological importance and passes up the opportunity to attend to its possible mythical significance. A focus on understanding how and why *Terra Australis Incognita* and *Hollandia Nova* coexisted for at least two centuries in geographical discourse, alongside an analysis of how tropes and discourses of *Terra Australis Incognita* were imbricated in an emerging understanding of *Hollandia Nova* can broaden and deepen the understanding of early metropolitan representations of Bandaiyan. An investigation of the overlap between these distinct geographical entities can make possible a clearer, more subtle appreciation of the meaning of *Hollandia Nova* in seventeenth-century Europe. This approach spotlights the continued importance of imagination, rhetoric, poetics, and the arts of illusion in seventeenth-century geographical representation, aspects which sometimes receive insufficient attention in studies focusing on its empirical attributes. This can shed light on important aspects of the transition from Renaissance cosmography to the geographical discourse of the Enlightenment, in which myth and

50 Robert D. Huerta, *Giants of Delft: Johannes Vermeer and the Natural Philosophers: The Parallel Search for Knowledge during the Age of Discovery* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2003), pp. 54–71.

51 Weststeijn, pp. 111, 281.

ideology become framed in ways more familiar today, that are sometimes overlooked by present-day observers.

A place-first approach highlights the limits and non-linear untidiness of the supposed progress in geographical knowledge, as well as the uncertain and fluid boundary between the empirical and imaginative. It accords due weight to the continued importance of imagination, rhetoric, poetics, and arts of semblance or illusion in seventeenth-century geographical discourse, factors sometimes sidelined from studies that focus on its empiricism. It also makes possible a clearer, more subtle appreciation of the making of new mythical, historical, and utilitarian codes of extrasignification pertaining to representations of the continent.

Maps such as Blaeu's remain icons that are used in a variety of historical-interpretative contexts to discuss the early modern European representation of Bandaiyan. When a 1663 state of Blaeu's map was found in a Swedish warehouse in 2010, it was purchased by the National Library of Australia and became the focus of an exhibition. As part of a campaign to raise money for the map's conservation, it was described as 'Australia's birth certificate'.⁵² It is important that such objects' interpretation is based on an

52 The 1663 map was found in a Swedish warehouse in 2013. See Martin Woods, 'A Birth Certificate of Australia', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 November 2013 <<https://www.smh.com.au/entertainment/art-and-design/a-birth-certificate-of-australia-20131114-2xjnp.html>> [accessed 1 March 2018]. The two grounds for the 'birth-certificate' argument are that Blaeu's 1663 map was 'the first public map to record the surveys of Abel Tasman's expeditions in 1642-43 and 1644' and 'the first map to name the whole continent'. Both are mistaken. The first extant use of *Hollandia Nova* appeared almost two decades earlier on a world map issued by Blaeu in 1645 or 1646, which revised an earlier map by his father; see Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*, pp. 366-367 (map 62). The notion that the 1659 or 1663 map is the first *map* on which parts of the coastline and the name *Hollandia Nova* appear might stem from a misreading of Schilder, p. 402, where he states that the 1659 map contains the first mention of *Hollandia Nova* in a descriptive *text*, not as a label on the cartography. This misreading highlights the subtle complexities of the dialogue between text, map, and image in geographical discourse, which may confound the most well-informed efforts to describe and interpret the evidence. The cartographical form of the incomplete coastline on the 1645-46 and the 1659 and 1663 maps is the same. The second ground for the 'birth-certificate' claim also assumes that Aboriginal peoples had no conception of the continent as a whole, which Mowaljarlai's map calls into question. The 'birth certificate' metaphor imitates the appropriation of Waldseemüller's 1507 world map as the 'birth certificate' of the United States on the grounds that it is the first extant map to use the name 'America'. See Martin Waldseemüller, *The Naming of America: Martin*

informed analysis of the ideologies involved in their making, if new, misleading myth-making is to be avoided. A study of *Hollandia Nova* and its discursive links to *Terra Australis Incognita* beside evidence of Bandaiyan as an Indigenous place comprising a complex epistemology and history also clarifies the extent to which metropolitan geography was poetic and political; a claim on space rather than knowledge of place.

An examination of representations of the inhabitants of Bandaiyan addresses the question of Indigenous agency in the construction of ideas of place and space. The presence or absence of people in a land's representation is a matter of continuing importance.⁵³ Simon Ryan has shown how a discourse of 'discovery' was deployed during the British invasions from 1788 to erase the presence of Aboriginal peoples from their lands. Through the myth of the explorer as the first ever to see and record what was before his eyes, Australia was constructed as 'an empty, inverted space desperately requiring rectification and occupation'.⁵⁴ The notion of *terra nullius*, 'land belonging to no one', provided a justification for confiscating the continent from its Indigenous owners and converting it into private or 'Crown' property.⁵⁵ Seventeenth-century

Waldseemüller's 1507 World Map and the 'Cosmographiae Introductio', ed. & trans. by John W. Hessler, 2008. That map was purchased by the Library of Congress in 2003 and handed to 'the American people' by German Chancellor Angela Merkel in a ceremony on 30th April 2007, see Helen Dalrymple, 'America's "Birth Certificate": Waldseemüller Map Transferred to American People', *Library of Congress Information Bulletin*, 2007 <<https://www.loc.gov/loc/lcib/0706/map.html>> [accessed 24 January 2019]. Brazil has an equal or better claim to Waldseemüller's map, since the single instance of 'America' appears to the west of present-day Salvador.

53 Patrick Wolfe, 'Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 8.4 (2006), 387–409, makes the case that colonialism is not an event but a process. See also the work on genocide in Australia by Tony Barta, including his account of the colonization of what is now the state of Victoria: "'They Appear Actually to Vanish from the Face of the Earth." Aborigines and the European Project in Australia Felix', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 10.4 (2008), 519–539. The case that colonization in Tasmania was a genocide is argued by Tom Lawson, *The Last Man: A British Genocide in Tasmania* (London: I.B.Taurus, 2014). Nick Brodie also makes the case that Tasmanian colonization was genocide in his excellent *The Vandemonian War* (Richmond, Vic: Grant Hardie Books, 2017).

54 Ryan, p. 104.

55 On the doctrine of *terra nullius*, see Henry Reynolds, *Aboriginal Sovereignty: Reflections on Race, State and Nation* (St. Leonards, N.S.W.: Allen & Unwin, 1996). The debate on *terra nullius* became a 'culture war'; see Stuart Macintyre and Anna Clark, *The History Wars* (Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 2003). See also Henry Reynolds, 'A New Historical Landscape? A Response to Michael Connor's "The Invention of Terra Nullius"', *The Monthly*, May 2006 <<https://www.themonthly.com.au/books-henry-reynolds-new>>

metropolitan visitors had no immediate colonial interest in denying the existence of the Indigenous owners. They frequently made repeated, frustrated, and sometimes violent, efforts to make contact, yet Blaeu's *Hollandia Nova* makes no reference at all to Indigenous presence. A reassessment of metropolitan forms of erasure and representations of Indigenous peoples before colonial possession is important to avoid complicity in the discourse of dispossession, which continues to assert profound present effects.⁵⁶

historical-landscape-responce-michael-connor039s-039the-invention-terra-nul> [accessed 1 May 2020]. In response to a struggle for land rights by Indigenous peoples over many decades, the High Court of Australia overturned the doctrine of *terra nullius* in the Mabo Judgement of 1992: *Mabo and Others v Queensland (No. 2)*. A framework was set up for Aboriginal peoples to apply for recognition of Native Title to their traditional lands. However, Native Title rights are limited. The Mabo judgement affirmed that no post-1788 grant of freehold could be overturned by Native Title, and denied compensation to the dispossessed. The Wik decision (*Wik Peoples v The State of Queensland, 1996*) enabled Native Title to coexist with pastoral leases. Despite many Indigenous traditional owner groups gaining Native Title rights in the decades since, they often find in practice that access to traditional lands to maintain significant sites and practices is limited. If their land is desired for exploitation by corporations, usually for mining, Native Title can be extinguished, as in the case of the Carmichael mine in Queensland; see Ben Doherty, 'Queensland Extinguishes Native Title over Indigenous Land to Make Way for Adani Coalmine', *The Guardian*, 31 August 2019 <<https://www.theguardian.com/business/2019/aug/31/queensland-extinguishes-native-title-over-indigenous-land-to-make-way-for-adani-coalmine>> [accessed 13 April 2020].

- 56 An estimated ninety percent of the Indigenous population was eliminated by massacre, disease, and dispossession between 1788 and 1928; Ray Gibbons, 'The Australian Land War and Aboriginal Depopulation', *Academia*, 2015 <https://www.academia.edu/11857662/The_Australian_land_war_and_Aboriginal_depopulation?auto=download> [accessed 27 February 2020]. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders continue to suffer disproportionately poor standards of health, education, and housing, higher incarceration rates, and the state's removal of Indigenous children from their parents is now greater than at the time of Prime Minister Kevin Rudd's world famous 'apology'. On health, see Chris Holland, *A Ten-Year Review: The Closing the Gap Strategy and Recommendations for Reset* (The Close the Gap Campaign Steering Committee, 2018) <www.humanrights.gov.au/social_justice/health/index.html>. On incarceration, Alexandra Gannoni and Samantha Bricknell, 'Indigenous Deaths in Custody: 25 Years since the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody', *Australian Institute of Criminology Statistical Bulletin* (Australian Institute of Criminology, 21 February 2019) <<https://aic.gov.au/publications/sb/sb17>> [accessed 13 April 2020]. On child removal, Padraic Gibson, 'How Kevin Rudd and Jenny Macklin Created Another Stolen Generation', *NITV*, 2018 <<https://www.sbs.com.au/nitv/article/2018/02/13/opinion-how-kevin-rudd-and-jenny-macklin-created-another-stolen-generation-1>> [accessed 15 January 2019].

Aside from the problem that scholarly reception of seventeenth-century geographical discourse reaffirms colonial ideologies if it ignores Indigenous presence, it is important to consider the colonial implications of the geographical discourse of *Hollandia Nova* in its imperial context. Although the VOC made no attempt to plant colonies in Bandaiyan, two proposals were published before 1788.⁵⁷ Colonization was therefore a possibility and geographical discourse about the continent could be read as encouraging and justifying such action. Linda Tuhiwai Smith wrote that ‘the imperial imagination enabled European nations to imagine the possibility that new worlds, new wealth and new possessions existed that could be discovered and controlled’.⁵⁸ A variety of discourses were used to promote and justify claims to possession of others’ territory in the wake of the Treaty of Tordesillas. Sarath Jakka has shown how the English imagined Madagascar as ‘a divinely pre-ordained ground’ for colonial possession.⁵⁹ A number of these discourses will be discussed in the following chapters. As Jakka argues, the enterprise of planting colonies required substantial imaginative as well as practical preparation. Many of the texts discussed here rehearse arguments and means for colonial enterprises, and might be regarded as discursively colonial.

A comprehensive comparison of European and Aboriginal geographical thought is beyond the scope of this thesis, as it would require bringing European documentary evidence into a relation with the classical cultures of hundreds of pre-Invasion Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples across the continent. It would entail comparisons between Aboriginal and European textual expressions that refer to or are embodied in the same sites, as well as the collection of extensive evidence of oral history. Such an approach has not been possible as part of this research because of the

57 Jean Paulmier de Courtonne, *Memoires touchant l’établissement d’une mission chrestienne dans le Troisieme Monde, autrement appellé, la Terre Australe ... Par vn ecclesiastique [sic] originaire de cette mesme terre.* (Paris: C. Cramoisy, 1663); Jean Pierre Purry, *Aanmerkingen betreffende de Kust der Kaffers en het landt van Pieter Nuyts: ten opzigte van de nuttigheit die de Oostindische Compagnie van dezelve voor haaren Koophandel zoude kunnen trekken* (t’Amsterdam: R. en G. Wetstein, 1718).

58 Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, 2nd edition (London: Zed Books, 2012), p. 22.

59 Sarath Jakka, ‘Fictive Possessions: English Utopian Writing and the Colonial Promotion of Madagascar as the “Greatest Island in the World” (1640–1668)’ (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Kent and University of Porto, 2018), p. 45.

logistical difficulties of consulting very different kinds of evidence. An analysis of such evidence would also confront what David Turnbull has referred to as ‘the problem of incommensurability’; that is, the problem of finding a dialogue between ‘multiple, incompatible ontologies and perspectives’, which requires a fundamental reckoning with how to select and interpret the evidence to be considered on both sides of the comparison.⁶⁰ Turnbull believes that it is possible to find meaning through ‘a dialogical tension’ between the artefacts of incommensurable cultural systems and epistemes, and I hope that my research will suggest future questions that would repay such approaches on a more localized scale than that attempted by this thesis.⁶¹

The foregrounding of Aboriginal epistemologies of place offers a more informed context to reevaluate the witnesses to metropolitan geographical discourse. This approach can highlight details that might otherwise be overlooked or misunderstood owing to ill-informed assumptions about ‘natural’ Aboriginal landscapes. This approach opens opportunities to gain new insights into the metropolitan archive and perceive traces of Aboriginal agency in the European record which have not previously been identified.

Previous Answers to the Research Questions

The traditional approach to seventeenth-century metropolitan geography pertaining to the continent now called Australia has been to chart a progressive narrative of exploration and discovery. This approach has been responsible for the identification and arrangement of the extant corpus of maps, charts, and voyage accounts and its presentation as part of a linear narrative of progressive knowledge acquisition. This enterprise began in the nineteenth century, culminating in J.E. Heeres’ *The Part Borne*

60 David Turnbull, ‘Maps Narratives and Trails: Performativity, Hodology and Distributed Knowledges in Complex Adaptive Systems: An Approach to Emergent Mapping’, *Geographical Research*, 45.2 (2007), 140–49 <<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-5871.2007.00447.x>>.

61 An example is one of Peter Sutton’s productive ethnographic studies based on an understanding of the communities of Cape York; see Peter Sutton, ‘Stories about Feeling: Dutch–Australian Contact in Cape York Peninsula, 1606–1756’, in *Strangers on the Shore: Early Coastal Contacts in Australia*, ed. by Peter Veth, Peter Sutton, and Margo Neale (Canberra: National Museum of Australia Press, 2008), pp. 35–59.

by the Dutch in the Discovery of Australia 1606–1765.⁶² In the 1960s, Andrew Sharp published a new account that brought Dutch, English, and French explorations together.⁶³ Sharp wove an Anglocentric, teleological narrative, in which Dutch exploration reaches its apex with Tasman, and Dampier marks the transition from Dutch to British epistemological authority over the continent's 'discovery'.⁶⁴ These works' reductive and colonial narratives can be questioned, although they remain useful guides to the sources.

Current scholarship on the emerging metropolitan geographical representation of lands and islands south of Java would be inconceivable without the work of Günter Schilder, who has identified, assembled, and made coherent the disparate body of primary cartographical and related sources. The aim of his *Australia Unveiled: The Share of the Dutch Navigators in the Discovery of Australia* was to identify and compare the key sources to reconstruct a progressive cartographic definition of the continent now called Australia, and determine the 'Dutch contribution' to that enterprise.⁶⁵ Schilder, following Heeres and Sharp, put Tasman at the apex of his narrative: 'the Dutch discoveries in Australia reached their climax with Tasman's two voyages'.⁶⁶ Despite its framing within a paradigm of 'discovery', it is possible to read across Schilder's

62 *The Part Borne by the Dutch in the Discovery of Australia 1606–1765*, ed. by J. E. Heeres, Project Gutenberg Australia eBook by Colin Choat (Leiden and London: Royal Dutch Geographical Society, 1899). A separate work was devoted to the voyages of Abel Tasman: *Abel Jansz. Tasman's Journal of His Discovery of Van Diemen's Land & New Zealand in 1642, with Documents Relating to His Exploration of Australia in 1644*, ed. by J. E. Heeres and C. E. Coote, Project Gutenberg Australia eBook by Colin Choat and Bob Forsyth (Amsterdam: F. Muller & Co, 1898).

63 Andrew Sharp, *The Discovery of Australia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963). Like Heeres, Sharp also devoted a separate volume to Tasman: Andrew Sharp, *The Voyages of Abel Janszoon Tasman* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).

64 Sharp, *The Discovery of Australia*. Sharp covers most of the voyages from 1606 to Tasman's in the 1640s, and gives five pages to those associated with the wreck of the *Vergulde Draeck*. There is then one page on Dampier, before he moves straight to Cook and eighteenth- and nineteenth-century English and (four) French expeditions.

65 Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*, p. 5, observed that the 'early Dutch discoverers were influenced in their ideas, primarily by the writings and theories of earlier Dutch geographers' who disseminated the idea of *Terra Australis*. *Australia Unveiled* mainly concerns the results of exploration until 1644. I also make use of Schilder's later research on Australian geography.

66 Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*, p. 139.

systematic presentation of the sources to gain an appreciation of the variations, discontinuities, and ambiguities in the construction of this metropolitan geography, as well as its progressive aspects.

This Tasman-Dampier-Cook framework allows little room to consider geography's poetics. Schilder acknowledges that seventeenth-century Dutch geographers were influenced by their predecessors who had propagated *Terra Australis Incognita*, but does not examine that influence. He answers the problem of the persistence of imaginative elaboration in Dutch cartography of *Hollandia Nova* as an attempt 'to conceal actual ignorance of what was there'.⁶⁷ The identification of ignorance is correct, but it does not explain the form of the elaboration, which can repay analysis, nor the motivation for concealment, if that is what it amounts to. This approach also underappreciates the role of Dutch geography after Tasman. De Vlamingh's voyage of 1696–97, for example, which produced the largest (extant) body of documentation of any of the VOC's voyages, has been dismissed as 'more a salvage mission than a voyage of discovery'.⁶⁸ This supports Clancy's view that, between Tasman and Cook, '[t]he Australian map had not changed for over one hundred years'.⁶⁹ Indeed, Schilder's monograph on de Vlamingh's voyage can be regarded as a correction to an overemphasis on Tasman in his earlier work.⁷⁰ A fairer assessment of de Vlamingh's voyage challenges the reduction of geographical history to a progression of lines on maps, and highlights the limits and non-linear untidiness of supposed progress, as well as the uncertain and fluid boundary between the empirical and imaginative.

Previous scholarship has addressed the early modern discourse of *Terra Australis Incognita* in a variety of ways. One strand in scholarship has sought to explain *Terra*

67 For example, on Hugo Allard's illustrated map of 1652; *Australia Unveiled*, p. 392.

68 Avan Judd Stallard, *Antipodes: In Search of the Southern Continent* (Clayton, Vic: Monash University Publishing, 2016), p. 185.

69 Robert Clancy, *The Mapping of Terra Australis* (Macquarie Park, NSW: Universal Press Pty Ltd, 1995), p. 77.

70 Günter Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land: Willem de Vlamingh 1696-1697*, trans. by C. de Heer (Sydney: Royal Australian Historical Society in association with the Australian Bank, 1985).

Australis Incognita as part of a narrative of the progressive ‘discovery of Australia’. George Collingridge, for example, saw in Renaissance cosmographers’ conjectures evidence of a ‘European discovery of Australia’ before the seventeenth century.⁷¹ Postcolonial and decolonizing critiques have made the notion that the continent was ‘discovered’ by Europeans at least sixty-five thousand years after Aboriginal peoples occupied it both deeply problematic and absurd. Nonetheless, there remains a cottage industry of such theorizing or mythmaking about ‘first’ Portuguese, Spanish, or Chinese discoveries. The most recent involves a highly convoluted (though creative) interpretation of *Jave la Grande*, the part of *Terra Australis Incognita* opposite Asia that arose in early sixteenth-century Dieppe.⁷² There have also been more circumspect suggestions in this direction. Helen Wallis asked whether the ‘enigma’ of *Jave la Grande* constitutes evidence of a ‘discovery of Australia’ before 1606. Her answer, like Heylyn’s, turns to poetry in the form of some verses by Jean Parmentier, the Dieppois whose nine-month voyage to Sumatra in 1529 inspired the maps. For Wallis, Parmentier’s verses ‘conjure up the spirit of the Dieppe entrepreneurs and the Portuguese pioneers alike, through whose efforts (dare I say) Australia was discovered and the record preserved for posterity’.⁷³ W.A.R. Richardson has argued that

71 George Collingridge, *The Discovery of Australia: A Critical, Documentary and Historic Investigation Concerning the Priority of Discovery in Australasia by Europeans before the Arrival of Lieut. James Cook, in the ‘Endeavour,’ in the Year 1770* (Sydney: Hayes Brothers, 1895). A more recent, often cited, example is Kenneth Gordon McIntyre, *The Secret Discovery of Australia: Portuguese Ventures 200 Years before Captain Cook* (Medindie SA: Souvenir Press, 1977).

72 Peter Trickett, *Beyond Capricorn: How Portuguese Adventurers Secretly Discovered and Mapped Australia and New Zealand 250 Years before Captain Cook* (Adelaide: East Street Publications, 2007). See the review by W. A. R. Richardson, ‘Yet Another Version of the Portuguese “Discovery” of Australia’, *The Globe*, 59 (2007), 59–60. The Chinese discovery hypothesis was promulgated by Gavin Menzies, *1421: The Year China Discovered the World* (London: Bantam, 2002). For a review, see Victor Prescott, ‘1421 and All That Junk’ <http://www.1421exposed.com/html/1421_and_all_that_junk.html> [accessed 27 July 2017]. The Spanish hypothesis was advanced by an editor of Queirós, late in the Franco era: Pedro Fernández de Quirós, *Australia: Su descubrimiento y denominación, con la reproducción facsímil del memorial número 8 de Quirós en español original, y en las diversas traducciones contemporáneas*, ed. by Carlos Sanz (Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1973).

73 Helen Wallis, ‘Jave La Grande: The Enigma of the Dieppe Maps’, in *Terra Australis to Australia*, ed. by Glyndwr Williams and Alan Frost (Melbourne: Oxford University Press in association with Australian Academy of the Humanities, 1988), pp. 39–81 (p. 77). Frank Lestringant asked a similar question to Wallis’s about whether the Dieppe maps ‘represent a vast southern continent, of which certain delineations seem to correspond to Australia, brushed by, rather than known by the Iberians.’ See Guillaume Le Testu, *Cosmographie*

Renaissance geographical discourse has a fictive potential which can seduce modern scholars to suspect 'evidence' of a 'discovery of Australia' where none exists.⁷⁴

Likewise, Alfred Hiatt has explained such over-interpretations as anachronistic readings based on the modern mind's tendency to discount the possibility that early modern maps were theoretical.⁷⁵

My understanding of the notion of the antipodes and how it informed the morphology and meaning of *Terra Australis Incognita* owes much to the work of Alfred Hiatt. In his monograph on the expression of the antipodes from ancient times to the end of the sixteenth century, Hiatt studies *Terra Australis Incognita* as a fiction comprising an 'a-cartographic mode of representation within the map', 'stripped ... to its fundamental idea'. He investigates the 'creative uses' to which its geography was represented in a variety of forms of 'supplementary writing'.⁷⁶ Hiatt furnishes a detailed examination of classical and medieval expressions of the idea of the antipodes which informed the peculiar representation of *Terra Australis Incognita* in the Renaissance, paying particular attention, unlike many scholars, to the medieval period. Hiatt asks what functions *Terra Australis Incognita* was invested with 'as a space outside of history, faith, and politics that nevertheless interacted with these forces in curious and unpredictable ways'.⁷⁷ Among these ideological functions, *Terra Australis* embodied an expression of future knowledge through the notion of being *nondum cognita* ('not yet known').⁷⁸ At the same time it embodies a notion of the past, not only an '*anti-oecumene*' (an antipodes, an opposite world) as an '*ante-oecumene*' (a prior world).⁷⁹ Hiatt's research ends at around

universelle selon les navigateurs tant anciens que modernes, ed. by Frank Lestringant (Paris: Arthaud, 2012), p. 59.

74 Richardson, 'Yet Another Version of the Portuguese "Discovery" of Australia'. See also Robert J. King, 'Jave La Grande, a Part of Terra Australis? Presentation at "Mapping Our World" Discovery Day, National Library of Australia', 2013.

75 Alfred Hiatt, 'Terra Australis and the Idea of the Antipodes', in *European Perceptions of Terra Australis*, ed. by Anne M. Scott and others (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 9–43 (p. 37).

76 Alfred Hiatt, *Terra Incognita: Mapping the Antipodes before 1600* (London: British Library, 2008).

77 Hiatt, *Mapping the Antipodes*, p. 8.

78 Hiatt, *Mapping the Antipodes*, p. 217.

79 Hiatt, *Mapping the Antipodes*, p. 36.

1600 before the creation of Euclidean cartographies of Bandaiyan. In this thesis, I consider the extent to which seventeenth-century expressions of *Terra Australis Incognita* continued and adapted the meanings of its earlier forms.

There have been a few notable attempts to bring the concept of *Terra Australis Incognita* into a dialogue with the metropolitan construction of a geography of *Hollandia Nova* and its peoples. The first focused on visual art and cartography. William Eisler treated the periods before and after 1600 in separate parts of his monograph *The Furthest Shore: Images of Terra Australis from the Middle Ages to Captain Cook*, which grew out of a bicentennial exhibition at the Art Gallery of New South Wales in 1988. Eschewing a history of discovery, Eisler followed scholars such as Greg Denning in broadening his scope to Australasia and the Pacific to open up a wider set of evidence for comparative analysis of European practices of observation. Eisler's work brings to light the intellectual context that shaped art and cartography. He makes the important argument that the dissemination of the images produced was uneven, and that, in general, only a limited selection of them was released for wider public reception.⁸⁰ He cautions that the production of images varied over the centuries of exploration, and that they should be understood in the particular aesthetic contexts of their production. The archive as a whole is therefore characterized by discontinuities and differences that make comparisons difficult.⁸¹ Eisler's study of these works outside a narrative frame of discovery and exploration highlighted important aspects of the metropolitan imagination of the south, such as a bipolarity in representations of *Terra Australis*, which was alternatively a place of 'barrenness' and 'brute savages' or of 'bountiful plenty' and 'hospitable' people.⁸² Eisler proposes that one reason for the persistence of

80 Eisler, *The Furthest Shore*, p. 64.

81 Eisler, *The Furthest Shore*, p. 118.

82 Eisler, *The Furthest Shore*, p. 2. It is interesting that the structure of Eisler's book superficially reflects this bipolarity (no doubt unconsciously), the first part on 'the invention of a Southern Continent' and the second, representations of the southern world in 'the Age of Dutch Expansion', although Eisler considers the role of imagination in the second part. John T. McGrath, 'The Furthest Shore: Images of Terra Australis from the Middle Ages to Captain Cook, by William Eisler [Review]', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 28.3 (1997), 885–7, observed that the two parts of Eisler's book 'could almost stand alone.'

the conjectural continent might have been the imperial hope of finding the bountiful *Terra Australis* to the east of the 'barren' *Hollandia Nova*.⁸³

A recent co-edited volume takes Eisler's approach further, seeking more direct overlaps between exploration of the continent now called Australia and the notion of *Terra Australis*. *European Perceptions of Terra Australis* (2011) focuses on the imagination and expression of *Terra Australis* in a wide variety of texts and contexts from classical times to the present.⁸⁴ Its aim is to bring together two areas of research that Anne Scott observes usually remain separate: the study of *Terra Australis* as an 'intellectual concept' and 'the early exploration and conceptualization of Australia'.⁸⁵ The thirteen contributors shed new light on the intellectual formation of the concept of *Terra Australis* and how it shaped the later imaginary of Australia from different disciplinary perspectives. No developmental relation between the two conceptions is proposed. Rather, Scott explains that, since perception is an individual activity 'driven by the mind' and 'nourished through the senses', attention is given to specific expressions, perceptions, and conceptions of *Terra Australis* and the Australian continent by individuals in a wide variety of contexts. In this way, a more complex picture is presented than in traditional approaches to the history of exploration and discovery, which highlights new connections between familiar and less well known texts, figures, and events.

Among these essays, only two canvas at length the discourse of *Terra Australis Incognita* in the seventeenth century. Leigh Penman deals with the consequences of the VOC's activities in Bandaiyan. He investigates how a bipolar imagination of *Terra Australis* as

83 Eisler, *The Furthest Shore*, pp. 142–3, suggests this hope motivated early eighteenth-century English and French voyages in the South Pacific. Femme S. Gaastra, 'The Dutch East India Company: A Reluctant Discoverer', *The Great Circle*, 19.2 (1997), 109–23 (p. 115), has observed that disappointing visits to *Hollandia Nova* did not deter all further attempts at exploration.

84 *European Perceptions of Terra Australis*, ed. by Anne M. Scott and others (London: Ashgate, 2011).

85 Anne M. Scott, 'Perceptions', in *European Perceptions of Terra Australis*, ed. by Anne M. Scott and others (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 1–7 (p. 2).

both paradise and prison (an alliterative bipolarity coined by Randolph Stow, and also discussed by Eisler) shaped historical discourses of national identity in modern Australia through different receptions of the sensational events of the *Batavia's* wreck and mutiny in 1629.⁸⁶ Penman considers the representation of Aboriginal people in these narrative reconstructions. His percipient reflection on Rupert Gerritsen's controversial investigation of the hypothesis that those marooned by the *Batavia* and other west-coast wrecks joined Aboriginal societies warns of the risk of appropriating Aboriginal history, but notes that some Aboriginal people claim descent from the castaways and have used such narratives to reshape reconciliation discourse between colonial Australians and First Nations peoples.⁸⁷ However, Penman's interest is not in the seventeenth century reception of these events, which is my focus here.

Margaret Sankey considers the concept in French geographical discourse, focusing on the abbot Jean Paulmier's role in encouraging a continued belief in the existence of a vast south-polar continent in France and motivating voyages of exploration. Paulmier exploited the fluidity between truth and fiction in seventeenth-century travel literature and its association with utopianism to advocate a Christian mission to the southern continent. He assembled a huge dossier to support his case, eventually published in 1663, including maps of *Terra Australis Incognita* and *Hollandia Nova*, and the probably invented account of Gonneville's first French voyage to *Terra Australis*. Both Pope Alexander VII and Louis XIV were receptive to Paulmier's plan, although it was eventually abandoned. Sankey highlights how the poetic geography of *Terra Australis Incognita* was not limited to armchair speculation in the seventeenth century but could stimulate events in the real world. However, she discounts the possibility of any substantive connection between Paulmier's imaginary *Terra Australis Incognita* and the empirical geography of *Hollandia Nova*.⁸⁸

86 Leigh T. I. Penman, 'The Wicked and the Fair: The Changing Perceptions of Terra Australis through the Prism of the Batavia Shipwreck (1629)', in *European Perceptions of Terra Australis*, ed. by Anne M. Scott and others (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 247–72.

87 Penman op. cit., pp. 265–268. Gerritsen investigates his hypothesis from a number of disciplinary perspectives in Rupert Gerritsen, *And Their Ghosts May Be Heard* (South Fremantle, WA: Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 1994).

The potential for fictive elaboration demonstrated by Paulmier was promoted by the particular practices and exigencies of early modern literary culture. There was a great increase in available information as a result of the expansion of exploration and the capacity of print technology to disseminate information more quickly and widely than before, but cataloguing systems to facilitate access and cross-referencing of this expanding corpus remained in their infancy.⁸⁹ At the same time Renaissance humanists privileged the testimony of classical authorities such as Ptolemy and medieval travellers such as Marco Polo and the fictional John Mandeville, without being able to discern the corruptions and fabrications in received texts. In the same *Perceptions* volume, W.A.R. Richardson traces the way in which errors and misreadings of manuscript and print sources shaped theories about the morphology, location, names, and characteristics of *Terra Australis*.⁹⁰

In Hiatt's essay for the *Perceptions* volume, he restricts his analysis to the more obviously theoretical and mythical forms of *Terra Australis Incognita*, but makes some percipient opening comments about their possible overlap with the seventeenth-century empirical geography of Bandaiyan. He notes that the maps printed in early editions of Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* mimic discourses of discovery in Dutch maps of *Hollandia Nova* and 'register the shadow of *Terra Australis Incognita*'.⁹¹ Hiatt

88 Margaret Sankey, 'Mapping Terra Australis in the French Seventeenth Century: The Mémoires of the Abbé Jean Paulmier', in *European Perceptions of Terra Australis*, ed. by Anne M. Scott and others (London: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 111–134; Sankey's research on Paulmier includes an edition of his *Mémoires*, Jean Paulmier, *Mémoires touchant l'établissement d'une mission chrestienne dans le troisième monde: autrement appelé, la terre australe, méridionale, antartique & inconnuë*, ed. by Margaret Sankey (Paris: H. Champion, 2006).

89 On the influence of early modern print culture on the construction of knowledge, see Gurminder K. Bhambra, *Rethinking Modernity: Postcolonialism and the Sociological Imagination* (Basingstoke, Hants: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

90 W. A. R. Richardson, 'Terra Australis, Jave La Grande and Australia: Identity Problems and Fiction', in *European Perceptions of Terra Australis*, ed. by Anne M. Scott and others (London: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 83–109. Robert J. King, 'Marco Polo's Java and Locach on Mercator's World Maps of 1538 and 1569, and Globe of 1541', *The Globe*, 81 (2017), 41–61, has investigated similar questions about the use and (mis)translation of sources in the construction of the conjectural geographies of the southern continent.

91 Hiatt, 'Terra Australis and the Idea of the Antipodes', p. 10.

hints at an overlap between the geography of *Hollandia Nova* and *Terra Australis Incognita*, which Swift recognized and exploited. Hiatt's observation raises the question of the degree to which the geographical discourse of the seventeenth century continued to be theoretical and imaginative, and not only in obviously fictional elaborations such as Swift's. To what extent was the cartography of *Hollandia Nova* that inspired Swift's elaborate fiction also interpreted in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries as registering the shadow of *Terra Australis Incognita*? Hiatt does not develop his insight, and this question of the imbrication of *Terra Australis Incognita* in the ostensibly empirical cartography of *Hollandia Nova* in the seventeenth century deserves more attention than it has received.

Avan Judd Stallard has recently made the interesting proposition that Dutch pilots and geographers used the speculative geography of *Terra Australis Incognita* as a heuristic device to provide a structure for their exploration. Unapologetic about his embrace of the discourse of discovery, Stallard's positivist approach is to argue that the theoretical *Terra Australis* was pushed further to the margins as more information became available. He overstates the case for a strict distinction between a *Terra Australis cognita* and *incognita* in insisting that, 'within the discourse of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, *Terra Australis* and Australia were considered separate geographies'.⁹² My analysis of the geographical discourse of the seventeenth century suggests that it is not possible to be so categorical about distinctions between early modern representations of 'known' and 'unknown' space as Stallard suggests. Although seventeenth-century maps might be said to have gradually approached a degree of conformity in representation, there remained, in VOC documents describing Bandaiyan in particular, much fluidity in the use of toponyms, and clear admissions (and expressions of

92 Stallard, p. 17. *Terra Australis* as heuristic is discussed at p. 159. In her discussion of the importance of distinguishing names associated with *Terra Australis*, Cameron-Ash, proposes that, although the 'landmass now known as Australia is not the legendary Southern Continent, ... there was a brief period of 27 years [between 1616 and 1643] when some cosmographers reasonably thought that it was a northerly projection of that larger continent.' Hiatt made a similar observation to Stallard's, but with a crucial qualification: that *Terra Australis* 'should not be equated with *modern* Australia: it was always something much more, and much less' (my italics); Hiatt, 'Terra Australis and the Idea of the Antipodes', p. 37.

frustration) about the limitations of their knowledge. For Blaeu and the VOC, their knowledge did not extend further than the shoreline of a little more than half of the continent. The distinction between '*cognita*' and '*incognita*' is more a convenience of language to distinguish between the completely unknown and the merely identified. This is why I find it important and necessary to use the term Bandaiyan, because it ensures a clear distinction in my discussion between what remains throughout the seventeenth century an identified but largely unknown *Hollandia Nova* and the continent that had long been intimately known by its Aboriginal inhabitants. The use of 'New Holland' — or, even more so, 'Australia' — presents the modern reader with an erroneous, anachronistic (and Anglocentric) impression of the solidity and depth of metropolitan geographers' knowledge of the continent as a whole. It is not simply a matter of distinguishing *Terra Australis* from Australia, as in Stallard's analysis of the problem. The term 'Australia' itself is much more complex and multifunctional than is generally appreciated, as Arthur highlighted in her definition of the five different conceptions of the term Australia discussed above.

The representation of Aboriginal peoples in the pre-Invasion geographical discourse has received much less scrutiny than the representation of the land. Maria Nugent has described this inattention as 'a peculiarly Australian phenomenon' by comparison with scholarship of explorers' accounts of indigenous peoples in other parts of the Pacific.⁹³ One reason for this inattention might be that, as Sutton has observed, the VOC archive is 'not plentiful'.⁹⁴ Shino Konishi suggests that it affords only stereotypical views: that attributed to the crew of the *Duyfken* that the land was uncultivated and 'inhabited by savage, cruel, black barbarians who slew some of our sailors', and William Dampier's sensational description of Aboriginals as 'the miserablest people in the world'. As a result Konishi focuses his study of European perceptions of the Aboriginal male on eighteenth-century evidence.⁹⁵ In general, the view has prevailed that European

93 Maria Nugent, *Captain Cook Was Here* (Port Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. viii. Nugent was discussing accounts of Cook's experiences in the Pacific, but this applies also to earlier explorers' accounts.

94 Sutton, 'Stories about Feeling', p. 35.

visitors regarded Aboriginal peoples with either disgust, as violent ‘savages’, or with indifference, as of no interest or use for trade or other activities.⁹⁶

A number of scholars, including Sutton himself, have demonstrated how even a brief account can be revealing under sustained analysis, informed by an understanding of the historical and social context of the behaviours of both Indigenous and explorer agents. Bronwen Douglas has used the theoretical notion of the ‘countersign’ with success to tease out vestiges of Indigenous agency in metropolitan explorers’ accounts of the Pacific. Much of her focus has been on the rise of geographical and racial classification in the eighteenth century, but she has also attended to earlier encounters in Bandaiyan. She argues that sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch judgements of people in Asia and the Pacific were framed by ancient and Christian moral dichotomies that were ‘not racial’ in a modern scientific or popular sense.⁹⁷ Douglas regards *Terra Australis Incognita* principally as a ‘mirage’ and an ‘ever-shrinking reality’ that drove cosmography and early modern goals of exploration, but does not address in detail how the concept might have shaped the reception of Dutch encounters in Bandaiyan.⁹⁸ Like Douglas, Susan Broomhall’s research of the emotional experiences of VOC mariners in Bandaiyan has elucidated some valuable insights from the VOC archive, which support my understanding of the representation of Aboriginal peoples.⁹⁹

95 Shino Konishi, *The Aboriginal Male in the Enlightenment World* (Oxford: Routledge, 2016), p. 7. The *Duyfken* report appears in Heeres, *The Part Borne by the Dutch*, p. 6. Eight of the men were probably slain in New Guinea rather than in Cape York; see Sutton, ‘Stories about Feeling’, p. 38.

96 It has also been suggested that, in turn, Aboriginal people regarded the visitors with indifference; see Sutton, ‘Stories about Feeling’, p. 48.

97 Douglas, *Science, Voyages, and Encounters*, p. 42.

98 Bronwen Douglas, ‘Terra Australis to Oceania: Racial Geography in the “Fifth Part of the World”’, *Journal of Pacific History*, 45.2 (2010), 179–210 (pp. 193–6).

99 See, for example, Susan Broomhall, ‘Emotional Encounters: Indigenous Peoples in the Dutch East India Company’s Interactions with the South Lands’, *Australian Historical Studies*, 45.3 (2014), 350–67.

In an important study, Matthew Boyd Goldie has examined the concept of the antipodes from Antiquity to the present, including the context of Pacific exploration. Goldie adopts a postcolonial approach using Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's notion of 'beside' to disrupt the binaries that have dominated the study of the idea of the antipodes, including notions of Europe's 'other' and centre-periphery models in a variety of texts including poetry, satire, drama, and medieval maps. He demonstrates the concept's dynamism, flexibility, and complexity, as well as its temporal implications, and cautions against reductive oppositional interpretations of its role in the imagination of place, habitation, and correspondences with the rest of the world in European literature. Although he does not consider the representation of the Aboriginal people of Bandaiyan specifically, a brief discussion of the trope of 'indigenous power' and fear of the monstrous in early seventeenth-century drama in *The Tempest* and *The Antipodes* raises the question of whether antipodes discourse allows any genuine perception of cultural difference aside from that which is imagined, a question at the heart of my analysis of purported metropolitan descriptions of Bandaiyan.¹⁰⁰

My thesis draws inspiration from the *Perceptions* volume and from the work of Eisler, Hiatt, Douglas, Sutton, and Goldie to investigate the specific intellectual and practical contexts which informed the seventeenth-century creation of a variety of poetic geographies of place that drew on representations of Bandaiyan and its peoples. It is important to keep in mind the kind of ambiguities at the meeting of empirical, theoretical, and imaginative geography highlighted by Goldie, because they caution against temptations to overgeneralize. Neither *Terra Australis* (whether *cognita* or *incognita*), nor *Hollandia Nova*, nor Australia can be considered monolithic conceptions; the seventeenth century produced a plethora of poetic geographies that need to be understood within the framework of the languages and cultures that created them. It is the overlaps between *Terra Australis Incognita*, *Hollandia Nova*, and Bandaiyan that I propose hold the key to readdressing the questions and problems regarding an

100 Matthew Boyd Goldie, *The Idea of the Antipodes: Place, People, and Voices* (London: Routledge, 2010), p. 78.

understanding of these entities, and some of the oversights and problematic discourses that arise from a narrow epistemological approach to geographical texts as records of 'discovery'.

Chapter Summaries

The opening chapter consists of a brief overview of the theorization of the southern hemisphere in European cosmography from Ancient Greece to the sixteenth century, indebted to the scholarship of John Gillies, Alfred Hiatt, and Denis Cosgrove. The aim is to delineate the most significant tropes and discursive uses of the early modern realization of the concept of the antipodes in the conjectural geography of *Terra Australis Incognita*, to provide an informed basis for the discussion in later chapters of how the idea of the antipodes and the poetic geography of *Terra Australis Incognita* were imbricated in the empirical geographical representations of Bandaiyan made in the seventeenth century. This chapter investigates the way in which sixteenth-century cosmographic practice reconfigured the classical discourse of the antipodes to the task of constructing knowledge about the vast unknown spaces of the southern hemisphere. I investigate the complexities of the representation of *terra incognita*, including its poetics, rhetoric, and utopian implications, and how *Terra Australis Incognita* was shaped in the cosmographical imagination as a site of future colonial possession and exploitation, supported by a doctrine of Christian universality and exceptionalism. The practices involved in the making and framing of a variety of maps are considered. This chapter concludes with a discussion of the imaginative projections of two Iberian 'discoverers' of *Terra Australis* at the turn of the seventeenth century.

Chapter 2 examines the role of poetic geography in shaping the imagination of places on the edge of, or beyond, the known world of the classical *oikoumene*, in three English plays written before evidence of Bandaiyan became widely available. Reading the plays against bishop Joseph Hall's anti-travel polemic *Quo Vadis?* (1617), I examine how these extra-metropolitan places are embodied in drama, and how indigenous power is imagined, conjured, and suppressed. In Christopher Marlowe's *Tamburlaine the Great* (1587–88), the hero reduces the peoples he conquers ruthlessly to a succession of exotic

place names from a map. Marlowe uses poetic geography to dramatize Tamburlaine's lust for conquest, but also to expose his hubris. The indigenous power of the antipodes escapes his desire to subjugate them, because he is trapped by the geographical knowledge of his time. John Fletcher removed some of the indigenous power that appeared in sources of *The Island Princess* (1619–20) by turning a Malukan prince into a Portuguese merchant adventurer, Armusia. The play redirects a scenario for miscegenation to a drama of conversion, which is resolved through the indigenous queen Quisara's submission to Christian conversion. Imagined indigenous power starts Richard Brome's *The Antipodes* (1640) in London, where it is a source of fear, frustrated desire, madness, satire, and hilarity. Peregrine's attitude to difference is positive at the start of the play but is a problem for his society; his 'cure' through an experience of the antipodes entails adopting an imperialist attitude to difference. As in the other two plays, indigenous power is finally controlled and suppressed.

Chapter 3 focuses on the observations of Bandaiyan recorded by European visitors, and the cultural, historical, and scientific nature of the interpretive lenses they used to describe their experiences. This provides a basis for evaluating the more elaborative representations of Bandaiyan and its peoples in the last two chapters, which borrowed some observations, knowledge, and interpretations from these records. Sources include manuscript journals and published voyage accounts. A combination of fear, fascination, and frustration enervates the accounts of attempts to describe the land and engage with Aboriginal people. These records are considered in the light of anthropological, archaeological, linguistic, and botanical evidence about the classical Aboriginal societies and landscapes that the visitors observed. I read across these accounts to perceive countersigns of Indigenous agency according to the method of Bronwen Douglas, and explore the extent to which observations of different peoples and places were interpreted to align with tropes of the poetic geography of *Terra Australis Incognita*, and whether the resulting representations might therefore be regarded as acts of discursive colonialism.

Chapter 4 considers the elaboration of observations and interpretations examined in Chapter 3 in cartographic texts, considering descriptions of Bandaiyan in maps, charts, coastal profiles, and illustrations produced in manuscript and print. Analysing these texts' codes of intra- and extrasignification, I question the extent to which the particularities of places and peoples were represented, and how tropes and rhetoric of *Terra Australis Incognita* were reinvoked as part of the dissemination of these representations in print. My analysis includes a consideration of the praxis, rhetoric, and politics of toponymy, and the use and distribution of geographical tropes, conventions, and signs. I attend to how these visualizations might have been used to make vast, little known spaces coherent. The chapter concludes with an examination of how the desire to see into the continent and possess it shaped manuscript charts and demonstrates the VOC's continuing interest in Bandaiyan.

The final chapter explores four utopian fictions set in *Terra Australis*: Henry Neville's *The Isle of Pines* (1668), Denis Vairasse's *The History of the Sevarambians* (1675–79), Gabriel de Foigny's *The Southland Known* (1676), and Hendrik Smeeks's *Description of the Mighty Kingdom of Krinke Kesmes* (1708). I examine how in the four works, observations and interpretations derived from mariners' accounts of Bandaiyan examined in Chapters 3 and 4 are combined with tropes of *Terra Australis Incognita* to adapt the framework and concerns of earlier utopias to ask new questions. By comparison with Thomas More's *Utopia* and Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis*, the later works created more complex landscapes and multiple journeys to the utopian city to convey the ideological structures of their alternative societies with a stronger sense of inhabited place. Finally, I consider the treatment of the Babel topos in the two works that make greatest use of observations derived from experiences of Bandaiyan, to consider the prescience of the dystopian elements of these works with respect to the future colonization of Bandaiyan.

Chapter 1:

Theory: The Poetic Geography of *Terra Australis Incognita*

How can human affairs seem significant to someone who comprehends all eternity and the vastness of everything.

CICERO¹⁰¹

This epigraph appears in authoritative Roman capitals, as though chiselled in stone, on a cartouche floating on clouds beneath one of the most iconic and widely disseminated early modern images of the world, the *Typus Orbis Terrarum*, first printed by Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598) in 1570 (Figure 1.01).¹⁰² This trope of humility, from Cicero's discursus on the passions in *Tusculan Disputations*, reminds the viewer that the world's materiality is as nothing compared to the timeless knowledge of God.¹⁰³ The text turns the world image into an emblem for virtuous behaviour.¹⁰⁴

Ortelius's quotation of a classical philosopher on the *Typus*, rather than a contemporary geographer or explorer, is a striking paradox for a work that is most often recognized for its contribution to the progress of geographical discourse. The book in which this map appears, the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, is generally described as the first modern atlas.¹⁰⁵ The *Theatrum* had an immense impact on early modern geographical

101 'Quid ei potest videri magnum in rebus humanis, cui aeternitas omnis, totiusque mundi nota sit magnitudo'. Translation by Rodney Shirley, 'The World Maps in the Theatrum', in *Abraham Ortelius and the First Atlas: Essays Commemorating the Quadricentennial of His Death, 1598–1998*, ed. by Marcel van den Broecke, Peter van der Krogt, and Peter Meurer (Antwerp: H&S: HES Publishers, 1998), pp. 171–183 (p. 183).

102 It was first published by Christophe Plantin, revised twice and was printed as both an atlas map and a standalone sheet. Marcel van den Broecke, *Ortelius Atlas Maps: An Illustrated Guide*, 2nd edn (Houten: HES & De Graaf Publishers, 2011), pp. 17–27.

103 Book IV, 37.

104 Lucia Nuti, 'The World Map as an Emblem: Abraham Ortelius and the Stoic Contemplation', *Imago Mundi*, 55.1 (2003), 38–55, observes that the text on Ortelius's map gives meaning to the image and invites the viewer to contemplate God's world.

105 The *Theatrum's* recognition as the first atlas is based on being the first in which the maps were selected and organized as part of a coherent plan, presented in a consistent visual style, and with a detailed explanation of their arrangement. For an introductory survey to many aspects of the atlas, see *Abraham Ortelius and the First Atlas: Essays Commemorating the*

representation following its first publication in 1570, continuing in circulation well into the seventeenth century in multiple languages and editions.¹⁰⁶ The quotation from Cicero indicates, however, that map reading was no mere epistemological exercise. In the Renaissance, the contemplation of geography and the earth's peoples from a distanced perspective was a virtue and a self-fashioning performance.¹⁰⁷ Ortelius invokes a much older practice of defining humanity's place in the cosmos.

John Gillies' concept of poetic geography furnishes a productive approach to understanding Ortelius's iconic image and its far-reaching reception. In *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference*, Gillies theorized a framework for interpreting artefacts of Renaissance cosmography, informed by an erudite apprehension of the classical and medieval roots of Renaissance culture.¹⁰⁸ Poetic geography may be regarded as Renaissance cosmography's combination of the science of geometrical space with a cultural, moral, and symbolic framework of the human cosmos. Gillies adopted the

Quadracentennial of His Death, 1598–1998, ed. by Marcel van den Broecke, Peter van der Krogt, and Peter Meurer (Antwerp: H&S: HES Publishers, 1998). However, the basis on which the *Theatrum* is regarded as the 'first' atlas has been questioned by Peter van der Krogt, 'The *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*: The First Atlas?', in *Abraham Ortelius and the First Atlas: Essays Commemorating the Quadracentennial of His Death 1598–1998*, ed. by Marcel van den Broecke, Peter van der Krogt, and Peter Meurer (Utrecht: HES Publishers, 1998), pp. 55–78. See also the introduction to the Latin edition, Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum (Antwerp 1570)*, ed. by R. A. Skelton (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1964). English translations quoted here are from the English edition of 1606, see Abraham Ortelius, *The Theatre of the Whole World*, ed. by R. A. Skelton (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1968).

106 By 1612, the single volume of fifty-three maps of the first Latin edition of 1570 had grown to two volumes of 159 regular maps, in addition to the forty-nine maps of the *Parergon* supplement, printed as a separate volume from 1595. The *Theatrum* was published in thirty-one editions in seven languages: Latin, German, French, Dutch, Italian, Spanish, and English. At least 7,300 copies are known to have been printed of which an estimated 1,600 copies are extant; see van den Broecke, *Ortelius Atlas Maps: An Illustrated Guide*, pp. 17–22.

107 See the discussion by Elisabeth Neumann, 'Imagining European Community on the Title Page of Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum (1570)*', *Word & Image*, 25.4 (2009), 427–42 (p. 430). Neumann identifies the conceptions underpinning Ortelius's tropes and symbolism, and points out that many writers in Ortelius' *album amicorum* contrasted his peaceful embrace of universal knowledge with the acquisitiveness of Spanish colonialism.

108 John Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

term from Giambattista Vico's *New Science* (1744),¹⁰⁹ and used it to explore the geographical imagination that shaped Elizabethan drama. He shows how playwrights such as Shakespeare and Marlowe staged the growing consciousness of human difference in the world, brought to light in the knowledge gathered by navigators such as Columbus and Vespucci, and resolved conflicts and anxieties about Europeans' place in a much larger universe than they had previously imagined. Gillies shows how this poetic geography, 'alive with human and dramaturgical meaning', shaped the staging of contemporary moral, cultural, political, and ideological questions of human experience.¹¹⁰

Renaissance cosmography's rich fusion of classical and contemporary knowledge, myth, and morality was characterized by paradoxes entailed in its attempt to reconcile the substantial contradictions between them. Gillies shows how Renaissance cosmographers found ways to reinscribe the 'new' Euclidean geography with symmetries and classically derived poetic harmonies, which reinvested the earth's random geomorphology with a moral, culturally relative, and symbolic cosmology based on classical and Christian principles.

Geographies such as Ortelius's are typically framed by decorative borders with classical motifs, such as the four elements, the four seasons, and the four winds.¹¹¹ Ortelius's *Typus* shows the five zones, a classical concept that has been recalibrated horizontally to the latitudes of the Equator, the tropics and the polar circles. A

109 Although Vico wrote more than a century after Shakespeare, his work brings together a coherent conception of pre-Enlightenment ideas about the history and geography of the world that has its roots in classical and Christian thought. Vico defined poetic geography as a 'property' of human nature whereby things newly observed or experienced are described in terms of familiar ones; see *The New Science of Giambattista Vico*, trans. by Thomas Goddard Bergin and Max Harold Fisch (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1948), p. 254 (ss. 741–742). Vico observed that the ancient Greeks defined their world (the *oikoumene*) according to what they knew of their own place. Greek colonies, for example, were named after existing places in Greece. Gillies, p. 5, noted that a key insight of Vico's was that the facts of classical geography were controlled by its imagination.

110 Gillies, p. 4.

111 Probably also important in perpetuating these generic forms were the material conditions of printing maps of a three-dimensional globe in two dimensions on a rectangular page.

ubiquitous trope was the four continents (Europe, Asia, Africa, America). These were much more than convenient sets of four or five; they were invested with moral and cosmological significance. Gillies proposes three reasons why the four-continent system, for instance, took hold as an idea, despite bearing little relationship to geomorphology. It possessed the prestige of ancient precedent, the classical idea of the four corners of the earth, and gave Europe its own identity, as racially and culturally superior to other peoples.¹¹² The elements, seasons, winds, and continents were typically represented anthropomorphically in ways that reflected a Eurocentric understanding and experience of the earth and its climates. This iconography's moral foundation was based in neo-Stoic Christian values.

Cicero supposedly wrote *Tusculan Disputations* at his villa in Tusculum, in 45 BCE. This retreat in the mountains, away from the business life (*negotium*) of Rome, enabled Cicero and his fellow philosophers to indulge in the leisure of philosophical and moral reflection on the world (*otium*). Ortelius's emblem invokes the *theatrum mundi* topos, the earth as 'a cause for moral reflection',¹¹³ which was also the source for the motto of Shakespeare's Globe theatre.¹¹⁴ The theatre was the cosmos, comprising *mundus* (the world of human affairs performed on the stage) and *auditorium* (the audience conceived as viewing the stage from the heavens, like God).¹¹⁵

Right above Cicero's quotation is another paradoxical feature of Ortelius's world image. Much of the geography of the *Typus* is familiar today, even if South America appears misshapen. The exception is the huge theoretical southern continent. This conjecture, which Ortelius took from Gerard Mercator, dominates the southern portion of the *Typus*, providing a huge southern 'frame' of land for the more northerly

112 Gillies, p. 162.

113 See Denis Cosgrove, 'Globalism and Tolerance in Early Modern Geography', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 93.4 (2003), 852–70 (p. 862).

114 Gillies, p. 76: 'Totus mundus agit histrionem' ('all the world is a stage and everyone playing their part'). Gillies notes that the *theatrum mundi* topos can be traced to the twelfth-century humanist John of Salisbury.

115 Gillies, pp. 76–79.

continents. The *Typus* was a powerful vehicle for conveying this visualization of *Terra Australis Incognita* to early modern Europe. Ortelius adapted its name slightly, adding one significant word to highlight the most important ideological meaning attached to it. *Terra australis nondum cognita* ('the south land *not yet known*') marks it as a land in the process of being 'discovered', a space of future promise, beckoning and stimulating the commercial and colonial desires of European imperialism.¹¹⁶

The position of Cicero's quotation beneath *Terra Australis Incognita* incorporates the southern continent into the discourse of Cicero's *otium*, and hence connects it to the associated topos of the *theatrum mundi*. *Terra Australis* comes to share tropes of other sites of *otium* such as the Vale of Tempe, which appears in the *Parergon*, the historical appendix to the *Theatrum* (Figure 1.02).¹¹⁷ Ortelius engraved the image of Tempe himself, indicating the importance he attached to it. Heylyn's decision to place utopias and fables in *Terra Australis* in his *Cosmographie* responds to this use of *Terra Australis* in cosmographic discourse.¹¹⁸ Tempe, Tusculum, and *Terra Australis* are all joined as blessed places of utopian *otium*.

Ortelius's scholarly representation according to Euclidean principles of the latest knowledge of geomorphology gathered by mariners over the previous century was significant, but his decision to support the *Typus* on the twin 'pedestal' of the moral quotation from Cicero and the theoretical form of *Terra Australis Incognita*, might seem surprising from the innovator of the first systematic atlas.

Gillies explains that the model of the world in ancient Greek geography was based on omphalos and periphery. The female principle, Hestia, at the centre or hearth, was also represented by the Greek city-state. The male principle, Hermes, wandered between

116 Alfred Hiatt, *Terra Incognita: Mapping the Antipodes before 1600* (London: British Library, 2008), p. 217.

117 Tine Meganck, *Erudite Eyes: Friendship, Art and Erudition in the Network of Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598)*, *Studies in Netherlandish Art and Cultural History*, 14 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. 188–90. According to van den Broecke, *Ortelius Atlas Maps: An Illustrated Guide*, it was included in the *Parergon* from 1590.

118 Peter Heylyn, *An Appendix to Cosmographie* (London, 1652).

the hearth and the outer boundary of the *orbis terrarum*, the *eschatia* or wastelands, at the edge of the *oikoumene* ('home world'). These extremes were the places of *thoma* ('wonders'), both the 'fairest blessings' and the greatest dangers. This was also the location of the antipodes.¹¹⁹ In the Renaissance, this centre–periphery model was replaced with a horizontal–vertical model more suitable to Euclidean geometry.

Renaissance poetic geography also had rhetorical and pedagogical functions, as shown by Ortelius's choice of 'theatre' to define his atlas. The original meaning of *theatrum* was a 'viewing place'. Physicians used amphitheatres for the teaching of anatomy. Theatres for dramatic performances were expected to impart moral instruction to the audience. Publishers commonly used the term *theatrum* in the late sixteenth century for books that offered a systematic or comprehensive survey of knowledge on a subject.¹²⁰ Ortelius outlined the pedagogical purpose of his *Theatrum* in the preface:

these *Chartes* being placed, as it were certaine glasses before our eyes, will the longer be kept in memory, and make the deeper impression in us: ... the reading of *Histories* doeth both seeme to be much more pleasant, and in deed so it is, when the *Mappe* being layed before our eyes, we may behold things done, or places where they were done, as if they were at this time present and in doing.¹²¹

Ortelius invokes the three aims of Ciceronian rhetoric: to teach (*docere*), delight (*delectare*), and persuade (*permovere*).¹²² The iconographic and decorative scheme of the maps was designed to make understanding of their content 'more pleasant', which also helped maintain their geographical and historical knowledge in the memory. In placing events before the reader's eyes 'as if they were at this time present and in

119 Gillies, pp. 5–8.

120 Ann Blair, *The Theater of Nature: Jean Bodin and Renaissance Science* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp. 7–8. Examples include Pierre Boiastuau's *Le théâtre du monde, où il est fait un ample discours des misères humaines* (Paris, 1561). Jean Bodin's *Universae Naturae Theatrum*, (1596), and J. J. Boissard's *Theatrum Vitae Humanae* (1596).

121 Ortelius, *The Theatre of the Whole World*, ed. by Skelton, Preface.

122 *De optimo genere oratorum* I. 3: 'Docere debitum est, delectare honorarium, permovere necessarium.' See Donald Lemen Clark, *Rhetoric and Poetry in the Renaissance: A Study of Rhetorical Terms in English Renaissance Literary Criticism*, eBook edition (Project Gutenberg eBook, 2003), n. 316.

doing', the map viewer is asked actively to observe events on the stage of the map.¹²³ Spectating was embodied and performative in early modern Europe. Dutch treatises on painting taught both the artist and art connoisseur to become physically and emotionally involved with the artwork in a form of kinaesthetic empathy that entailed suspending knowledge of the artwork as representation.¹²⁴ The artist's objective was informed by Horace's dictum from the *Ars Poetica*, 'if you want me to cry, mourn first yourself'.¹²⁵ This principle pertained to painting principally, according to the Horatian trope of *ut pictura poesis*,¹²⁶ but since Alpers showed that 'maps were considered a kind of picture' in the seventeenth century, it is reasonable to suppose that a similar performative response was expected of map viewers.¹²⁷

123 This also invokes the tradition of melancholy as the humour associated with the study of knowledge, see Anne S. Chapple, 'Robert Burton's Geography of Melancholy', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 33.1 (1993), 99–130. As Christopher Wild observes, 'the inscription of time into space results in the appearance of timelessness', a timelessness associated with meditation on the earth from above like Scipio as in death. See Christopher Wild, 'Cartography and the Melancholic Self', in *Space and Self in Early Modern European Cultures* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), pp. 239–257.

124 Herman Roodenberg, 'The Visceral Pleasures of Looking: On Iconology, Anthropology and the Neurosciences', in *New Perspectives in Iconology: Visual Studies and Anthropology*, ed. by Barbara Baert, Ann-Sophie Lehman, and Jenke van den Akkerveken (ASP - Academic & Scientific Publishers, 2013).

125 'si vis me flere, dolendum est primum ipsi tibi'; quoted by Roodenberg, p. 221.

126 'in painting as in poetry' (*Ars poetica*, l. 361). Thijs Weststeijn, *The Visible World: Samuel van Hoogstraten's Art Theory and the Legitimation of Painting in the Dutch Golden Age*, trans. by Beverley Jackson and Lynne Richards, Amsterdam Studies in the Dutch Golden Age (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008), p. 156, found that descriptions of emotional responses to paintings were common. They could be either positive or negative; the viewer might be filled with 'inexpressible joy' or a kind of terror that made them 'turn pale'.

127 Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), pp. 51–96.

Text was equally important as cartography and illustration in Ortelius's scheme.¹²⁸

Ortelius expanded the use of text greatly compared to earlier map collection, adding detailed texts on the verso of each map to provide 'a declaration and Historical discourse of every Mappe',¹²⁹ which included a range of detail about the peoples, history, and other creatures of the lands described cartographically.¹³⁰

Renaissance poetic geography was about more than geographical information, it was a source of guidance on moral and emotional questions of personal and cosmic significance. Its aim was to harmonize classical authority with new data, and reframe knowledge in accordance with a Christian conception of space and time inherited from the medieval period. After a brief survey of some critical principles of classical geography, I will return to other examples of the expression of this poetic geography in *Terra Australis Incognita*.

Ancient and Medieval Geography

The space of the southern hemisphere was a theoretical abstract for much of recorded European history. From ancient Greece to the late fifteenth century, it was an extreme beyond which no traveller from the countries of Europe had ever been. It was less remote than the moon, yet more completely unknown, since knowledge of it was beyond sight and limited to speculation and theory. Since geometry had surmised its existence, mythical beings and monsters were created in narrative and imagination to

128 Ptolemaic cartographic method is also based on survey by triangulation, as formulated in the early modern period by Reiner Gemma Frisius, Peter Apian, and Willebrord Snellius. See Uta Lindgren, 'Land Surveys, Instruments, and Practitioners in the Renaissance', in *Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed. by David Woodward, *The History of Cartography*, 6 vols (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), III, 477–508. See also the discussion of the 'trinities' involved in early modern map production—measurement by number, visualization in image, and narrativization in text—in Bernhard Klein, *Maps and the Writing of Space in Early Modern England and Ireland* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2001), pp. 3–5.

129 Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Antwerp 1570), p. vii.

130 Despite the importance of these texts as part of Ortelius's overall conception of the *Theatrum*, they have received minimal scholarly attention, according to Marcel van den Broecke, 'The Significance of Language: The Texts on the Verso of the Maps in Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*', *Imago Mundi*, 60.2 (2008), 202–10.

inhabit the space: in geometrical and mythical thought, the antipodes represented the diametrical opposite of the known earth.

Ancient Greek geographers are credited with calculating the size of the earth relatively accurately, determining that it was a sphere, and devising a theory of five horizontal climatic zones or bands: a frigid zone at each pole, a torrid (hot) zone in a band around the equator, and northern and southern temperate zones in between. Only the temperate zones were thought to be inhabited. Discourse of these ideas is recorded from around 200 BCE. In a commentary on Homer, Crates of Mallos (fl. c. 150 BCE) proposed the existence of different worlds: the *oikoumene*, the world known to the Greeks (from *οικος*, 'dwelling'), an *antoikoumene* to the south of it, a *perioikoumene* to the north, and the *antipodes* (alternatively, the *antikthones*) on the opposite side of the earth in the southern hemisphere.¹³¹ In this schema, all places south of civilization were associated to the known homeland through opposition or 'anti-ness'.

The medieval European reception of these ideas was transmitted via copies of a commentary on Cicero's 'The Dream of Scipio' (*Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*) by Macrobius Ambrosius Theodosius, who lived in the fifth century. An episode from Cicero's *De re publica* (c. 54–51 BCE), this text borrowed tropes from the 'myth of Er' in Plato's *Republic*, and hence is a source for the utopian tradition. Scipio is a Roman soldier, whose grandfather takes him to the heavens in a dream to discuss the moral significance of the earth. Scipio becomes aware of the smallness of the Roman Empire when seen in the context of the whole earth below him, and the most distant antipodes. Cicero's story countered the panegyric for the emperor Augustus in the Alexandran tradition, which defined the power of Roman imperium: 'To all other people fixed boundaries are set in the world; for Rome the bounds of city and globe are one'.¹³² Thus the antipodes became a trope of satire on power and its limits, as well as part of a

131 Alfred Hiatt, 'Terra Australis and the Idea of the Antipodes', in *European Perceptions of Terra Australis*, ed. by Anne M. Scott and others (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 9–43.

132 'Gentibus est aliis tellus data limite certo, Romanai spacium est urbis & orbis idem.' Quoted by Cosgrove, p. 857.

tradition of defining the borders of the state with reference to the 'other'.¹³³ America had never existed in the European imagination until the realization that the places Columbus and Vespucci had landed were not Asia, or India, but a previously unsuspected continent. Yet, long before European navigators ever identified land in the southern hemisphere, it was already a satirical topos.

Macrobius's commentary was also important in transmitting ancient geographical knowledge to the modern era, including the notion of the antipodes. A ninth- or tenth-century French copy (Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, MS 10146, fol. 109v.) includes a schematic map of the world on which the antipodes and the five climatic zones appear (Figure 1.03). The temperate southern zone is marked as inhabited with antipodes: *Temperata Australis Antipoduos*. The southern frigid zone is uninhabited (*Frigida australis inhabitabilis*).¹³⁴

The Macrobian tradition conflicted with that of St Augustine of Hippo (354–430 CE) circulating at the same time. For Augustine, the existence of antipodes constituted a doctrinal problem. Orthodox Christian theology held that all of humanity was descended from Adam and Eve. After the Flood, Noah's three sons Japheth, Shem, and Ham dispersed and populated the different parts of the world: Japheth went to Greece and Europe; Shem to Islamic lands; and Ham to Africa and parts of Asia. Augustine therefore reasoned that the antipodes must be uninhabited. The popular *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville transmitted both ideas in different parts of the text: that the antipodes could not exist, and that they belonged to the races of monsters of the south located in the torrid zone at the furthest reaches of Africa.¹³⁵

133 Hiatt, 'Terra Australis and the Idea of the Antipodes', p. 20.

134 Alfred Hiatt, 'The Map of Macrobius before 1100', *Imago Mundi*, 59.2 (2007), 149–76.

135 *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, trans. by Stephen A. Barney and others (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), IX. ii. 133; XI. iii. 24; XIV. v. 17. See comment by John Williams, 'Isidore, Orosius and the Beatus Map', *Imago Mundi*, 49 (1997), 7–32 (p. 21).

Christopher Columbus died thinking he had sailed to Asia, but Amerigo Vespucci announced that he had not only reached the antipodes but that it was inhabited.¹³⁶ The significance of this finding for Christian cosmology was less the identification of more land; that had always been supposed. It raised the theological and cosmological problem of where the inhabitants of these lands had come from and what relation they had to Christians.

When Vespucci put pen to paper to describe and comment on what he had observed, he reached for two kinds of extratextual support for his extraordinary claims. First, to address the orthodoxy that the antipodes were uninhabited, he did not quote Augustine, avoiding a direct contradiction with the Church. Instead he cited 'ancient writers' as authorities for this notion. Second, he turned to poetic geography to explain the existence of other previously unknown humans (*Figure 1.04*). He wrote: 'we occupy the perpendicular line, they occupy the base, and the hypotenuse stretches from our [vertex] to their vertex'.¹³⁷ Although Vespucci knew that there is no difference in geometry between a line drawn perpendicular to the earth at any point on the globe, he defined two lines that are the same in geometrical terms differently. Vespucci's perpendicular line refers to 'We' (*Nos*), that is, the people of the *oikoumene* who stand 'upright' under the heavens, where the heavens are envisioned as lying above the north pole.¹³⁸ His baseline refers 'They' (*Illi*), in the antipodes, in geometrical terms, the line of the equator below which lie the antipodes as on medieval maps. The

136 Hiatt, *Mapping the Antipodes*, p. 193 (and n. 27).

137 Hiatt, *Mapping the Antipodes*, p. 196, *Figure 30*. Amerigo Vespucci, *The Letters of Amerigo Vespucci and Other Documents Illustrative of His Career*, ed. & trans. by Clements Markham (London: Hakluyt Society, 1894), p. 51: 'a perpendicular line, while we stand upright, if suspended from a point of the heavens exactly vertical, hangs over our heads; but it hangs over them sideways. Thus, while we are on a right line, they are on a transverse line. An orthogonal triangle is thus formed, of which we have the right line, but the base and hypotenuse to them seems the vertical line, as in this figure it will appear. This will suffice as regards cosmography.' Note that in Vespucci's letter on his first voyage to Soderini (ed. and trans. by Markham, p. 3), he appears, contradictorily, to cite Dante as a source for the idea that 'this Ocean Sea was without inhabitants'.

138 The habit of orienting geographical maps with north at the top of the sheet gradually became standardized during the Renaissance, replacing the medieval practice of siting east (the location of Paradise) at the top.

hypotenuse crosses the arc of his voyage south, 'which covered a quarter of the world'.¹³⁹ Not only does Vespucci allocate relative labels to the people of the *oikoumene* ('we') and the antipodes ('they'), in a way which creates a common identity of his northern audience in contradistinction to a common southern 'they', the hypotenuse and relation between the two lines creates a poetic geographical conception of this relationship. The antipodes *eschatia* is defined as skewed — 'the base', the side, 'transverse' — in relation to the familiar *oikoumene*, the upright standing 'we' under the heavens. The description of the antipodes as 'the base' and 'transverse' echo its shape and position on quadripartite forms of medieval *mappaemundi* (also known as the Beatus maps). These show a fourth continent as a part-disc filling the southern quarter of the earth (*Figure 1.05*).¹⁴⁰ This idea of a continent enveloping the southern edge of the world is one of the oldest and most long-lasting of geographical conceptions, one that was adopted by Renaissance cosmographers, translated into Euclidean form as *Terra Australis Incognita*. This use of relative terms was productive for associating different moral values to the peoples of the two hemispheres.

Vespucci's poetic geography perpetuates a medieval idea of the antipodes, even as he refutes the Augustinian notion that the south is unpopulated, and revises European knowledge of the world using an apparently objective geometrical frame. Hiatt observes that Vespucci's diagram asks his (*oikoumene*) reader to see the world from the perspective of the antipodes, although the use of 'we' and 'they' 'does not entail a shift of identity'.¹⁴¹ To extend Hiatt's point further, Vespucci's use of geometry is poetic: he glosses the geometrical figure with relative labels, endowing it with a moral significance it would not otherwise have.

139 Quoted by Hiatt, *Mapping the Antipodes*, p. 193.

140 David Woodward, 'Medieval Mappaemundi', in *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, ed. by J. B. Harley and David Woodward, *The History of Cartography*, 6 vols (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), I, 286–370 (pp. 296–7), discusses the differences between tripartite (T-O), quadripartite (Beatus), and zonal *mappaemundi*. On the transmission of the Beatus map tradition, see Williams, *op cit*, 'Isidore, Orosius and the Beatus Map'.

141 Hiatt, *Mapping the Antipodes*, p. 193.

The Renaissance Cosmography of *Terra Australis Incognita*

The medium for dissemination, reflection, and discussion of Vespucci's finding was geographical discourse. During the Renaissance, the study of geography increasingly made use of cartography to visualize geographical knowledge in the form of a map. Although manuscript maps such as *mappae mundi* had been an important part of medieval literacy, and portolan charts had long been used in navigation, the advent of printing and the rapid increase in geographical knowledge during the Renaissance provided both the motive and the means to disseminate an ever growing corpus of rapidly changing geographical knowledge. What made Renaissance maps different from medieval ones was their geometrical foundation.

Renaissance geographical discourse began with the translation of the *Geographia* of Claudius Ptolemy (c. 100–c. 170 CE), and his recommendations for the graphic representation of the earth. The *Geographia* was first translated into Latin by Jacopo Angeli in 1409. This edition had no cartographical maps. One of the first extant attempts to represent the earth using the Ptolemaic method was the so-called Ulm copy of Ptolemy's *Geography* of 1482 (*Figure 1.06*).

This map is one of the first world maps to depict a southern continent, and convert the idea of the antipodes into a Euclidean geographical form. Two-thirds of the southern hemisphere is elided from the map: everything south of 25°S disappears below the bottom frame. However, a huge southern continent is implied, but depicted only in part, by the coastline that runs from southern Africa across the southern edge of the Indian Ocean (*mare Indicum*) to join up with Asia in the east. It is labelled '*Terra incognita secundu[m] Ptholomeu[m]*' ('Unknown land according to Ptolemy') (*Figure 1.06a*). This citation credits Ptolemy with the introduction of *Terra Australis Incognita* into modern geographical discourse. Ptolemy had referred to 'an unknown land which surrounds the Indian Ocean'.¹⁴²

142 Günter Schilder, *Australia Unveiled: The Share of the Dutch Navigators in the Discovery of Australia*, trans. by Olaf Richter (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1976), p. 23, n. 7 and p. 11 (plate 1).

The notion of *Terra Australis Incognita* was not universal nor inevitable—indeed the earlier Fra Mauro map (1448–1453) had rejected both Ptolemaic notions (of *Terra Australis* and the idea of an earth-bound Indian Ocean). However, Ptolemy was regarded as the most important geographical authority, so that the notion of *Terra Australis* gained credibility through him.

The description on the Ulm Ptolemy of land that was unknown set an important precedent for Renaissance geographers. The notion of a bounded Indian Ocean also seems to have found modified expression in the expectation found in a variety of geographical and other texts that other mediterranean seas existed in other parts of the world, ideas implicit in Johann Schöner's geography discussed below.

The next shift in geographic depiction came with the 1507 world map attributed to Martin Waldseemüller (c. 1470–1520). This map, famous as the first to apply the name of America to the continent west of Europe, dealt with the problem of *Terra Australis* differently (Figure 1.07). Waldseemüller was one of the first early modern editors of Ptolemy. He collaborated with other cosmographers at St. Dié in the Vosges mountains (the so-called *gymnasium vosagense*) in the early sixteenth century. Their strategy was threefold: (1) to correct the text of Ptolemy's *Geography* according to older Greek manuscripts; (2) to supplement Ptolemy with data from contemporary navigators' accounts, in particular, from Vespucci's voyages; and (3) to produce new maps.¹⁴³ This practice epitomizes the geography of the humanist tradition, which through translation, revision, commentary, and supplementation, aimed to achieve a harmonization between early modern geographical knowledge and the knowledge inherited from classical sources such as Ptolemy. Renaissance cosmographers' aim was to improve an essentially correct overall vision of the universe.¹⁴⁴

143 Hiatt, *Mapping the Antipodes*, pp. 187–8.

144 For a recent study and translation of the map texts, see Martin Waldseemüller, *The Naming of America: Martin Waldseemüller's 1507 World Map and the 'Cosmographiae Introductio'*, ed. & trans. by John W. Hessler, 2008.

Typical of many maps printed on a two-dimensional rectangular surface, the projection of this map creates the need for two frames: the outer one as a border for the overall representation, and the inner one to frame the cartography. The windheads sit in the paradoxical gap between the map's outer frame and the cordiform frame of the earth. Unique among the twelve windheads, *Septentrio*, the north wind, looks directly at the map viewer, who is also positioned in this paradoxical space of Scipio above the earth. *Septentrio* is the point of maximum authority for the whole composition. It anchors the entire geometrical order of the earth at the north pole in the top centre of the composition. Directly above is a reversed twin-hemisphere map, flanked by the two most important authorities on which Waldseemüller relied for his cartographic description: Ptolemy, on the 'right hand' of *Septentrio*, beside the hemisphere showing the classically known world of Europe, Asia, and Africa; and Vespucci on the left, beside the western hemisphere. Their images represent the twin authorities of Renaissance geography. The map's frame is authorized by direct illustrative, labelled references to the authorities from which the knowledge conveyed on the map is derived. Text, illustration, and cartography combine and support each other.

This map does not depict a *Terra Australis*, although the authors did not shy from using the label *terra incognita* on maps of the Americas.¹⁴⁵ It would be an overinterpretation, however, to conclude on this basis, as some have, that the *gymnasium vosagense* did not believe in the notion of *Terra Australis*. As on the Ulm Ptolemy, much of the southern hemisphere is elided, with the southern frame of the 1507 map drawn at 40°S. This has the effect of not contradicting the image of the Ptolemaic map, while also not committing the cartographers to representing space about which they had no knowledge. Unlike America, for which they could make some conjectures about the shape of the east coast from a number of voyage accounts, they had much less certain information about the southern continent. The claims in the Vespucci corpus that he

145 The western regions of South America are labelled 'TERRA VLTRA INCOGNITA' and the western regions of North America 'TERRA VLTERI[US] INCOGNITA'.

sailed there are contradictory.¹⁴⁶ That a deliberate strategy to avoid representing *Terra Australis Incognita* might be involved is suggested by a later map attributed to Waldseemüller, in which the western and eastern frames are compressed to avoid having to represent the unknown western coasts of the Americas, although it might also suggest that Waldseemüller reverted to an earlier view that North America was contiguous with Asia. The most likely conclusion is that he avoided taking a view on a question that was unresolved if he could.

Despite Waldseemüller's reticence, *Terra Australis Incognita* gained prominence in the sixteenth century. It is impossible to elide space on a globe as on a map, so it is perhaps no coincidence that one of the first to speculate most creatively about the shape of *Terra Australis Incognita* was Johann Schöner, a globe maker and mathematician from Nuremberg. Schöner drew on information from contemporary voyage accounts as well as ancient authorities such as Pliny and Ptolemy. On his earliest extant globe of 1515, Schöner depicted a southern continent in the form of a ring of irregularly shaped lands surrounding the south pole, dotted with a number of long lakes (*Figure 1.08*). This southern continent is similar to that of the *Globe vert* (c. 1515), once believed to have been made by Schöner himself or his school.¹⁴⁷ Schöner went on to experiment with different forms of the southern continent on later globes.¹⁴⁸

146 For a brief summary of the textual problems of the Vespucci corpus, see Hiatt, *Mapping the Antipodes*, pp. 191–2. Hiatt states that Vespucci probably made two voyages, not four, as claimed in the texts: one for the crown of Castile in 1499–1500 and one for Portugal in 1501–2.

147 Monique Pelletier, 'Le Globe vert et l'oeuvre cosmographique du Gymnase vosgien', *Bulletin du Comité Français de Cartographie*, 163, 2000, 17–31, has attributed the *Globe vert* instead to the Vosges school of which Waldseemüller was a member, on account of similarities in the presentation of African and American details. However, Chet van Duzer, 'Johann Schöner's Globe of 1515: Transcription and Study', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 100.5 (2010), i–vi, 1–217, has questioned Pelletier's revised attribution, and believes the *Globe vert* is independent of both the Vosges school and Schöner. Hiatt, *Mapping the Antipodes*, p. 205, states that the *Globe vert* 'may be the earliest surviving representation of a large-scale Antarctic landmass on a European globe'.

148 Franz Wieser, *Magalhães-Strasse und Austral Continent auf den Globen des Johannes Schöner* (Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagner'schen Universitaets-Buchhandlung, 1881).

There are similarities in the shapes, positions, and names of the islands of the Southeast Asian archipelago on the 1507 *gymnasium vosagense* map and Schöner's 1515 and 1520 globes. In particular, the islands extend a long way south of the equator, with the south coast of Java Minor at around 40°S on all three (Java in fact lies at around 7°S and Tasmania at roughly 41°–43°S). The north coast of Schöner's southern continent stretches north almost to 40°S. Hence, if the *gymnasium vosagense* shared Schöner's idea about the location of the southern continent, that might explain why they cut off their map at 40°S, to avoid devising a completely speculative shape.

Seeing the new in terms of the familiar, a characteristic of poetic geography, was fundamental to Renaissance cosmography, and Schöner makes explicit how this informs his speculation about the southern continent. The southern continent on his 1515 globe, which he named *Brasilie regio*, is shown as a hook shaped landmass south of (south) America and extending west to the islands of southeast Asia. As a result, Schöner appears to have described the Strait of Magellan before Magellan saw it in 1520.¹⁴⁹ In *Luculentissima quaedam terrae totius descriptio*, the treatise which accompanied his 1515 globe, Schöner wrote:

The Region of Brasil. From the Cape of Good Hope (which the Italians call the *Capo di bona speranza*) it is not distant. The Portuguese explored this region and found the strait it [*sic*] to be similar to [that] of our Europe (where we reside), and that it is situated laterally between east and west. From one side the land on the other side is visible, and the cape of this region is about 60 miles [distant], much as if one were sailing east through the Strait of Gibraltar or Seville and would see Barbary (that is, Mauritania) in Africa—as our globe shows near the South Pole.¹⁵⁰

149 According to van Duzer, 'Johann Schöner's Globe of 1515: Transcription and Study', pp. 102–3, the placement of 'Brazil' on the southern continent and the description of the strait are the result of a misreading of a news report of an expedition by two Portuguese ships, *Copia der Newen Zeytung auß Presillg Landt* (Augsburg c. 1514).

150 Latin transcription and English translation from van Duzer, 'Johann Schöner's Globe of 1515: Transcription and Study', pp. 108–9. 'Brasiliae Regio. A capite bonae spei (quod Itali Capo de bona speranza vocibant) parum distat. Circumnavigarunt itaque Portugalienses eam regionem: & comperierunt ilium transitum fere conformem nostrae Europae (quam nos incolimus) & lateraliter infra orientem & occidentem situm. Ex altero insuper latere etiam terra visa est: & penes caput huius regionis circa miliaria .60. eo videlicet modo: ac si quis nauigaret orientem versus: & transitum siue strictum Gibel terrae aut Sibiliae nauigaret: & Barbariam: hoc est: Mauritantiam in Aphrica intueretur: vt ostendet Globus noster versus

Schöner's poetic geography gives him the power to perceive and describe the unknown in terms of the familiar. The strait at the southern tip of America is similar to the strait between Gibraltar and Africa, which opens laterally into the Atlantic Ocean. According to this deduction, a southern continent is therefore necessary (confirming Ptolemy) to sit opposite America as Africa sits opposite Europe. The curious role of the Cape of Good Hope in this description seems to act as a central anchor point. That it is not distant from the *Brasilie regio* suggests that the southern continent stretches not only beneath America but also beneath Africa, as Mercator was later to show it. As a result, the southern continent is perceived to form a coast opposite the *oikoumene*, enclosing the northern continents across a mediterranean sea with narrow 'Pillars of Hercules' at the southern tip of America. This perception modifies the bounded Indian Ocean of the Ptolemaic map following the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope, to reach a 'harmonization' of Ptolemy with medieval maps of a semicircular continental antipodes, as in some versions of Macrobius. Van Duzer has shown that Schöner was influenced by medieval cartography, for example, by the medieval reception of Pliny, Solinus, and Orosius.¹⁵¹

On his 1533 globe, Schöner greatly modified the shape of the southern continent (*Figure 1.09*). Its shape closely resembles that of Oronce Finé's 1531 map (*Figure 1.10*). Schöner was unable to shake off the idea that India (Asia) and America are the same. He labels (south) America as: 'America, Indiae superioris et Asiae continentis pars' ('AMERICA: part of the continent of Asia and upper India'). Meanwhile the south polar continent has acquired the name 'TERRA AUSTRALIS: recenter inventa sed nondum plane cognita' ('South Land, recently found but not yet fully known').

Mercator's *Terra Australis Incognita*

The earliest extant record of the unknown southern continent published by Gerardus Mercator (1512–1594) is found on his world map of 1538, which was similar to that on

polum Antarcticum (*Luculentissima*, fols. 61r–61v).

151 van Duzer, 'Johann Schöner's Globe of 1515: Transcription and Study', p. 102.

Finé's map of 1531 and Schöner's globe of 1533. The method of Mercator's complex refinement of the shape of *Terra Australis Incognita* was humanist. First, he respected the knowledge of the ancients, in particular, Ptolemy and Pliny the Elder, and second, he aimed to harmonize that knowledge with the accounts of contemporary geographers, including Schöner and Finé, and voyagers.¹⁵² As King has argued, Mercator's method was to achieve the best synthesis of the best authorities of ancient, medieval, and early modern geographical knowledge.¹⁵³ For Mercator, the evidence of Ptolemy and Polo was as valid as that of his contemporaries. In this, Mercator adopted the standard practice of cartographers of his day.

Mercator's globe gores printed in 1541 show the development of his thinking about the southern continent since his 1538 map.¹⁵⁴ Here appears for the first time Mercator's distinctive promontory of *Beach* (Figure 1.11). Van Duzer believes that this is the earliest depiction of a substantial land mass stretching north towards Java. The Dieppe cartographers of the 1540s also described a promontory of the southern continent, which they called *Jave la Grande*, projecting northwards towards Java. An example is the 1643 map by Guillaume Brouscon (Figure 1.12). Van Duzer argues that the Dieppe cartographers were influenced by Mercator,¹⁵⁵ but King disagrees, stating that both Mercator and the Dieppe cartographers were independently influenced by Oronce Finé. King states that Mercator's method was to identify *Regio Patalis* with Marco Polo's *Beach*, whereas the Dieppe cartographers identified Java Major with *Regio Patalis*, citing as evidence the fact that '*Terra Java* in the c. 1547 Vallard Atlas is inscribed with the name *patallis* (Patalis)'.¹⁵⁶ A less detailed manuscript map by Jean Mallard (c. 1538–39) also a north-projecting promontory reaching beyond the Tropic of Capricorn, which is

152 For an accessible and well researched study of Mercator's life and work, see Nicholas Crane, *Mercator: The Man Who Mapped the Planet* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2002).

153 Robert J. King, 'Marco Polo's Java and Locach on Mercator's World Maps of 1538 and 1569, and Globe of 1541', *The Globe*, 81 (2017), 41–61.

154 For a good analysis of Mercator's construction of *Terra Australis Incognita*, see King, 'Marco Polo's Java', 'Marco Polo's Java'.

155 Chet van Duzer, *The World for a King: Pierre Desceliers' Map of 1550* (London: The British Library, 2015), p. 63.

156 King, 'Marco Polo's Java', p. 42.

called *La Gatigare* after Pliny's Catigara.¹⁵⁷ Perhaps it was the lack of toponymic detail on Mallard's map that made it less suitable as a model for Mercator and the Dieppe cosmographers, although the latter used a similar shape for their *Jave la Grande* promontory.

It is necessary to ask why both Mercator and the Dieppe cartographers extended Finé's and Schöner's promontory of *Regio Patalis* so close to Java. Both Schöner's and Finé's *Regio Patalis* reaches to about 25°S with a large gap of sea between its north coast and the islands of Southeast Asia, which reach no further south than about 15°S. By contrast, Mercator's *Beach* promontory reaches around 17°S making a narrow strait opposite the south coast of Java, which at that time remained uncharted by European navigators; while *Jave la Grande* is separated from the south coast of Java by a strait that appears no wider than a river. Why did cosmographers in the 1540s draw this conjectural (*Regio Patalis*) promontory of *Terra Australis* so close to the islands of Southeast Asia? King attributes the narrow strait between the two Javas on the Dieppe maps to Pigafetta's report that when in Timor he was told that 'the lesser Java was the isle of Madura and half a league near to Greater Java'.¹⁵⁸ Mercator maintains the position (if not the shape) of Schöner's two Javas, but locates the Beach promontory between them making straits on either side of it.

Another possible explanation is the poetic geography expressed by Schöner's statement about the southern continent mirroring the position of Africa opposite Europe. Mercator achieves a harmony between Pigafetta, Marco Polo, and Schöner.

A third possibility is that Portuguese, Spanish, French, and Dutch voyagers to Asia heard reports about the existence of a continent to the south of the Indonesian archipelago from local pilots and traders in the region, although the evidence for this hypothesis is inconclusive. The earliest datable evidence of Macassan contacts with

157 John Hewitt, 'Jean Mallard's World Map (ca.1538-39)', *The Globe*, 79 (2016), 1–12.

158 King, 'Marco Polo's Java', p. 44.

northern Australia is from the mid-seventeenth century.¹⁵⁹ The Aboriginal peoples of Arnhem Land such as the Anindilyakwa of Groote Eylandt and the Yolŋu of the mainland report that a different people, the Bayini (or Baijini) came to trade trepang before the arrival of the Macassans.¹⁶⁰ So far, attempts to date the earliest non-European contacts in Arnhem Land suggest a *terminus ad quem* for the first pre-Macassan contacts at about 1600.¹⁶¹

It is possible to be more confident that contacts of trade and communication between the Aboriginal peoples of Cape York peninsula and the peoples of Papua New Guinea had been ongoing via the Torres Strait Islands for thousands of years.¹⁶² Although the earliest European incursions into the Torres Strait were not before 1600, it is possible that traders of the Torres Strait, for example, the Motu, ventured westwards into the Indonesian archipelago, where they might have disseminated knowledge about Bandaiyan. There is growing evidence that sailors from Papua New Guinea ventured a considerable way south along the east coast of the continent up to 3000 years ago.¹⁶³

159 Paul S. C. Taçon and others, 'Picturing Change and Changing Pictures: Contact Period Rock Art of Australia', in *A Companion to Rock Art*, ed. by Jo McDonald and Peter Marius Veth (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), pp. 420–436.

160 Peter M. Worsley, 'Early Asian Contacts with Australia', *Past and Present*, 7.1 (1955), 1–11 (pp. 1–2). Ian S. McIntosh, 'A Treaty with the Macassans? Burrumarra and the Dholtji Ideal', *Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*, 7.2 (2006), 153–72, proposed that the Baijini might be the Bugis (Buginese) also from Sulawesi but further north of the Macassans. The Bugis had been dominant in regional trade for some centuries, before Europeans' arrival in the archipelago.

161 Daryl L. Wesley, 'Bayini, Macassans, Balanda and Bininj: Defining the Indigenous Past of Arnhem Land through Culture Contact' (unpublished PhD, Australian National University, 2015), pp. 334–5.

162 F. D. McCarthy, "'Trade" Aboriginal Australia, and "Trade" Relationships with Torres Strait, New Guinea and Malaya [Part 2]', *Oceania*, 10.1 (1939), 81–104, has described evidence of trade between Papua New Guinea and Cape York. Linguistic evidence is clear: Kalaw Lagaw Ya, the language of the southwestern, western, northern, and central islands of the Torres Strait, is a Pama-Nyungan language, the same language family to which the vast majority of Aboriginal languages of the continent belongs. The Pama-Nyungan languages are estimated to have arisen around 6000 years ago, perhaps close to the southern coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria, see Remco R. Bouckaert, Claire Bowern, and Quentin D. Atkinson, 'The Origin and Expansion of Pama-Nyungan Languages across Australia', *Nature Ecology & Evolution*, 2018 <<https://doi.org/10.1038/s41559-018-0489-3>>.

163 Chris Urwin and others, 'Archaeology Is Unravelling New Stories about Indigenous Seagoing Trade on Australia's Doorstep', *The Conversation*, 2019 <<https://theconversation.com/archaeology-is-unravelling-new-stories-about-indigenous-seagoing-trade-on-australias-doorstep-111528?>>

European explorers such as Parmentier passing through the region in the sixteenth century might have picked up knowledge about a nearby southern continent from informants aware of knowledge disseminated by such contacts.

More recent scholarship argues that local pilots had an important role in the transfer of navigational and geographical information to European seafarers. Kapil Raj has observed that 'the regional trade network was predicated upon specific maritime knowledge and skills. Pilots, navigators and theorists of navigation helped guide ships around maritime Asia and East Africa'.¹⁶⁴ Bronwen Douglas refers to the pilots as 'a ghostly presence behind the lavishly coloured maps interleaved with Pigafetta's original narrative and the vocabularies he collected'.¹⁶⁵

It is not necessary to postulate a Portuguese or Spanish 'discovery of Australia' to explain the appearance of *Jave la Grande* or the *Beach* promontory on sixteenth-century maps.¹⁶⁶ The maps might rather betray the traces of hearsay about a large peninsula of a continent that Papuans or Indonesians knew to exist across the sea from Java, Timor, or, most likely, Papua New Guinea.

A New Chart for Navigators

Whatever knowledge might have circulated through oral sources about a continent south of Java, Mercator did his best to be explicit about the sources he used to support his theories on the enormous world map published in 1569, entitled *Nova et Aucta Orbis Terrae Descriptio ad Usum Navigantium Emendate Accommodata* ('New and More

fbclid=IwAR3ZeWoNF_ckZOMljBxni12z8I6MBL8KHk3s-mfpQf51bs9GFEQ2pol852s> [accessed 4 February 2020].

164 Kapil Raj, 'Mapping Knowledge Go-Betweens in Calcutta, 1770–1820', in *The Brokered World: Go-Betweens and Global Intelligence, 1770–1820*, ed. by Simon Schaffer and others (Sagamore Beach, MA: Science History Publications, 2009), pp. 105–50 (p. 107).

165 Bronwen Douglas, *Science, Voyages, and Encounters in Oceania, 1511–1850* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014) p. 51, n. 28.

166 As Hiatt, 'Terra Australis and the Idea of the Antipodes', p. 37, has observed, modern cartography produces the expectation that everything on a map is the product of empirical observation, and discounts the possibility of the contribution of theory.

Complete Representation of the Terrestrial Globe Properly Adapted for Use in Navigation') (Figure 1.13). Previous maps were not expected to provide a reliable means of navigation (unlike portolan charts), but as the title announces, Mercator intended his map for use by navigators.¹⁶⁷ This map is the first to use the projection that now bears his name. Mercator's ingenuity was to show the lines of longitude as straight and parallel, and to increase the distance between the lines of latitude north and south of the Equator by the degree to which the diameter of each was augmented so that they meet the lines of longitude at right angles. This enabled sailors to calculate the distance between two points using straight rhumb lines.¹⁶⁸ Mercator's biographer Walter Ghim noted that the map was also intended for use by overland travellers and scholars.¹⁶⁹ Mercator included a number of tables of information to help navigators calculate distances. The map was so large (2.0 x 1.33 m) it seems unlikely that pilots or road travellers consulted it en route, but it might have provided a tool for route planning before departure.

Mercator's innovative projection presented him with a problem of layout and framing. Unlike cordiform or twin-hemisphere projections that were common at the time, the entire space within the outer frame of the Mercator projection is devoted to geographical description. The 'paradoxical space' on the Waldseemüller and Ptolemaic maps between the frame of the cartography and the map's outer frame is absent. This removes space that can be used to place gloss-like texts that add commentary, explanation, and authority to the cartography. On the other hand, a side effect of the Mercator projection is that it greatly enlarges the representative space of the polar regions relative to the equatorial. Since there was much less geographical information to describe the polar geography, because of European geographers' lack of knowledge

167 For example, when the Casa de Contratación sent a questionnaire to Spanish pilots in 1563 asking for their views on how to correct the *Padron General*—the master map meant to be kept up to date with all new navigational information—the pilots were so sceptical of its value that they asked to be allowed to use whatever means each found best to find their way by sea. See David Turnbull, 'Cartography and Science in Early Modern Europe: Mapping the Construction of Knowledge Spaces', *Imago Mundi*, 48 (1996), 5–24.

168 Hiatt, *Mapping the Antipodes*, pp. 229–231.

169 Hiatt, *Mapping the Antipodes*, p. 187.

about what was there, Mercator placed a number of cartouches with additional textual information over the cartography of the *terrae incognitae* of both the north and south poles. Even the map's title is superimposed on the Arctic geography.

Eight cartouches lie over *Terra Australis Incognita*, conveying a variety of kinds of knowledge. There are three charts of information on navigation relevant to sailors: 'Using the Directory of Courses', the *Organum directorium* chart, and 'Manner of measuring the distances of places'; a frame labelled 'Anno 1493' with information on the Treaty of Tordesillas arbitrated by Pope Alexander VI (7 June 1494); an explanation 'On the true positions of the Ganges and the Golden Chersonese', in which Mercator explained why he had moved the Ganges estuary eastwards from the Bay of Bengal to the South China Sea; a rectangular frame entitled 'On the representation hereunder of the Septentrional Regions', that is, the north pole, joined to a round frame below it with an inset map of the north polar region; and a copyright statement.

The quantity of such learned and theoretical textual and graphic material on Mercator's 1569 map is what makes it most remarkable. Instead of publishing an atlas as Ortelius did the following year, Mercator has attempted to compress all the additional explanatory and user detail that Ortelius included with greater ease on the pages of his *Theatrum* on the large single spread (made up of twenty-one sheets) of his monumental world map.¹⁷⁰

Aside from the more classical cartouche of the *Organum directorium* chart, the other seven cartouches have elaborate frames of Renaissance strapwork, resembling rolled and intersecting straps of leather or metal. They are the work of Mercator's own precise hand, its edges are sharp, resembling the way a knife cuts through leather or metal.¹⁷¹

170 Hiatt, *Mapping the Antipodes*, p. 229, states twenty-one sheets, but extant versions seen by the present author appear to have only eighteen.

171 Rodney Walter Shirley, *The Mapping of the World: Early Printed World Maps 1472-1700* (Riverside, CT: Early World Press, 2001), p. 139 (map 119), says of the decorative elements of the map, that the 'the clarity of every feature, and the precision of the elegant italic script are characteristics of Mercator's own master hand.'

This form came from Italy and was popular with Netherlandish geographers of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The resemblance to metalwork reminds the viewer that the map was produced as a copperplate engraving. Its modernity is authorized by its origin in the home of the Renaissance. This suggests precision and clarity, the careful detail work of a humanist craftsman. The function of these eye-catching strapwork frames is deictic and authoritative. They are directions from the cartographer, which draw the viewer's gaze away from the cartography of the *terra incognita* beneath to highlight something important being conveyed within the cartouche pertaining to another part of the map. They authorize the map as a document of knowledge by pointing to important aspects of the mathematics and geometry which inform the map, and by providing essential guidance for its interpretation and use.

Mercator's use of *Terra Australis Incognita* as a space for placing such authorized knowledge makes it a descendant of the paradoxical spaces between the inner and outer frames of the Ptolemy and Waldeemüller maps. It is a paradoxical space because it is both unknown and described; and because it is used to enplace and display a variety of authorized paratexts that gloss and comment on specific parts of the geography and on the map's use, most of which are irrelevant to the geography over which they sit. This is what Christian Jacob describes as the early modern cartographer's discourse of preterition: they at once draw attention to a gap in geographical knowledge represented by *terra incognita*, and attempt to distract attention away from it.¹⁷²

Perhaps the most striking of these geographical displacements is the positioning of the large double frame on the topic of the Septentrional regions, that is, the Arctic, on the eastward side of *Terra Australis Incognita*. The inset map of the Arctic is also conjectural, like that of the Antarctic over which it is set. The north polar region is shown as a ring

172 Christian Jacob, *The Sovereign Map: Theoretical Approaches in Cartography throughout History*, ed. by Edward H. Dahl, trans. by Tom Conley (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), pp. 263–268.

of four islands around the north pole divided by four rivers with deltas opening into the sea on the south side. As Crane has pointed out, 'with its quartet of rivers and perimeter wall', Mercator's northern *terra incognita* resembles the future Eden.¹⁷³ It is a reminder of the future perfect tense of *terrae incognitae*, their status as places that will become known. The map of the Septentrional regions offers a poetic glimpse of a future in which human knowledge of the world is complete. It resolves the impossibility of presenting a universal view of the world in the present by displacing such a view to the future.¹⁷⁴

Many geographers followed Mercator in overwriting of the cartography of *Terra Australis Incognita* with images and supplementary texts. For Gillies this was a key component of poetic geography. Images and texts which adorned *terrae incognitae* were signs of voyaging which implied the continent's future coming into knowledge. Such signs included famous explorers, navigational instruments, ships sailing along the coast (often among sea monsters), and illustrations of exotic beasts and people who were the 'objects' of the desire to travel and explore.¹⁷⁵

Approach to the Southern Continent

An additional text superimposed on *Terra Australis Incognita* has no frame except for the coastal outline of the *Beach* promontory itself. It is by far the longest of the five main unframed texts on the map.¹⁷⁶ In this text, Mercator referenced three sources of knowledge to support his geography of the *Beach* promontory, first published on the gores for his 1541 globe. His first source was Ludovico di Varthema, whose voyages

173 Crane, *Mercator*, p. 211.

174 As Hiatt, *Mapping the Antipodes*, p. 217, also observes, the 'key word in [Ortelius's] description of the southern continent [is] "nondum". The word signals delay, an element of future time within the representation of space'.

175 Gillies, p. 169.

176 The other four are superimposed on North America, two on *Terra Australis* south of Africa, and one on New Guinea.

through the islands of the Southeast Asian archipelago were guided by local pilots (Figure 1.13a):¹⁷⁷

On the approach from the Southern Continent to Java Major:

Ludovico di Varthema, in Bk. 3, on India, Chapt. 27, reports that on the southern side of Java Major, to the southward, there are peoples who sail with their backs to our stars of the north until they find a day of but 4 hours, i.e. to the 63rd. degree of latitude and he refers to this as coming from the mouth of his Indian pilot.¹⁷⁸

Mercator cited Varthema's report of what the pilot told him during a five-day voyage from Borneo to Java:

He also told us that on the other side of the said island [Java], towards the south, there are some other races, who navigate by the said four or five stars [the Southern Cross] opposite to ours'.¹⁷⁹

The words 'on the other side of the said island' appear to mean the south coast of Java, then still unknown to European navigators, but they might equally mean other neighbouring lands south of Java. W.A.R. Richardson commented:

[i]t seems highly unlikely that Varthema can have correctly understood all that the pilot had told him, for no Indonesians or Australian Aborigines can have had any

177 Ludovico di Varthema, *The Travels of Ludovico Di Varthema in Egypt, Syria, Arabia Deserta and Arabia Felix, in Persia, India, and Ethiopia, AD 1503 to 1508*, ed. by George Percy Badger, trans. by John Winter Jones (London: Hakluyt Society, 1863).

178 Translation by B. van 't Hoff, *Gerard Mercator's Map of the World (1569) in the Form of an Atlas in the Maritiem Museum 'Prins Hendrik' at Rotterdam* (Rotterdam; 's Gravenhage: Maritiem Museum 'Prins Hendrik', 1961).

179 The translation is by Jones, ed. by Badger, Varthema, *The Travels of Ludovico Di Varthema in Egypt, Syria, Arabia Deserta and Arabia Felix, in Persia, India, and Ethiopia, AD 1503 to 1508*, p. 249. C. R. Markham, consulted by Jones on this passage, stated that the 'four or five stars' constituted the constellation of the Southern Cross. The original Italian is: 'anchora ce disse, che da l'altra banda de ditta insula de verso al mezzo giorno ce sono alcune altre generationi, liquali navigano con le ditte .iiii. o .v. stelle contrarie alla nostra'; see Ludovico di Varthema, *Itinerario de Ludouico de Varthema bolognese nello Egitto, nella Soria nella Arabia deserta, & felice, nella Persia, nella India, & nela Ethyopia. Le fede el viuere, & costumi delle prefate prouincie. et al presente agiontoui alcune isole nouamente ritrouate* (Venice: per Francesco di Alessandro Bindone, & Mapheo Pasini compani, 1535), p. 167.

conceivable reason to sail so far south, to within about 3 degrees of the Antarctic Circle, even if they had the means to do so.¹⁸⁰

Richardson is almost certainly correct to assume that Varthema failed to understand *all* that the pilot told him, but he appears to misrepresent him based on Mercator's interpretation of Varthema's report. It was Mercator who supplied the information about sailing to sixty-three degrees south (within three degrees of the Antarctic Circle). Mercator deduced this from Varthema's statement following the above observation that 'moreover, they gave us to understand that beyond the said island [Java] the day does not last more than four hours, and that there it was colder than in any other part of the world'.¹⁸¹ Mercator calculated that the location where the day lasts no more than four hours would be at 63 degrees south. Varthema's two reports, although consecutive and both claims about the world south of Java, are not necessarily directly related or derived from the same informant.¹⁸² They convey that a people to the south navigate by the Southern Cross and that, south of Java, it gets very cold and the days shorten to four hours. Even if it is supposed that Varthema's informant, being a maritime pilot, was thinking of navigation at sea, his information might equally apply to navigation on land. Research has shown that Aboriginal peoples used the Southern Cross to navigate across Bandaiyan.¹⁸³ Varthema's report might furnish evidence that pilots sailing through the Southeast Asian archipelago knew about Aboriginal peoples to the south of Java who navigated by the Southern Cross, as suggested by Raj and Douglas.

180 W. A. R. Richardson, 'Mercator's Southern Continent, Its Origins, Influence, and Gradual Demise', *Terrae Incognitae*, 25 (1993), 67–98 (p. 77).

181 Varthema, *The Travels of Ludovico Di Varthema in Egypt, Syria, Arabia Deserta and Arabia Felix, in Persia, India, and Ethiopia, AD 1503 to 1508*, pp. 250–1. The original Italian is: '& piu, ce fecero sapere, che de la dalla ditta insula el giorno non dura piu che quattro hore, & che ivi era piu freddo che in loco del mondo', Varthema, *Itinerario de Ludouico de Varthema bolognese nello Egitto*, p. 167.

182 Aside from one informant being singular and the other plural—'ce disse' ('he told us') and 'ce fecero sapere' ('they informed us')—the text should not be given too much credibility as a report of what was actually said or communicated.

183 The Southern Cross has been identified as one of three methods by which Aboriginal people determined cardinal directions; see Ray P. Norris, 'Dawes Review 5: Australian Aboriginal Astronomy and Navigation', *Publications of the Astronomical Society of Australia*, 2016, p. 28 <<https://doi.org/DOI: 10.1017/pas.2016.xxx>>. The Southern Cross has also been identified as important in nighttime navigation by the Wardaman people; see Ray P. Norris and Bill Yidumduma Harney, 'Songlines and Navigation in Wardaman and Other Australian Aboriginal Cultures', *Journal of Astronomical History and Heritage*, 17.2 (2014), 141–148.

Mercator thought this information significant enough to present it as his first supportive evidence of the *Beach* peninsula. Like *Jave la Grande*, it is an illustration of a ghostly awareness (to adapt Douglas) of a continent close by, drawing the unknown closer to the known in space than it had been previously, and in so doing, making a claim on it. If Southeast Asian pilots knew that people on the continent to the south navigated by the Southern Cross, then their informants must have been Aboriginals or Torres Strait Islanders, suggesting the possibility by communications now difficult to recover that Indigenous agency and voices might even have shaped *Beach* and *Jave la Grande*, however unknown to their makers.

The second of the sources Mercator used to theorize the Beach promontory was Marco Polo's *Travels*. The version that Mercator read was from a travel compendium by Simon Grynaeus.¹⁸⁴ Its long manuscript transmission history before entering print had introduced many changes and misinterpretations.¹⁸⁵ King has explained the complicated history of *Beach*.¹⁸⁶ It is a scribal corruption of *Locach*, which Mercator had placed (with the spelling *Locat*) on mainland Southeast Asia on his 1538 world map.¹⁸⁷ It is derived from Lohuk, the Chinese name for the city of Lavopura (now Lopburi in Thailand). In Marco Polo's day, the Chinese revered Lohuk for the wealth and power in the Khmer empire. Owing to the misarrangement of sections of Marco Polo's text in Grynaeus, Mercator reasoned that they must be located on a north-projecting promontory of *Terra Australis*, south of Java.¹⁸⁸ Mercator placed both *Beach* and *Lucach*

184 *Novus Orbis Regionum ac Insularum Veteribus Incognitarum*, printed in Basel in 1532.

185 Knowledge in early modern Europe remained subject to the indeterminacies of manuscript transmission. Compare Gurminder K. Bhambra, *Rethinking Modernity: Postcolonialism and the Sociological Imagination* (Basingstoke, Hants: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 99, who considers how the promulgation of new theories and ideas in the Renaissance was determined as much by writers' ability to consult a greater selection of sources than their predecessors, as a result of the advent of printing, as by their own observations. Copernicus, for example, had access to Arabic scientific sources that had been previously unavailable.

186 The following explanation is from King, 'Marco Polo's Java', p. 46.

187 A scribal 'L' was easily mistaken for a 'B'; see Robert J. King, 'Jave La Grande, a Part of Terra Australis? Presentation at "Mapping Our World" Discovery Day, National Library of Australia', 2013 (10 November), pp. 2–3.

on his promontory of *Terra Australis*, hence unwittingly transferring the Chinese imagination of a golden Lohuk to the southern continent as *Beach provincia aurifera*.

Once the corruption of *Locach* had taken place, *Beach* established itself in the toponymic tradition as a separate entity with its own authority, justified by its appearance in the sources.¹⁸⁹ Such place names became extremely resilient (as resistant to retirement as *Terra Australis* itself) in a print culture in which distinguishing between reliable and unreliable information was extremely difficult. As Jacob pointed out, it required a much greater symbolic effort to delete toponyms from maps than to add them.¹⁹⁰ This continued a medieval tradition.¹⁹¹

Other Geographies of *Terra Australis Incognita*

Alternative imaginations of *Terra Australis Incognita* are worth briefly mentioning for what they show about early modern poetic geography. The Dieppe school, mentioned earlier, produced their maps in manuscript for a princely audience. They created *Jave la Grande*.¹⁹² Guillaume le Testu was a pilot and cosmographer from Le Havre, who gave considerable rein to his imagination in his manuscript atlas, the *Cosmographie universelle*, produced in 1555. His purpose was not to deceive:

what I have marked and depicted is only by imagination, and I have not noted or remarked on any of the commodities or incommunities of the place, nor its mountains, rivers, or other things; for there has never yet been any man who has made a certain discovery of it.¹⁹³

188 See also Richardson, pp. 74–5, on the misarrangement of Grynaeus. King, ‘Marco Polo’s Java’, ‘Marco Polo’s Java’, p. 46.

189 See Hiatt, *Mapping the Antipodes*, pp. 260–5.

190 Jacob, p. 211.

191 Medieval *mappaemundi* often included contemporary names of cities such as Bologna and Venice alongside places such as Troy and Carthage that had long since become ruins; see Woodward, I, ‘Medieval Mappaemundi’, p. 328. See also Jacob, p. 211. In the Renaissance, efforts were made to indicate where historical knowledge could be distinguished from contemporary, if possible, as in Ortelius’s creation of the *Parergon* as a historical supplement to his atlas. See further discussion below.

192 Medieval Arabic geographers distinguished a Java Major and a Java Minor.

As Lestringant observed, ‘imagination’ runs like a *leitmotif* through le Testu’s atlas.¹⁹⁴ Of nine texts that gloss ten maps of parts of *Terra Australis*, six use the expression ‘by imagination’ (‘par imagination’).¹⁹⁵ Le Testu claimed that his fictitious coastlines served to warn navigators of the possibility of shoals and rocks in the latitudes indicated.¹⁹⁶ That might appear an excuse for fictive licence for its own sake, but as a pilot, le Testu knew that seas are not empty spaces, and that showing open seas he had no evidence for was equally as conjectural as showing a theoretical coastline. This might explain why *Terra Australis Incognita* and *Jave la Grande* were larger in extent in more southern latitudes where less evidence was available. Le Testu’s purpose was less about ‘avoiding blank spaces and lacunae of knowledge’, but rather *addressing* them using theory and conjecture.¹⁹⁷

Le Testu also explained that he used toponyms such as *cap de More* to align separate leaves of his atlas, like the signature marks in printed books.¹⁹⁸ ‘More Cape’ appears on the same peninsula of *Terra Australis* on folios 39 v. and 40 v. (*Figure 1.14*). Thus *Terra*

193 Frank Lestringant, *Mapping the Renaissance World: The Geographical Imagination in the Age of Discovery*, trans. by David Fausett (Cambridge: Polity, 1994), trans. by Fausett, p. 133. English translations are included for only two of the nine *Terra Australis* texts (fols. 35 r and 39 r) and the translation of fol. 39 r renders ‘par imagination’ with ‘conjecturally’ (pp. 133–4). A transcription of all the texts appears in Guillaume Le Testu, *Cosmographie universelle selon les navigateurs tant anciens que modernes*, ed. by Frank Lestringant (Paris: Arthaud, 2012). Fol. 35 r reads: ‘Toutefoys ce que je en ay marqué et depainct n’est que par imagination, n’ayant notté ou fait memoire aucune des comodités ou incomodités d’icelle, tant ses montagnes, fleuves que aultres chozes. Pour ce qu’il n’y a encor eu homme qui en aict fait decouverte certaine’.

194 Frank Lestringant, ‘Le déclin d’un savoir: La crise de la cosmographie à la fin de la Renaissance’, *Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 46.2 (1991), 239–260 (p. 250).

195 Guillaume Le Testu, *Cosmographie universelle, selon les navigateurs tant anciens que modernes par Guillaume Le Testu, pillotte en la Mer du Ponent: de la ville francoyse de Grace*, 1555, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ark:/12148/btv1b8447838j.

196 On fol. 37 of the *Cosmographie universelle*, Le Testu states ‘ce n’a esté que pour radreser les pieches icy depeinctes les unes des autres, et ausy affin que ceulx la, lesquelz navigueront, ce donnent garde lors qu’ilz auront oppinion qu’ilz aprocheront ladicte terre’ (‘this was not only to link up the pieces depicted here one with another, but also for the purpose that, those who sail here will take care when they have the opinion that they are approaching the said land’) (my translation).

197 Jacob, p. 146.

198 Lestringant, ‘Le déclin d’un savoir’, p. 250, quotes Le Testu’s statement that ‘Cap de More’ ‘n’est marqué que pour radresser les feuilletz de ce livre’ (fol. 40 r.).

Australis Incognita becomes a 'hinge', in Lestringant's words, for the presentation of these vast spaces in a graspable form.¹⁹⁹ It supports the mapmaker's violent task of reducing the whole world to a form that can be represented within the margins of a map sheet or on pages of an atlas. The apparent recourse to citing More's *Utopia* as part of this effort demonstrates the close dialogue between speculation about social and geographical knowledge. For Lestringant, cosmographers' *Terra Australis Incognita* and *Jave la Grande* were 'the joint fruit of technical error and strategic calculus, one serving as the spur to the other.'²⁰⁰ The practice of cosmography created a prospective form of *Terra Australis Incognita* endowed rhetorically as a space awaiting greater knowledge. Le Testu also furnishes an insight into how the early modern utopian imagination combined the prospective with the geographical.

Even after Mercator and Ortelius produced what is considered a standard form of *Terra Australis Incognita*, some geographic publishers produced their own forms. For example, the Milanese cosmographer Urbano Monte (1544–1613) developed a form of *Terra Australis Incognita* as nine islands surrounding the south pole, combining elements from Finé, Schöner, Mercator, and Ortelius. It was presented on a vertiginous north polar projection on a huge map composed of sixty sheets, which when assembled came close to three metres in diameter (*Figure 1.15*).²⁰¹ It was probably intended for princes and nobles building their own *studioli* or cabinets of curiosities to emulate the map mural rooms in the Palazzo Vecchio, the Villa Caprarola, and the Vatican.²⁰²

199 Lestringant, 'Le déclin d'un savoir', p. 250: 'On voit donc comment la fiction cosmographique joue le rôle charnière à l'intérieur de cartographie "réelle".'

200 Lestringant, 'Le déclin d'un savoir', pp. 250–1: 'est le fruit concerté de l'erreur technique et du calcul stratégique, l'une servant d'amorce à l'autre'.

201 For a full description, see Katherine Parker, 'A Mind at Work: Urbano Monte's 60-Sheet Manuscript World Map' (Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antique Maps, Inc. and David Rumsey Map Centre, Stanford University, 2017) <<https://s3.amazonaws.com/rumsey3/Monte/Urbano+Monte+Catalog.pdf>> [accessed 3 March 2019].

202 Juergen Schulz, 'Maps as Metaphors: Mural Map Cycles of the Italian Renaissance', in *Art and Cartography: Six Historical Essays*, ed. by David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), pp. 97–122.

Poetic Discoveries

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the 'spice islands' of the southeast Asian archipelago became a focus of fierce rivalry for control of access to trade and political favours from local princes between Portugal–Spain (then both ruled by the same Habsburg monarch under the Iberian Union), the Dutch Republic (via the VOC), and England.²⁰³ This intense rivalry was driven by an expectation of opening up access to an unlimited cornucopia of resources that would return huge profits. It was on the back of this expectation that both the English East India Company and the Dutch VOC were sold to shareholders. The proximity of a promontory of *Terra Australis Incognita* lying just across a narrow strait from Java on maps intensified the rivalry, and the dream of winning glory by finding and claiming the continent inspired a number of enterprises to find it.

In March 1605, three ships set out from Peru on behalf of the Habsburg monarch, led by Pedro Fernandes de Queirós, a Portuguese Franciscan navigator from Évora. In May, they landed on the island of Vanuatu. Queirós thought he had landed on the unknown southern continent shown on maps, and claimed the entire continent all the way to the south pole for the Habsburg house of Austria. With a clever pun on Austria and *Australis*, he called it *Terra Australis del Espiritu Santo*.²⁰⁴ An attempt to establish a colonial presence failed and a number of Vanuatans were killed. When the ships left, they separated. Queirós headed for home, while the other two ships continued the

203 Robert Markley, *The Far East and the English Imagination, 1600-1730* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 143–76.

204 The 'extra' *i* in the spelling '*Australia*' is found in the earliest printed edition of Queirós's Eighth Memorial (1609). Scholars have spilled a lot of ink on the question of whether Queirós intended to spell the name '*Australia*' or '*Australia*'. Investigations of the archives by Augustin Lodewyckx, Colin Jack-Hinton, Rupert Gerritsen, and Margaret Cameron-Ash have produced a range of conclusions. Lodewyckx pointed out that, in Castilian, *austral* has an alternative form *austrial*, which might suggest that the two were interchangeable: *austrial* might be more typical of Castilian; *austral* of Portuguese, which might have made the latter more familiar to Queirós (Lodewyckx surmised *austral* was favoured by Queirós for being more archaic). For a summary of the debate, see Margaret Cameron-Ash, 'Juggling "Australia", "Australia" and New Holland', *The Globe*, 73 (2013), 29–38. Probably Queirós chose a form that he thought would have widest appeal, and might well have inserted the *i* to ensure the name evoked a poetic resonance with both *Terra Australis* and the house of Austria.

expedition westwards, led by Don Diego de Prado and Luis Vaez de Torres. They sailed south of Papua New Guinea and unknowingly through the strait between Bandaiyan and New Guinea that now bears Torres's name.

The greatest impact of the voyage on European geographical discourse was through the writings of Queirós, and his claim to have discovered *Terra Australis*. His writings were not only respected by his contemporaries, their influence has been felt down to the twentieth century.²⁰⁵ In his 'Eighth Memorial', one of many petitions to Felipe III (Felipe II of Portugal) for funds for a new expedition, he pressed the monarch to claim and explore the vast continent he had found before Spain's rivals did.²⁰⁶ He described a paradise on earth of abundant fruits:²⁰⁷

The fruits are numerous and good. There are bananas of six kinds, a great number of almonds of four kinds, great obos which are of the size and taste of peaches, many earth-nuts, and oranges and lemons, which the natives do not eat, and another great fruit; and others not less good, that were seen and eaten²⁰⁸

205 See Mercedes Maroto Camino, *Producing the Pacific: Maps and Narratives of Spanish Exploration (1567-1606)* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2005), pp. 31–43.

206 The first Spanish editions of the Eighth Memorial appeared between 1609 and 1610. Shortly after translations appeared in German in 1611, Dutch and Latin in 1612, twice in French in 1617, a translation from the French into English in 1617, followed by a new English translation from the Spanish by Purchas in 1625. These translations are found in Pedro Fernández de Quirós, *Australia: Su descubrimiento y denominación, con la reproducción facsímil del memorial número 8 de Quirós en español original, y en las diversas traducciones contemporaneas*, ed. by Carlos Sanz (Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1973), *Australia: Su descubrimiento y denominación*, ed. by Sanz, op. cit. For the English, see *The Voyages of Pedro Fernandez de Quiros 1595 to 1606*, ed. & trans. by Clements Markham, 2 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1904).

207 The idea of finding the earthly paradise was influenced by his Franciscan millennialism. See Margaret Jolly, 'The Sediment of Voyages: Re-Membering Quirós, Bougainville and Cook in Vanuatu', in *Oceanic Encounters: Exchange, Desire, Violence*, ed. by Margaret Jolly, Darrell Tyron, and Serge Tcherkézoff (Canberra: ANU Press, 2009), pp. 57–112.

208 Markham, *Voyages of Pedro Fernandez de Quiros*, p. 480. The Spanish transcription is in the edition by Sanz, p. 24: 'Las frutas son muchos y muy buenos platanos de seys generos, grande numero de almendras de quatro suertes, grandes obos, que es fruta casi del tamaño y sabor de melacotones; Muchas nuezes de la tierra, y naranjas, y limones, que no los comen los Indios, y otra estremada y grande fruta, y otras no menos buenas, que se vieron y comieron.'

Fruitful bounty is a commonplace that appears in many genres evoking the blessed lands of the Eastern *eschatia*, as will be seen throughout this thesis. It evokes the imagination of a land where food can be obtained with minimal toil. According to Queirós, the people of *Terra Australis* make nourishing bread from three kinds of abundant roots, but they do not need to work hard to produce bread, because the ‘very nourishing’ roots grow in great abundance, ‘without labour, receiving no more help than being dug up and cooked’.²⁰⁹

The easy life is a trope of utopian traditions such as the Land of Cockaigne, as well as of antediluvianism; medieval Christian eschatology held that, before the Flood, human lived as vegetarians in an abundant, earthly paradise, although Queirós observed that good meat and fish were available.²¹⁰

[The natives] keep fish and flesh without salting them, and they do not become corrupt for two or more days. The fruits we brought away from there, as may be seen from two that I have here, are very wholesome, having been picked from the tree before they were ripe. I have not seen sand deserts, nor any kind of thistles, nor thorny trees, nor trees with roots above ground, nor mangroves, nor places liable to be flooded, nor swamps, nor snow on the high mountains, nor crocodiles in the rivers, nor poisonous reptiles in the woods, nor the ants that are very harmful in houses, nor jiggers, nor mosquitos.²¹¹

209 Markham, p. 480. Spanish transcription (Sanz, ed., pp. 23–4): ‘El pan que tienen son tres diferencias de rayzes, de que ay muy grande suma, y espantan sin trabazo que no tiene mas beneficio que asarlas y cozerlas: son gustosas, sanas, de buen sustento, y mucha dura, y las ay de bara de largo, y media de grueso’.

210 Markham, p. 481: ‘It is to be noted that many of these products are the same as ours, and that many more may be raised, for the land is very suitable for the growth of all the other provisions that are produced in Europe’. Sanz, ed., p. 24: ‘Es de advertir, que muchos de los dichos generos son semejantes a los nuestros, y que puede ser muchos mas, y que en esto muestra la tierra ser muy propia para criar todas las otras que produce la Europa.’ On antediluvianism, paradise on earth, and the Cockaigne tradition, see Herman Pleij and Diane Webb, *Dreaming of Cockaigne: Medieval Fantasies of the Perfect Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).

211 Markham, p. 485; Sanz, ed., p. 25: ‘el pescado, y la carne durauan sanos por salar dos y mas dias, y con que las frutas que alli se truxeron, como se puede ver en dos que aqui tengo, estan sanissimas, con ser cogidas de los arboles sin sazon: y con no auerse visto arenales, ningun genero de cardones, ni arboles espinosos, ni que tengan rayzes sobre la tierra, ni manglares, anegadizos, ni pantanos, ni nieue en las altas sierras, ni cocodrilos en los rios, ni en las montañas sauandijas ponçoñosas, ni hormigas.’

Queirós's rhetoric is rich in poetic geographical tropes. *Terra Australia* is wonderful in ways the metropolitan centre or hearth of Hestia is not: there are no crocodiles, no poisonous insects, no snow, no marshes, no thistles, nothing in short, that is in any way troublesome to humans. These negatives express a positive with a caveat: *Terra Australis* is a paradise of unparalleled natural bounty. The parataxis and polysyndeton of Queirós's rhetoric is intended to add marvel upon marvel to make the reader wonder at the blessings of this *eschatia*, and the opportunity offered by this untouched antediluvian paradise. Queirós was unsuccessful in his repeated requests, but the Eighth Memorial was widely disseminated in many languages. It inspired other explorations both real and imagined, and helped cement the metropolitan imaginative possession of *Terra Australis* as a fertile cornucopia of fruits, spices, and precious metals.

At around the same time as Queirós discovered *Terra Australis*, a Luso-Macassan cartographer, educated by Jesuits in Goa was making his own claims of discovery of the southern continent. The father Manuel Godinho de Erédia (1563-1623) was a Portuguese soldier based at Melaka and his mother a princess from Makassar. He has been described as a '(trans)cultural imposter' and 'intellectual deceiver' by Jorge Flores, but was probably not so different from contemporaries whose fictive self-fashioning included forging official documents, making their own coats of arms, drawing maps, and exaggerating claims to have discovered new lands.²¹² For Sanjay Subrahmanyam, he was a 'go-between', bridging the cultures of his parents using his skills in cartography, mathematics, geometry, painting, and technical drawing.²¹³ He lived all his life in Asia, but received a commission from Felipe II/III for an expedition to

212 Jorge Flores, 'Between Madrid and Ophir: Erédia, a Deceitful Discoverer?', in *Dissimulation and Deceit in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Miriam Eliav-Feldon and Tamar Herzig (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. 184–210.

213 Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Some Afterthoughts', in *The Brokered World: Go-Betweens and Global Intelligence, 1770–1820*, ed. by Simon Schaffer and others (Sagamore Beach, MA: Science History Publications, 2009), pp. 429–40 (p. 434).

discover *Terra Australis Incognita*, which he called Meridional India.²¹⁴ He never carried out the commission, apparently because of competing demands, but he designated himself *descobridor*, and wrote an account of expeditions to the southern continent supposedly made by others.

The *Declaração de Malaca e India Meridional com o Cathay* (1613) (*Revelation of Malaca and Meridional India with China*) describes Meridional India in Part II.²¹⁵ He writes plausible descriptions of voyages south from Java and Timor which eventually discovered Lucaantara, a land of kings and gold. He draws on the traditions of the voyage account (including Queirós and Marco Polo), geographical discourse of *Terra Australis* in Mercator and Ortelius, as well as utopian traditions. To this mix he also introduces Southeast Asian lands and actors otherwise unrecorded. Erédia shows an awareness of the contingencies and practices of trade and sea voyaging in the region. An example is his description of how some merchants from Macao were carried south by a storm after unloading in Timor:

They disembarked there to replenish their stores of water and fuel: they obtained water from the springs and wood from the thick groves of clove-trees and palms: they saw deer and other animals, but met with no human being nor any trace of people.²¹⁶

This sounds realistic enough, but Erédia makes a segue to the fantastic and describes the island of Lucatambini, ‘inhabited only by women like Amazons with bows and arrows’. A trope that might have been borrowed from Dutch descriptions of landing in Australia is the idea that access by ship to the continent is difficult. Erédia refers to a natural barrier to accessing the island of Luca Veach by sea: the seaweed is so thick it

214 In the *Declaração* (p. 71), Erédia claimed that Felipe III issued an instruction for an expedition on 14 February, 1594, and that this was followed by ‘a Commission from the Viceroy Dom Francisco de Gama, Count of Vidiguera and Admiral of the Indian Sea’ in 1600, including a promise that Erédia would receive one twentieth of all revenues from the new state. See Nick Brodie, *1787: The Lost Chapters of Australia’s Beginnings*, [iBooks edn] (Melbourne: Hardie Grant Books, 2016), p. 77.

215 Manuel Godinho de Erédia, ‘Eredia’s Description of Malaca, Meridional India, and Cathay’, ed. & trans. by J. V. Mills, *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 8.1(109) (1930), 1–288.

216 Erédia, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

needs to be cut in order for a boat to reach the shore.²¹⁷ A utopian trope is the welcome of the visitors to the foreign land by delegates of the ruler. Chiaymasiouro writes that on arrival, 'I was unable to see the King of Lucaantara, who was staying up-river in the Hinterland, eight days' journey away'.²¹⁸ The visitors arrive in a transition space, where they are greeted and given a provisional welcome, while word of their presence is sent to the ruler, and permission sought to allow them to enter further into the land.

In a kernel of the plot later used by Henry Neville in his *The Isle of Pines*, a community of poorly clad Portuguese is discovered lost on an island:

In the year 1606, the Hollander ship driven by a storm to 41 degrees of south latitude discovered the southern continent. ... They found there a large number of Portuguese, the sons and descendants of other Portuguese who had been shipwrecked on the coast. ... These people still possessed the same fire-arms and guns, but went unclad or poorly clad: they lived by tilling the soil and working.²¹⁹

The 'Hollander ship' is a reference to the actual VOC voyage of the *Duyfken*, which reached Bandaiyan in 1606. The detail of the stranded Portuguese comes from a letter to the Archbishop of Goa by the Portuguese friar Athanasios about a Dutch shipwreck in Madagascar.²²⁰

Tropes of fruit (Queirós) and gold reminiscent of Mercator's 'gold-bearing province' of *Beach* (a promontory of Mercator's *Terra Australis* south of Java) is a 'land of gold', where 'there is such a quantity of this metal that the wild native Jaos use nuggets of earth or golden lumps as money'.²²¹ At Luca Veach, voyagers land with only a fruit, *sivallas*, in their ship, used as ballast after throwing everything else overboard in a

217 Erédia, op. cit., p. 68.

218 Erédia, op. cit., p. 63.

219 Erédia, op. cit., p. 67.

220 The letter was included in the *Décadas da Ásia* (1552–1615) by João de Barros, see Sarath Jakka, 'Fictive Possessions: English Utopian Writing and the Colonial Promotion of Madagascar as the "Greatest Island in the World" (1640–1668)' (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Kent and University of Porto, 2018), pp. 213 ff.

221 Erédia, op. cit., p. 60.

storm. They trade the *sivallas* for gold with the locals, which in that region ‘occurred in large quantities’ such that ‘even the gravel at the base of trees contained gold’.²²²

Testimonial letters Erédia includes to confirm his description also affirm the fruitful bounty of Queirós’s *Terra Australis*, where little work is necessary to survive. Pedro de Carvalhaes writes in his letter, ‘The earth is very fertile and the trees keep the climate cool’.²²³ The testimonial letter of Chiaymasiouro, prince of Damuth, affirms that the local people do not need to work: ‘The Jaós of Lucaantara spend their whole time in sports and pastimes: they are especially addicted to cock-fighting’.²²⁴

However, the state of nature does not prevail exclusively. Erédia’s Meridional Indians have politics and social hierarchy. Perhaps it was more difficult for a Luso-Macassan than a European to deny the existence of law, politics, and social structure in Asia. But Erédia invoked other tropes that recall European myths such as the uninhabited island with abandoned cities and fortresses. Erédia explains that this proves the presence of ‘civilization ... and liberal and mechanical sciences’ in Meridional India.²²⁵

Morality is another theme of Erédia’s account. He tells a story of two kinds of interest in gold. The people of Ende (on the island of Flores, east of Java) discover an abundance of gold on the island of Luca Veach, and load their boat with as much as they can carry, and return home via Sabbo. The people of Sabbo, however, are ‘greedy’ and want to mount a voyage of their own to get gold from Luca Veach, but do not possess knowledge of latitude or know the appearance of the island, and so cannot make the voyage. Priority in discovery is tied to morality in Erédia’s thinking, and desire for gold is only greed if you lack sufficient knowledge to take it. This should be unsurprising, for as a Luso-Asian go-between, Erédia was probably more conscious than most of the social rules for admission to nobility in European culture. The people

222 Erédia, op. cit., p. 68.

223 Erédia, op. cit., p. 64.

224 Erédia, op. cit., p. 63.

225 Erédia, op. cit., p. 67.

of Sabbo are greedy and undeserving; the people of Ende, clever and earn gold through their discovery.

Erédia's use of letters to authenticate his work is typical of travel and utopian devices. They help him build a complex claim for his own preeminence in the discovery of Meridional India. Although his vision is unique, his rhetoric is typical of the utopian and travel writing tradition. In the way that he brings together travel writing, utopian traditions, and geography, Erédia represents a local response to the irruption of European discourses and desires into the world of the archipelago, pressing the old boundaries, introducing new ones and new movements of peoples and ideas.

Conclusions

Terra Australis Incognita embodied in geographical form many of the tropes of the ancient Greek antipodes. Aside from its visual form opposite the northern continents, pointing to them with its peninsulas, illustrations evoke the *eschatia*, the endzones of wonders and the monstrous. This bipolarity of *Terra Australis* persisted in the early modern geographical representations, as Eisler observed. Vespucci's translation of the antipodes into geometrical form also recapitulated a relative binary between European 'us', standing upright under heaven, and the antipodes 'them' standing awkwardly transverse-wise. Mercator's *Beach* peninsula shows evidence of local pilots' knowledge, in which case the Indigenous knowledge that shaped it, however subtly, might also have included Aboriginal knowledge.

Le Testu was explicit about using his imagination to convey a coherent grasp of vast space and reconfigure it to fit the pages of an atlas. As part of this practice he was perhaps the first to locate utopia in *Terra Australis Incognita* with the toponym *Cap de More*. The most eloquent and scientific translation of cosmographical knowledge to atlas form was Ortelius's *Theatrum*, whose universalist ideology created a teaching guide to all time and space. Ortelius also associated *Terra Australis Incognita* with utopia in its ancient Greek sense as a space for philosophical *otium* through the juxtaposition of the Ciceronian quote on his *Typus*, ensuring *Terra Australis* would remain a site for

the *theatrum mundi* trope. The *eschatia* as a space embodying extreme bipolarity and a focus of wonder infuse the more empirical writings of Queirós and Erédia, showing its potential to inspire continued poetic and utopian elaboration. Meanwhile the contradictory universalism of neo-Stoic Christianity troped *Terra Australis Incognita* as a site of future colonial possession.

Chapter 2: Drama: Conquests of the Antipodes

William Barak's painting, *Ceremony* (c. 1895), describes a corroboree such as those performed for intercommunal meetings and trade by the Wurundjeri people, owners of the lands now occupied by the city of Melbourne (*Figure 2.01*).²²⁶ Barak (c. 1824–1903) was a Wurundjeri *Ngurungaeta* (elder), born just before the colonial invasion that would utterly disrupt and transform his people's way of life. He was a painter, artisan, teacher, political leader, and a co-founder of Coranderrk Station, a Wurundjeri mission and farm that grew food for sale to the markets of Melbourne. Barak adapted to the brutal realities of colonial rule by adopting Christianity and making influential friends such as the Scottish presbyterian Ann Bon, who supported his many petitions to the governor to keep Coranderrk operating against colonists' pressure to close it down and sell the land to them.²²⁷

In the 1880s, Barak talked about his culture to the anthropologist A. W. Howitt, explaining, for example, exchange practices at the Wil-im-ee Mooring stone hatchet quarry, north of Melbourne.²²⁸ He also began to use painting to teach tourists visiting Coranderrk about Wurundjeri culture. He might have been inspired to use painting in this way by artists he met in Melbourne, including Florence Fuller and Artur Loureiro, who painted his portrait.²²⁹ The Christian managers of the Coranderrk mission forbade

226 'Corroboree' comes from the Dharuk word *garaabara*, its morphology and spelling possibly influenced by 'corroborate'. Dharuk is a language from the Sydney area.

227 Gib Wettenhall, *William Barak: Bridge Builder of the Kulin* (Melbourne: Aboriginal Affairs Victoria, 2006).

228 A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia* (London: Macmillan and Co. Limited, 1904), pp. 311–12.

229 Florence Fuller's portrait, *Barak, Last Chief of the Yarra Yarra Tribe of Aborigines* (1885) is in the LaTrobe collection of the State Library Victoria, Melbourne. Artur Loureiro might have painted three portraits of Barak. *King Barak Last of the Yarra Tribe* (1900) is in the National Gallery of Australia (NGA) in Canberra, and *Régulo australiano* (1900) is in the Museu Nacional de Soares dos Reis (MNSR) in Porto. The NGA's website states that Loureiro painted a portrait in 1893 entitled *A Son of the Soil*, but searches by both museums in response to my queries have failed to locate it. My contact at the MNSR in Porto informed

conducting ceremonies for fear of promoting paganism, and so Barak turned the ceremonies into art. Ian McLean has explained how Barak combined Wurundjeri with European media and techniques, and used 'rhyming lines' to produce an image that conveyed the performative dynamics of the corroboree: 'Repeating abstract patterns of cloaks and figuration beat a rhythm across the page and beyond, imbuing his work with the very sense of ritual that the colonial authorities forbade: the repeated iteration of song, stamping feet and swaying bodies.'²³⁰

The paintings are notable for combining the vertical view of the map, also typical of Aboriginal art from other parts of the continent, along with the horizontal view typical of European illustration. The combination of vertical and horizontal views is also a feature shared by early modern European maps. By combining these two views, along with a perspectival viewpoint, Barak achieves a dynamic description of ceremony that appears to suggest the world of the Wurundjeri before invasion, with performing human figures moving around a centre made up of animal totems. Barak's paintings aspire to capture a record of performance, like the text of a play. Much might be encoded in Barak's images, particularly in the patterns of the figures' cloaks and the totems, that remains inaccessible today. We can no longer know the extent to which he included 'inside knowledge' of aspects of Wurundjeri law that was only interpretable by the authorized few.

Janice Newton has discussed how corroborees held in the 1840s and 1850s brought Kooris to Melbourne from all over the southeast in efforts to find ways through ceremony to come to terms with the catastrophic impact of invasion. These events incorporated traditional symbols and totems with European objects or props such as the Bible, which was held aloft in the way in which Barak's performers hold the

me that during dismounting of *Régulo australiano* in 2010, the canvas was found to have another signature and date, 1893, covered by the frame. It is therefore possible that it was *A Son of the Soil* that Loureiro brought back with him to Porto, and that he retitled and redated it for exhibition, but more research is needed to confirm such a hypothesis.

230 Ian McLean, *Rattling Spears: A History of Indigenous Australian Art* (London: Reaktion Books, 2016).

boomerang.²³¹ By the mid-nineteenth century, settler colonialism had reached a peak of violent efficiency. The colonists dispossessed the Wurundjeri and their neighbours of their lands within a generation.²³² As genocidal as the onslaught was, it was not enough to eradicate the memory of the Wurundjeri, owing to the intelligence with which people like Barak responded by adopting the power of technologies like the document to make permanent a memory of his culture long after he was gone.

This brief insight into the Wurundjeri's use of drama and painting to performatively embody a conception of their place in the world and demonstrate the connection of their culture to their land at a time of social crisis offers a contrast with the way in which the space in which they lived was imagined by the forebears of their colonizers. The irony of imperialism is that, while peoples such as the Wurundjeri, whose lands were invaded and ways of life changed radically by colonialism, embraced the technologies of the colonists to express their cultures in new forms as part of a process of addressing urgent existential threats, the peoples of the conquerors typically expressed profound fears that their ways of life were threatened by the acquisition of knowledge about the subjugated peoples. The more unknown the threat, the greater it became in the imagination. As it came to be acknowledged not only that profoundly different peoples and societies existed, but that contact with them was possible—as the idea of antipodes shifted from being a theoretical possibility to being a tangible reality, a profound social reaction occurred in European society. The response to the threat of this knowledge in early seventeenth-century England is instructive.

In 1617, Church of England bishop Joseph Hall published a polemical tract to discourage young gentlemen from travelling for the purpose of curiosity. 'It is the

231 Janice Newton, 'Two Victorian Corroborees: Meaning Making in Response to European Intrusion', *Aboriginal History*, 41 (2017), 121–149.

232 Tony Barta, "'They Appear Actually to Vanish from the Face of the Earth.'" Aborigines and the European Project in Australia Felix', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 10.4 (2008), 519–539.

Trauell of curiosity wherwith my quarell shall bee maintained,' he wrote.²³³ For Hall, travel is dangerous because the world is full of temptations to 'Antichristianisme':

The world is wide and open; but our ordinary trauell is southward, into the iawes of danger: for so farre hath Satans policie preuailed, that those parts which are only thought worth our viewing, are most contagious; and will not part with either pleasure or information, without some tang of wickednesse.²³⁴

Travel entails exposure to difference, but what concerned Hall most was contact with practices or ideas that did not conform with English Protestantism. Such satanic temptations, he believed, were more prevalent in the south. Since the antipodes was the furthest south it was possible to travel, it must hold the greatest dangers. As a result, Hall counselled that travel should only be carried out in the service of trade or the state: to obtain 'gold and timber for the building of Gods house':

for God himselfe that made the Sea, was the Author of Nauigation, and hath therein taught vs to set up a wooden bridge, that may reach to the very Antipodes themselves: ... the discoveries of Nauigation are the keyes which whosoouer hath receiued, may know that he is freely allowed to vnlocke these chests of nature, without any neede to picke the wards.²³⁵

Hall's extraordinary inference is that, since the skill of navigation is conferred by God, 'discoverers' have a divinely sanctioned right to seize whatever they desire from the places they visit, without permission from indigenous peoples ('wards'). English merchants may cross the seas to steal others' gold and timber, but contact with the owners of the lands from which material wealth is stolen should not extend beyond what is necessary to reap national and commercial profit. Taking an interest in their cultural or religious practices would be sinful, by definition. Travellers must return unaffected by what they experience. David McNinnis has pointed out that Hall followed the Horatian dictum that 'they change their clime, not their mind, who rush across the

233 Joseph Hall, *Quo Vadis? A Just Censure of Travel as It Is Commonly Undertaken by the Gentlemen of Our Nation*, EEBO (London: Printed by Edward Griffin for Nathaniel Butter, 1617), p. 5.

234 Hall, *Quo Vadis?* pp. 12–13.

235 Hall, *Quo Vadis?* p. 3.

sea'.²³⁶ If travel is necessary, the traveller should return home unchanged, enriched and with a greater appreciation of home. In Hall's xenophobic, materialist conception of travel, indigenous bodies can only get in the way of the divinely ordained duty to unlock nature's 'chests'.

The notion of the antipodes had provided a discourse for expressing ideas about the other for two millennia in Europe. It allowed a theoretical idea of the power of indigenous others to be conjured in texts and visualizations in which they were invested with monstrous embodied form, invoking positive or negative wonder. Once their power and wonder had been demonstrated, they could then be dethroned, disempowered, and cathartically laid to rest.²³⁷ This discourse applied equally whether or not there had been contact with distant southerners of lands conjectured to exist in the antipodes. Although the notion of the other may have little to do with those onto whom it is projected, it shapes perceptions and responses nonetheless. As Homi Bhabha observes, '[t]he other is never outside or beyond us; it emerges forcefully, within cultural discourse, when we *think* we speak most intimately and indigenously "between ourselves"'.²³⁸ Indigenous power then is not an agency of so-called 'indigenous' peoples, but an imperial fiction about the inhabitants of different societies which enables their agency to be described in familiar terms and then controlled and subdued so that imperial values prevail. The indigenous powers that European imperialism has projected onto peoples of other places helps us understand the cultural framework through which others were perceived, as well as the nature and uses of the imagination of the monstrous in imperial societies.

236 'caelum, non animum, mutant, qui trans mare currunt'. See David McNinnis, 'Therapeutic Travel in Richard Brome's *The Antipodes*', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 52.2 (2015), 447-69 (p. 462). McNinnis notes that 'lived experience is the end goal of Mandeville's [travel] project' as it is of Peregrine's.

237 The monstrous was a focus of intense cultural interest and debate in Renaissance Europe, and as a result of its cultural power, also an effective instrument of propaganda; see Anne Lake Prescott, 'Rabelaisian (Non)Wonders and Renaissance Polemics', in *Wonders, Marvels, and Monsters in Early Modern Culture*, ed. by Peter G. Platt (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999), pp. 133-144 (p. 133).

238 Homi K. Bhabha, 'Introduction: Narrating the Nation', in *Nation and Narration*, ed. by Homi K. Bhabha (London: Routledge, 1990), pp. 1-7.

This chapter explores the paradoxes of the conjuring of indigenous power in representations of the antipodes in English drama before evidence of Bandaiyan and its inhabitants became known in England. I explore what is particular to the poetic geography of the antipodes and other parts of Europe's *eschatia*—the ends of the earth most distant from Europe—and the nature of the indigenous power imagined to reside there. My focus is three English dramas from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, a period in which English commercial and nautical power was limited but growing, characterized by what Gillies refers to as a 'wish-dream' of global empire.²³⁹ English imperial ambitions were shaped by a mix of admiration, disgust, and envy for Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch projects beyond Europe. The theatre is a good source for investigating this question because its intimate dialectic with geographical discourse, evinced by Gillies, Yates, and others, made it a forum for staging performative reflections on the dilemmas and dreams of imperial projects, and because of the interest playwrights took in colonial subjects.

The sources for examination in this chapter are scenes from a selection of three plays that stage colonial dramas in sites of the *eschatia* before evidence of Bandaiyan became known in England. Christopher Marlowe's *Tamburlaine the Great* (1587–88), John Fletcher's *The Island Princess* (1619–20), and Richard Brome's *The Antipodes* (1640) were all written during the period in which Ortelius's *Typus* prevailed as the most widely recognized image of the world and the southern hemisphere. Marlowe's use of Ortelius is well known. Brome's play is interesting because of its apparent conservatism: its notion of the antipodes has pre-Ortelian, medieval aspects. This suggests the continued availability of antipodes discourse in the seventeenth century. Fletcher's play has been chosen because it is rooted in contemporary colonial conflicts, and takes place in the dynamic sphere of cultural contact on the northern periphery of Bandaiyan, from where VOC ships such as the *Duyfken* had been sailing south since the year Fletcher

239 John Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 205.

began writing.²⁴⁰ The conflict between Fletcher's admiration of Spanish power and his dreams of an English Protestant empire is also reflected in his drama.

My analysis of the performance of the space of the antipodes in this chapter is primarily indebted to Gillies' study of the Renaissance poetic geography of difference. For Gillies, the economy of poetic geography comprised geographical, ethnographical, political, sexual, and domestic aspects. It is staged in Shakespeare drama through exotic characters such as Othello, Cleopatra, and Ethiope of Tunis in *The Tempest*, whose transgressive difference presents a threat of sexual pollution to their European partners and their societies.²⁴¹ The threat to order posed by these characters is always resolved with their disempowerment: their difference is annulled through death, slavery, conversion, or confiscation.²⁴² In the plays discussed in this chapter, indigenous power is sometimes associated with such transgressive exotic characters; in other cases, the location of indigenous power is more complex.

The following analysis of the embodied performance of the space of the antipodes in these plays will make possible an understanding of the colonial and commercial ideologies which framed European mariners' experience of Bandaiyan, and the way in which their observations were represented and received in Europe, which are the subjects of the following chapters of this thesis.

Tamburlaine's Antipodes

One of the most astounding uses of geographical poetics in the Renaissance theatre remains Christopher Marlowe's two-part drama *Tamburlaine the Great* (1587–88).²⁴³ The

240 1606; see John Fletcher, *The Island Princess*, ed. by Clare McManus (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2013), p. 10.

241 Gillies, *Geography of Difference*, p. 25.

242 Gillies, *Geography of Difference*, p. 100.

243 The first play of *Tamburlaine the Great* was probably first staged in 1587, and was so successful that Marlowe wrote a sequel performed in 1588. The plays were published in 1590. See Christopher Marlowe, *Tamburlaine the Great, Parts One and Two*, ed. by Mathew R. Martin (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2014). I refer to this edition throughout my discussion. It is not known when it was first performed at the Rose Theatre, built in

violence of the Scythian shepherd turned conqueror, reputed for his extreme brutality, is given expression through his pronouncement of the vast geographies across which he imaginatively moves and conquers. Among the strategies of this spatial evocation is perhaps the greatest profusion of toponyms spoken in any stage drama. The names of the places in Asia, Africa, and Europe that Tamburlaine has overrun or longs to bring within his orbit of power attest to the global extent of his limitless ambition. Marlowe recognized the 'will to power' encoded in geographical discourse, which encourages the makers and readers of maps to engage in a form of perception that is more than passively 'objective', as sometimes assumed, but creative, acquisitive, and possessive.²⁴⁴ Marlowe's achievement was to use the fantasy of power invoked in the act of viewing maps to embody Tamburlaine's unrestrained desire to conquer the world.

The greatest irony of two whole plays in which Tamburlaine purports to strut and subjugate the entire world is that he never moves beyond the borders of the old *oikoumene*. He reaches neither the antipodes nor the western hemisphere, but his mythic, pseudo-historical origins in Scythia, a 'barbarian' realm of the classical world, combined with his reputation for extreme violence and military invincibility, make him a kind of monstrous antipodean from the far east of the *oikoumene*. The historical character, Timur, born in the early fourteenth century near Samarkand, today in Uzbekistan, lived before European geographical knowledge had encompassed southern Africa, the Americas, or the Pacific. The tragic irony of the play rests on the

1587, but it was performed there successfully in 1594 (Martin, ed. p. 38). During a performance by the Lord Admiral's Men on 16 November 1587, a pregnant woman and child in the audience were killed by a gun fired from the stage by accident (p. 38). This event must have contributed to the play's notoriety for violence.

244 Harley cited Foucault's reference to the 'will to power' in historiography in his discussion of how maps reflect the political power relations of the society which makes them; see J. B. Harley, 'Maps, Knowledge, and Power', in *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*, ed. by Paul Laxton (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), pp. 51–81 (p. 54). Jacob observed the connection between the desire for power and possession in the 'zenithal' perspective of the map: 'Maps reflect a desire for completeness, a dream of universality, a yearning for power in which seeing from a [zenithal] point of view forbidden to all others ... is equivalent to possession'; see Christian Jacob, *The Sovereign Map: Theoretical Approaches in Cartography throughout History*, ed. by Edward H. Dahl, trans. by Tom Conley (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), p. 1.

limits of Tamburlaine's much vaunted achievement, albeit one that the historical figure could not have been aware of.

Tamburlaine is a complex and ambiguous hero. He embodies at once European imperial desire: he is the audacious commander from the known world aspiring to conquer the indigenous power of the antipodes; at the same time, he embodies the feared 'barbarian', indigenous power operating on the *eschatia* of the *oikoumene*. This ambiguity is in part historical. An important reason for Timur's renown in Europe was his defeat of the Ottoman ruler Bayezit I (Bajazeth in the play) at Ankara in 1402, which slowed the Ottoman advance into southeastern Europe. Timur's defeat of the feared Ottomans elevated his power in the European imagination, but because his empire fell apart after his death, divided between his sons, his power never posed a threat to Europe itself.²⁴⁵ The following discussion will examine how Marlowe resolves the threat of indigenous power in the play associated with the *eschatia* and the antipodes.

Ethel Seaton demonstrated in 1924 how Marlowe made extensive use of Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* to inform the itinerary of Tamburlaine's marches of conquest across Africa, Asia, and Europe.²⁴⁶ Seaton showed how Marlowe 'turned the atlas to and fro, and picked out a name here and there, attracted partly, but not entirely, by its sonority'.²⁴⁷ His selection of names was not random. As Seaton argued, he plotted Tamburlaine's journey of conquest across the spaces represented by Ortelius with 'the accuracy of a scholar and the common-sense of a merchant-venturer, as well as with the imagination of a poet'.²⁴⁸

As a studious, purposeful reader of Ortelius's maps, Marlowe became a cartographer himself, working like a contemporary geographer to plot in dramatic diction a map of Tamburlaine's course of conquest across the continents. Seaton shows how Marlowe

245 See Martin's introduction, *Tamburlaine the Great*, pp. 15–17.

246 Ethel Seaton, 'Marlowe's Map', *Essays and Studies*, 10 (1924), 13–35.

247 Seaton, pp. 27–28.

248 Seaton, p. 34.

analysed what his sources recorded about Tamburlaine's battles and journeys, and compared them with the geography and toponyms of Ortelius. He even updated names between the two parts of the play, discarding some names inherited from his narrative sources for the contemporary toponyms in Ortelius's atlas. For instance, the Euxine Sea and Siria of Part 1 become the Mare Maggiore and Soria in Part 2.²⁴⁹

Gillies highlighted another curious difference in the treatment of geography in the two plays. In the first, geography 'sings' more often, by which he means that geography provides a master discourse, or metaphorical vehicle for expressing human perception, desire, will, and action in the drama. In Part 2, although Ortelius's Africa map clearly provides the itinerary for Tamburlaine's marches of conquest, there are only two passages in which geographical discourse 'sings'.²⁵⁰ Perhaps Marlowe felt he had overdone the geographical hyperbole in Part 1 or wanted to hold something back for the final death scene, the second and last of these 'singing' scenes.

Like early modern geographers, Marlowe made use of poetic licence to adapt his geographical imaginary to his purpose. Hence, Damascus is in Africa because the Turkish Empire was governed from Memphis according to Marlowe's narrative sources.²⁵¹ For Emrys Jones, this definition of Africa enabled Marlowe to divide the expansion of Tamburlaine's realm into two phases, the first, eastwards into Asia and the second, westwards across Africa. By the end of the Part 1, he has gained a huge east-west empire, stretching from Morocco to the Ganges.²⁵²

To gratify thee, sweet Zenocrate,
Egyptians, Moors, and men of Asia,
From Barbary unto the Western Indie,
Shall pay a yearly tribute to thy sire;

249 Seaton, pp. 20–21.

250 John Gillies, 'Marlowe, the Timur Myth and the Motives of Geography', in *Playing the Globe: Genre and Geography in English Renaissance Drama*, ed. by John Gillies and Virginia Mason Vaughan (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1998), pp. 203–229 (p. 223).

251 Seaton, pp. 20–1.

252 Emrys Jones, "'A World of Ground': Terrestrial Space in Marlowe's "Tamburlaine" Plays', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 38.1/2 (2008), 168–82 (pp. 177–9).

And from the bounds of Afric to the banks
Of Ganges shall his mighty arm extend.

(1 *Tamburlaine*, V. i. 517–522)

The pervasive notion of Tamburlaine's empire as a construction joining east and west marks his entrapment in the cosmos of the classical *oikoumene*, as this description excludes the continents that in Marlowe's time are the focus of metropolitan wish-dreams of imperial expansion, the Americas and *Terra Australis Incognita*.

In *Staged Properties in Early Modern English Drama*, Jonathan Gil Harris and Natasha Korda argue that stage props 'have a habit of drawing attention to themselves as things with material lives surplus to the "fictive worlds" into which they have been enlisted.' They may 'speak' in ways that depart from the script by drawing the audience's attention to aspects of their material 'lives' and history of use in the world beyond their existence as theatre props.²⁵³ Likewise, the many toponyms deployed in Marlowe's play have social lives as texts independent of their utterances in the play. In addition to their intertextuality, they are material as voiced utterances in the discourse of the play and outside it, as well as through reference to places in the physical world.

The place names that Marlowe transfers from Ortelius's atlas to the realm of the play's textuality and performance are verbal properties that resonate with meaning both within and beyond the play, as surely as the material props used or worn by the actors. These names evoke the colour and dynamism of distant and exotic places in Asia, Africa, and Europe that most of those in Marlowe's audiences will have never seen but might have heard about in circulating voyage accounts such as the *Travels of Sir John Mandeville*. These names gain histories within the play, in addition to their long histories without. Their verbal utterance within the play accords them moments of vocalized presence within the course of the play, which also evokes the materiality of those places they refer to.

253 Jonathan Gil Harris and Natasha Korda, 'Introduction: Towards a Materialist Account of Stage Properties', in *Staged Properties In Early Modern English Drama*, ed. by Jonathan Gil Harris and Natasha Korda (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 1–31.

For the majority of these places, the play provides little description or elaboration of their nature, as though the iteration of the name itself, usually not alone but in conjunction with the enunciation of other places, were enough to conjure into material presence before the audience the Barbary coast or the banks of the Ganges. The more distant these locations are from each other, the more powerful the effect in evoking wonder in the audience at the spatial extent of Tamburlaine's realm. The purpose of these names is less about evoking the audience's imagination of a particular *place*, but rather to pinpoint *locations* on the world map of the audience's mind to demonstrate the immense extent of *space* that the hero claims to control.

Tamburlaine's control of space by definition also implies his control of the people that inhabit it. Hence, he is said to enlist soldiers from the most distant corners of the known world:

He brings a world of people to the field:
From Scythia to the oriental plage
Of India, where raging Lantchidol
Beats on the regions with his boisterous blows
That never seaman yet discoverèd.

(2 *Tamburlaine* I. i. 67–71)

This passage, at the beginning of Part 2 reminds the audience of the extraordinary extent of Tamburlaine's power. The *Mare Lantchidol* embodies a reference to the antipodes. On Ortelius's *Typus*, it is the sea south of Java, between the Indonesian archipelago and the *Beach* promontory of *Terra Australis Incognita*. Lantchidol, a corrupted interpretation of an indigenous name, served in the European geographical imagination to mark the furthest periphery of Asia, the greatest distance that European ships had sailed from home.²⁵⁴ Beyond was the unknown continent '[t]hat never

254 Lantchidol is derived from a Malay or Javanese name for the 'south sea' which the Venetian explorer Antonio Pigafetta learned while on the expedition of Magalhães. The Malay word for 'sea' is *laut*; the Javanese word for 'south' was *kidul*, or sometimes *kidol*. The name Pigafetta learned was transformed by copying and spelling errors. Its earliest appearance is as 'Laut Chidol' on an Italian manuscript map dated 1524, where *ch* is the typical Italian

seaman yet discoverèd'. Marlowe's anthropomorphization of Lantchidol wielding 'his boisterous blows' evokes the mythical challenge that the distant sea posed to seamen daring to explore beyond it. Lantchidol embodies the indigenous power of the inhabitants of *terrae incognitae*, a formidable monster or Asian Adamastor,²⁵⁵ that Tamburlaine would need to overcome to embark on a conquest of the antipodes. Marlowe's Lantchidol brings to the surface the drama inherent in Renaissance poetic geography, and encoded in Ortelius's map. In Tamburlaine's visualization of the world, Mexico, Lantchidol, and 'th' Antarctic Pole' are conflated as alternative definitions of the *eschatia* of greatest distance. His world is largely that of the ancient *oikoumene*. although he has an awareness of the antipodes beyond.

Tamburlaine's military successes come one after another. As Gillies observes, 'warfare becomes identical with triumph', as Tamburlaine progresses, traverses, and triumphs across the known world.²⁵⁶ This conflation of process with outcome is typical of the play's use of poetic geographical discourse, and emblemizes Tamburlaine's extraordinary ambition. Marlowe uses the illusion that a performative viewing of maps provoked in the early modern reader, as a stage whereon, in Ortelius's words, 'we may behold things done ... as if they were at this time present and in doing',²⁵⁷ to dramatize Tamburlaine's vaunting ambition. Although Tamburlaine's ability to achieve the vast extent of his geographical ambition is bound by the limits of the old *oikoumene*, because of the temporal limits of the historical Timur, the Marlovian character shares Ortelius's knowledge of the world, as well as a geographical imagination that easily conflates representation with reality.

transcription of the phoneme /k/. The *u* changed to *n* as a result of scribal confusion. See B.C. Donaldson, 'In Search of a Sea: The Origins of the Name Mare Lantchidol', *The Great Circle*, 10.2 (1988), 136–48.

255 The mythological character that guarded the passage around the Cape of Good Hope in the epic poem by Luís Vaz de Camões, *Os Lusíadas*.

256 Gillies, 'Marlowe, the Timur Myth', p. 213.

257 Abraham Ortelius, *The Theatre of the Whole World*, ed. by R. A. Skelton (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1968), Preface.

After the defeat and capture of Bajazeth, Emperor of Turkey, and the defeat of Egypt and capture of Zenocrate to become his wife, Tamburlaine calls himself 'great lord of Africa', and considers the control of the whole world within his grasp:

Those wallèd garrisons will I subdue
And write myself great lord of Africa.
So from the east unto the furthest west
Shall Tamburlaine extend his puissant arm.
The galleys and those pilling brigantines,
That yearly sail to the Venetian Gulf
And hover in the straits for Christians' wrack
Shall lie at anchor in the Isle Asant
Until the Persian fleet and men-of-war,
Sailing along the oriental sea,
Have fetched about the Indian continent,
Even from Persepolis to Mexico
And thence unto the Straits of Gibraltar,
Where they shall meet and join their force in one,
Keeping in awe the Bay of Portugal
And all the ocean by the British shore,
And by this means I'll win the world at last.

(1 *Tamburlaine* III. iii. 244–260)

The action of *Tamburlaine* is almost exclusively set in the *oikoumene* of the ancient world. As Seaton wrote, 'the setting is almost completely bounded by medieval geography'.²⁵⁸ Tamburlaine's conquests are mainly across Asia, Africa, and the edges of Europe. Aside from this reference to Mexico, there are only two other references to the world beyond the ancient *oikoumene*. One is direct and one oblique, and both are important to consider before turning attention to the final death scene at the conclusion of Part II, in which *Terra Australis Incognita* appears, not as a name pronounced, but on a map viewed by actors and audience. In order to understand the full significance of this final scene, which although much discussed by critics, remains in some respects one of the most cryptic of the play, it is necessary first to look at Marlowe's use of poetic geography in the earlier parts of the play.

258 Seaton, p. 19.

The other reference to the world beyond the ancient *oikumene* in Part I is Tamburlaine's vow to trample conquered victims even 'to th' Antarctic pole':

When holy Fates
Shall 'stablish me in strong Egyptia,
We mean to travel to th' Antarctic Pole,
Conquering the people underneath our feet,
And be renowned as never emperors were.

(1 *Tamburlaine* IV. iv. 132–136)

Tamburlaine's perception of geography here, aside from the use of the term 'th' Antarctic Pole', amounts to little more than the ancient or medieval idea of the antipodes as 'the people underneath our feet'. Its rhetorical value lies in hyperbole, based on the notion that the space of the antipodes is at least as great in extent as the *oikumene*. The concision of Marlowe's language highlights, through the rhetoric of Tamburlaine's speech, the conqueror's conflation of will and completed deed. The antipodes are by definition already underneath Tamburlaine's feet, but, according to tradition, they are unreachable by the people of the northern hemisphere, and therefore beyond their control. The irony lies in the hero's conflation of the recognition of their location (seeing them in his mind's eye) with his will to trample them to subjection, a desire that he will not accomplish.

This conflation of desire and action is also characteristic of the representational deception of the map. The map user's 'will to power' derives from the map's potent delusion that seeing a representation of space is the same as knowing and possessing it. On this occasion, Tamburlaine has no map to visualize the antipodes with; when he does, at the end of the play, he will be confronted with the limits of his ability to convert discursive will to power into realized control.

Tamburlaine then turns his sights on the treasures of the city of Damascus, where, he states,

The townsmen mask in silk and cloth of gold,

And every house is as a treasury;
The men, the treasure, and the town is ours.

(1 *Tamburlaine* IV. iii. 108–110)

The future perfect sense of 'is ours' again marks the presumptive 'will to power' of the conqueror and colonist, shared with the cartographer and map-viewer, who assumes that he has already possessed everything he looks on, even before he has expended the violence needed to subdue it.

Tamburlaine hosts a banquet at Damascus, which begins with a figure of cannibalism. He gruesomely jokes with Bajazeth, the king of Turkey, whom he deposed and carts around in a cage, about eating each other's hearts. This scene is critical to understanding the moral argument of the play. Marlowe makes an ironic contrast with accounts of Spanish conquistadors like Cortés, whose bloody conquests of places like Mexico were morally equivalent to the alleged depravities (such as cannibalism) of the indigenous peoples whose lands they conquered. In this scene, although the conqueror might not indulge in cannibalism, he imagines it. Since I argue that Tamburlaine's desire is often conflated with its outcome, his joke with Bajazeth almost amounts to the doing of it. Fletcher also inverts the idea of cannibalism as a trait of the conquered indigenous and applies it to the would-be colonial conqueror in *The Sea Voyage*, in the comedic scene in which the French adventurer-voyagers Franville, Morillat, and Lemure discuss how to Aminta to satisfy their hunger.²⁵⁹

Tamburlaine rejects all moral restraints, and goes on to ignore Zenocrate's plea to have mercy on the city. He responds with an arrogant statement of what he plans to do with Damascus, his tyrannical intentions presented in geographical tropes:

I will confute those blind geographers
That make a triple region of the world,
Excluding regions that I mean to trace
And with this pen reduce them to a map,

259 John Fletcher, 'The Sea Voyage', in *Three Renaissance Travel Plays*, ed. by Anthony Parr (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), pp. 135–216, (III. i. 59–143).

Calling the provinces, cities, and towns
After my name and thine, Zenocrate.
Here at Damascus will I make the point
That shall begin the perpendicular.

(1 *Tamburlaine* IV. iv. 73–80)

Gillies observed that the traditional critical discussion of this speech—which poses a choice between Marlowe thinking of a medieval Isidorean (T-O) geography or a Ptolemaic (new geographical) map—denies Marlowe poetic licence: perhaps he was thinking of both to achieve a richer effect.²⁶⁰

The perpendicular is primarily a reference to the ‘T’ of medieval Christian ‘T-O’ maps, made by the ‘blind geographers’ of the pre-modern world, who inherited the tripartite division of the ancient Greek *oikoumene* into Europe, Asia, and Africa, and thereby excluded the regions beyond that Tamburlaine ‘means to trace’. In many T-O maps the ‘T’ is an explicit figure of the tau cross (*crux commissa*). The cross is implied in the Ebstorf map where the world is presented as the body of Christ, with the head in the east beside Paradise, Jerusalem at the navel, and the feet in Portugal (*Figure 2.02*).²⁶¹ The ‘triple region’ therefore alludes not only to the moral universe of ancient geography but also to that of Christianity. Tamburlaine is, of course, unconscious of the Christian significance of the point of the perpendicular, and therefore the reference is ironic, marking his tyrannical behaviour as not only a threat but monstrous in his presumption to mark a new centre for the world at the epicentre of his violent realm.

The perpendicular is also a reference to the prime meridian, which in Marlowe’s day had no agreed position among geographers, as well as Pope Alexander VI’s demarcation of the world between the crowns of Portugal and Spain.²⁶² Tamburlaine’s

260 Gillies, *Geography of Difference*, p. 56.

261 David Woodward, ‘Medieval Mappaemundi’, in *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, ed. by J. B. Harley and David Woodward, *The History of Cartography*, 6 vols (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), I, 286–370.

262 Pope Alexander VI, ‘Demarcation Bull Granting Spain Possession of Lands Discovered by Columbus’, 1493 <<https://www.gilderlehrman.org/sites/default/files/inline-pdfs/T-04093.pdf>> [accessed 29 November 2018].

arrogance therefore is invested and enhanced here through comparison with the tyranny of the Spanish Catholic monarchs in league with the Pope (considered the Antichrist in Protestant England). Marlowe wrote his play soon after the English defeat of the Spanish Armada, and Gillies points out the contradictory way in which it both appeals to English national pride and desire for global empire, at the same time as it criticizes Spanish imperialism as depraved like Tamburlaine's conquests.²⁶³

Tamburlaine boasts he will redraw the old geographers' maps using the geometry of the new cartography, in which the prime meridian, in theory, can be set anywhere. Tamburlaine decides to set the perpendicular at Damascus, the centre of his conquered realm. Tamburlaine's tyrannical arrogance contrasts with the ostensible humility of Ortelius's *Typus*, as summarized in the quotation from Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations*; Tamburlaine's boast can therefore be read as a threat to rend the integrity of the world picture.

Tamburlaine reads the rational abstraction of Euclidean geography as a licence to set the perpendicular wherever he wills it. Marlowe highlights this amoral potential of the new geography. Where the old centre of the Christian cosmos was mapped at Jerusalem, modern conquistadors make their capitals the centre of a human imperium. The moral implications of this tension between the old and new geography puts Tamburlaine beside Cortés and the colonists of America. Tamburlaine plans to 'reduce' the new places he conquers to a map, and rename them after himself and his conquered Queen, just as European colonists drew maps of America and named their settlements after themselves. Marlowe's comment on the presumption, brutality, and theft of early modern European colonialism seems clear. Indigenous power resides not only in the barbarian but in the European Christian conqueror.

Gillies highlighted that, although, or perhaps because early modern maps comprised a highly theatricalized discourse, when a map is brought on stage as a prop, there is a

263 Gillies, 'Marlowe, the Timur Myth', p. 205, notes the 'weird disjunctiveness' of Marlowe's 'conjunction of Renaissance imperialism and the Tamerlane myth', so that Tamburlaine's triumphalism represents both the 'chutzpah' of the English victory over Spain and a critique of Spanish imperialism.

possible conflict between the map as an image of the world and the theatre's already established idea as a microcosm of the world. In *Lear* and other Shakespearean plays Gillies discusses (*I Henry IV*, III. i. and *Richard II*, II. i. 40–66), the map represents an image of the kingdom, and is presented for 'a programme of brutal partition' on the king's death.²⁶⁴ The map therefore connotes national decay. In these plays, Gillies argues, the map's discursive power is diminished when introduced into the context of the stage, such that, in the map scene in *Lear*, cartography is 'dethroned by the theatre's own more intimately bodied language of space'.²⁶⁵

It is interesting to compare what happens in *Tamburlaine* in a scene using a world map which echoes the 'programme of brutal partition' in *Lear*, and to ask whether it is the map or the theatre that controls the representation of the world image, or both. At the end of Part 2, Tamburlaine is taken ill and is forced to face his mortality. He ventures one last conquest, this time in a bid to triumph over his own death, declaring, 'Then I will comfort all my vital parts | And live in spite of death above a day' (*2 Tamburlaine* V. iii. 86–90). He asks his sons for a map, and one is duly brought on stage. Pointing to the map, Tamburlaine retraces his past conquests: 'Here I began to march towards Persia ...' (*2 Tamburlaine* V. iii. 126 ff.). The conquests he lists are Persia, Armenia, the coasts of the Caspian Sea, Bithynia, Egypt, Arabia, Nubia, the Borno Lake, the coast of the Ethiopian Sea, across the Tropic of Capricorn to Zanzibar, then back to Scythia via northern Africa, Greece, and Asia. Another catalogue of the toponymic props that evoke the spatial extent of Tamburlaine's bloodthirsty campaigns across the *oikoumene* are recited. Not all the places listed by Tamburlaine in this catalogue appear on the *Typus Orbis Terrarum*. Scythia, in fact, Tamburlaine's birthplace, does not appear at all in Ortelius's atlas, so we might assume that audiences were familiar with the idea that it was somewhere in the region of Tartaria north of the Caspian Sea. In addition to Scythia, Bithynia and Zanzibar do not appear on Ortelius's world map either, although

264 This is the expression of Terence Hawkes, cited by John Gillies, 'The Scene of Cartography in King Lear', in *Literature, Mapping, and the Politics of Space in Early Modern Britain*, ed. by Andrew Gordon and Bernhard Klein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 109–137 (p. 110).

265 Gillies, 'Scene of Cartography', p. 109.

Zanzibar appears on the map of Africa. Seaton takes Zanzibar's location in southwestern Africa instead of the expected east coast as a proof that Ortelius's map of Africa was the one Marlowe used.

Each director of the play can interpret the text as they please in terms of what 'map' is brought on stage. There is no specific reference anywhere in the text to Ortelius. However, given the popularity of Ortelius's atlas and Seaton's evidence that Marlowe used the *Theatrum* to inform the geography of the play, it is likely that Marlowe had in mind Ortelius's world map, the *Typus Orbis Terrarum*, for the final scene. The stage prop itself might be, according to interpretation, a generic map, an approximate copy of the *Typus*, or merely a large sheet of paper, although Gillies has observed that the context requires the world map to be legible to the audience.²⁶⁶ Its legibility would enhance its power to contribute to the meaning of the scene. If Tamburlaine traced his conquests on the map itself, it would be readily apparent that he had conquered a large but limited space on the *Typus*.

There are various ways in which the map might have been presented to the audience. It might have been revealed in the discovery space, from behind a curtain or even as a curtain, or have been suspended from the musicians' gallery, or from beneath the portico. Tamburlaine might have stood before it pointing out the locations of his conquests to the audience. Alternatively, it might have been laid on the stage itself, for Tamburlaine to tread his conquests 'underneath our feet', as in Tyrone Guthrie's 1951 production at the Old Vic theatre in London.²⁶⁷

When the map appears, the majority of the cast is on stage around the hero: the captive kings Theridamas of Argier, Techelles of Fez, and Usumcasane of Morocco; Orcanes (king of Natolia) and the king of Jerusalem; Tamburlaine's sons Amyras and Celebinus (Calyphas was murdered earlier in the play for not engaging in the battle with the

266 See Gillies, 'Scene of Cartography', p. 111; but note that Gillies' discussion is of the map in *King Lear*. He does not elaborate on the scene in *Tamburlaine*.

267 Jones, 'A World of Ground', p. 168.

Babylonians); his physicians; a messenger. Zenocrate is present too, embalmed in her hearse. The scene is set for the commonplace of the division of the kingdom upon the ruler's death. The presence of the map in this context, at the end of the emperor's life, the hero surrounded by his subjects, appears in later Shakespearean works, notably at the beginning of *King Lear*.²⁶⁸ An ironic reference to the historical fact that Timur's kingdom collapsed after his death.

Until this point, the play's use of geographical discourse has dramatized Tamburlaine's energetic conquest of space, yet Tamburlaine has not viewed a map until now; as has been noted, his understanding of the extended bounds of the early modern world has remained vague and rooted in the classical *oikoumene*. Now, he calls for a map in a sedate scene that invokes the 'expansive interiority' of early modern acts of 'armchair' travel.²⁶⁹ Tamburlaine reflects before his imminent death on his conquests of space. Unexpectedly, he is confronted, like Cicero's Scipio, with a vision of the relatively small scale of his exploits, and an impression of the vast extent of space it will not be possible for him to conquer:²⁷⁰

Look here, my boys, see what a world of ground
Lies westward from the midst of Cancer's line,
Unto the rising of this earthly globe,
Whereas the sun declining from our sight
Begins the day with our antipodes:
And shall I die and this unconquerèd?
Lo here, my sons, are all the golden mines,
Inestimable drugs and precious stones,
More worth than Asia and the world beside;
And from th' Antarctic Pole eastward behold
As much more land, which never was descried,
Wherein are rocks of pearl that shine as bright
As all the lamps that beautify the sky:

268 Gillies, 'Scene of Cartography', p. 110, notes that there are three such scenes in Shakespeare, all in later plays.

269 On the phenomenology of 'expansive interiority' in the act of early modern cartographic reading, see Gillies, 'Scene of Cartography', pp. 122–3.

270 Alfred Hiatt, *Terra Incognita: Mapping the Antipodes before 1600* (London: British Library, 2008), p. 5, has highlighted the frequent use of the antipodes as a sign of 'imperial overreach' or the limits of empire by classical poets such as Cicero, Ovid, Virgil, and Lucan.

And shall I die and this unconquerèd?

(2 *Tamburlaine* V. iv. 145–158)

The meaning of Tamburlaine's cryptic lament has been much discussed. The repetition of the refrain might suggest the hero's plaintive surprise at what he sees. 'And shall I die and this unconquerèd?' Tamburlaine believed without question that his desire to conquer all the world was achievable with the exercise of his will. Paradoxically, the early modern map, whose particular discursive combination of text, image, and line encourages the fantasy of being able to possess the world by seeing its representation before the eyes, here on Tamburlaine's deathday has confronted him with the limits of his will. The sight of the 'world of ground' that 'Lies westward from the midst of Cancer's line' and eastward 'from th' Antarctic Pole' has both engendered his desire to possess the vast wealth these vast spaces are reputed to hold, and confronted him with the reality that they are beyond his reach.

On the other hand, Tamburlaine's refrain might also be interpreted as a cry of aggressive delight at the discovery of more land to conquer. Unlike map scenes in other contemporary plays in which a king divides his realm among his heirs, Tamburlaine uses the map, not to plot a division of his kingdom after his death, but its extension. He exhorts his son Amyras to continue his conquests across the world, by implication all the way to the antipodes and the western hemisphere. In an echo and traduction of Christian symbolism, he proclaims, 'My flesh, divided in your precious shapes | Shall still retain my spirit, though I die, | And live in all your seeds immortally'.²⁷¹ Tamburlaine is then helped out of his golden chariot and Amyras replaces him in the seat, symbolizing the tyrant's wish-dream to continue living through the body of his son.²⁷² Tamburlaine misreads Cicero's admonition in the cartouche at the foot of the map beneath *terra australis nondum cognita* about 'keeping all eternity before his eyes'. Tamburlaine is not moved to share Scipio's humble

²⁷¹ 2 *Tamburlaine* V. iv. 172–4.

²⁷² *Tamburlaine*, ed. Martin, p. 240, n. 6, explains how Tamburlaine adapts Aristotelian thinking to his own egocentric theology.

recognition of the limits of Roman imperium.²⁷³ It seems that Tamburlaine's awareness of his imminent death moves him to reflect on his past triumphs with renewed hubris.²⁷⁴ Tamburlaine's Apollonian wish-dream is to keep the world before his eyes for all eternity from his golden chariot.²⁷⁵ Tamburlaine's sons' tears at his imminent death represent the unmistakable denial of his fantasy.

In the end, Tamburlaine's imperial fantasy is defeated by his final brief reflective moments of 'expansive interiority'.²⁷⁶ Tamburlaine's map scene has the same outcome as that in *Lear*. It signals both the hero's death and the division of his kingdom (which we know occurred historically after his death). It is worked out through a different process, however. In *Lear*, the map is an emblem of the king's body and realm. For Tamburlaine, the map represents the realm he wishes for; hence, it can symbolize his royal status only in the character's mind. Therefore, it comments ironically on his hubris, showing the small scale of his realm beside his ambition. As a consequence, the indigenous inhabitants of the antipodes have avoided being trampled beneath conqueror's feet. Tamburlaine's 'grasp' of the world reaches only to the limits of the old *oikoumene*. The antipodes remains *terra incognita*, a wish-dream of future conquest. Tamburlaine is defeated not only by his limited knowledge of geography but by time. The indigenous power of the antipodes in the play lies in the monstrous ambiguity of knowledge of a land unknown. Tamburlaine's power, which arose on the margins of the *oikoumene*, shares transgressive aspects of other exotic Elizabethan martial characters from beyond Europe such as Othello and Cleopatra. As for Shakespeare's exotics, the threat to Europe of Tamburlaine's power is finally annihilated by the

273 Depending on the form of the map prop and its positioning on the stage, the audience might have been able to see Cicero's quotation, and if not read it, to have been reminded of its words from familiarity with the map in the *Theatrum*.

274 As Gillies observes, Marlowe inverts the ethic of the traditional Roman Triumph in the play, also exemplified by the Scipio story, in which the Roman general would be reminded of the importance of humility. See Gillies, 'Marlowe, the Timur Myth', pp. 212–16.

275 On Apollonian symbolism in poetic geography, see Denis E. Cosgrove, *Apollo's Eye: A Cartographic Genealogy of the Earth in the Western Imagination* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

276 Gillies, 'Scene of Cartography', pp. 122–3, discusses the staging of expansive interiority in the map scene in *King Lear*.

play.²⁷⁷ Tamburlaine's tragic irony lies in Gillies' observation that 'the more extravagant [Tamburlaine's] geographic conquests, the more intimate and invasive his violence becomes, to the point where it destroys his family and (arguably) his human being'.²⁷⁸ Marlowe's play suggests that the destructive power of geographical discourse lies, unlike the theatre, in its power to transcend the body.

Armusia's Commerce of Conversion

John Fletcher's play *The Island Princess* is set in the northern Maluku islands of Tidore and Ternate, in what is today the eastern part of the Indonesian archipelago. They appear as *Molucçe Insule* at the most 'eastern' edge of the world image that Marlowe's Tamburlaine saw on Ortelius's *Typus*, the location of Paradise on medieval maps, further east even of the *Mare Lantchidol*. Fifteen years earlier, Dutch ships had sailed from Banda, a little further south, along the coast of southwestern New Guinea and what is now called Cape York Peninsula; but when Fletcher wrote his play around 1619, the world further south remained *terra incognita* in England.

Fletcher's play is a translation of Le Seigneur de Bellan's fiction *L'histoire de Ruis Dias et de Quixaire, Princess des Moloques* (1615), which was based on the history by Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, *Conquista de las Islas Molucas* (1609).²⁷⁹ These works concern early Portuguese activities in the islands and relations with local rulers. By 1620, Portuguese power in the region was waning, but Fletcher uses this framework to address the contemporary rivalry between the English East India Company and the VOC without mentioning the Dutch and risking alienating himself with powerful figures in James I's court.²⁸⁰ English–Dutch rivalry reached a violent climax in 1623 with the VOC's execution of twenty English, Portuguese, and Japanese merchants at Amboyna.²⁸¹

277 Gillies, *Geography of Difference*, p. 99.

278 Gillies, *Geography of Difference*, p. 60.

279 Michael Neill, "'Material Flames': The Space of Mercantile Fantasy in John Fletcher's 'The Island Princess'", *Renaissance Drama*, 28 (1997), 99–131 (p. 109).

280 Neill, p. 109.

The Island Princess can be regarded as a mercantile romance. The Portuguese 'gentleman' merchant protagonist Armusia arrives in Maluku intent on usurping control from his compatriot Ruy Dias, and marrying the indigenous princess of Tidore, Quisara. Ania Loomba observes that 'trade is never or only obliquely mentioned' in such plays, although in the case of *The Island Princess*, this also reflects its source.²⁸² Nevertheless, even though specific references to the transactions of trade are oblique in the play, the subject of commerce in commodities and bodies is pervasive, and generates much of the plot and episodes of dramatic crisis. The dangers of cross-cultural trade, sex, and conversion are implicit concerns of *The Island Princess*. The play stages the explosive religious, political, and social tensions produced by the contradictory aims and imagination of English commercial empire in the East. It presents the consequences of Joseph Hall's exhortation to travel south only for nation or commerce, because of the dangers of miscegenation and seduction by the sinful pleasures of Islam, paganism, or the Roman Catholicism of the representatives of England's rivals, Portugal and Spain. A characteristic of Fletcher's play discussed by McManus is that these national and religious identities are often ambiguous and shifting, which might derive from Fletcher's conflicted belief that Satan was made most manifest in events in the islands through the activities of his fellow Protestants, the Dutch.

The most significant change Fletcher made to his source was to create the character of Armusia to replace Samara, the Tidorian aristocrat who woos Quixaire in de Bellan's fiction.²⁸³ As a result, Fletcher created the circumstances for dramatizing a marriage of

281 On the English reception of this event and Dryden's recasting of it as a 'martyrdom of national virtue, liberty, and nobility', see Robert Markley, *The Far East and the English Imagination, 1600-1730* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 143-76.

282 Ania Loomba, 'Break Her Will, and Bruise No Bone Sir': Colonial and Sexual Mastery in Fletcher's *The Island Princess*, *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 2.1 (2002), 68-108 (p. 100). For Loomba, such plays focus on the shaping of national identity by merging the identities of merchants and gentlemen, and showing how gentlemen form alliances with the aristocracy to further national commercial success under the ideology of Christian conquest.

283 Neill, p. 109.

miscegenation. Gordon McMullan interpreted *The Island Princess* as Fletcher's translation of the story of John Rolfe's Pocahontas story reset in Maluku, explaining that '[t]he most obvious field of simultaneous desire and danger in the New World context is the sexual'.²⁸⁴ However, Neill rejects the need for a 'New World' comparison, which he finds potentially misleading to an understanding of the imperial context in Maluku, which was commercial rather than settler colonial.²⁸⁵ On the other hand, Neill points to the use of marriage as a metaphor for mercantile desire in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, and the common metropolitan use of female figures to embody desired lands of colonial or mercantile interest.²⁸⁶ Fletcher might also have known of examples of Portuguese merchants marrying indigenous princesses of the Indies. A local example was Manuel Godinho de Erédia's father, João de Erédia Aquaviva, who married Elena Vessiva, Princess of Makassar, in Southwest Sulawesi. They met when the ship on which Aquaviva was sailing stopped at Makassar so that the administrator of Malacca, Vincente Viegas, could convert the local kings to Christianity. Elena 'escaped' on the ship, and after marrying Aquaviva, bore four children, including Manuel.²⁸⁷ However much it might have occurred, the idea of interracial sex, desire, and marriage was a source of intense anxiety in early modern England.²⁸⁸

284 Gordon McMullan, *The Politics of Unease in the Plays of John Fletcher* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994), p. 222. Pocahontas' real public name was Amonute. She was the daughter of Powhatan, chief of a large group of Algonquian-speaking peoples. Amonute was kidnapped in 1613 as part of the Virginia colonists' attempt to seize Algonquian lands. John Rolfe married her in 1614 and took her to England, where she died in Gravesend in 1617. Her recent death and notoriety makes it likely that she was on Fletcher's mind when he wrote *The Island Princess*.

285 Neill, pp. 101–3.

286 Neill, pp. 110–11. Neill points, for example, to Dryden's depiction of Dutch usurpation of English commercial claims in Amboyna as the rape of Ysabinda.

287 Francisco Bethencourt, 'Early Modern Imperialism and Cosmopolitanism', in *Cosmopolitanism in the Portuguese-Speaking World*, ed. by Francisco Bethencourt (Brill, 2017), pp. 82–107.

288 On early modern English anxieties about miscegenation and the control of women, see Kim F. Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), see esp. p. 11. I intend 'interracial' in a general sense, not as referring to the modern notion of race, which arose gradually during the early modern period and came to be reified as 'hard science' only in the late eighteenth century; see Bronwen Douglas, *Science, Voyages, and Encounters in Oceania, 1511–1850* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p. 16.

The appearance of indigenous characters in the play and their relations with metropolitan figures provides an insight into Fletcher's poetic geography of Maluku. An examination of Armusia's imagination of indigenous geography and bodies in speeches at two key turning points in the play can shed productive light on the significance of the way in which indigenous power is expressed in the play and overcome by the imperial hero.

When Armusia arrives in Makassar at the beginning of *The Island Princess*, he is overwhelmed by his impressions:

We are arrived among the blessed islands
Where every wind that rises blows perfumes
And every breath of air is like an incense.
The treasure of the Sun dwells here. Each tree,
As if it envied the old Paradise,
Strives to bring forth immortal fruit—the spices
Renewing nature, though not deifying;
And when that falls by time, scorning the earth,
The sullen earth, should taint or suck their beauties,
But, as we dreamt, for ever so preserve us.
Nothing we see but breeds an admiration.
The very rivers, as we float along,
Throw up their pearls, and curl their heads to court us.
The bowels of the earth swell with the births
Of thousand unknown gems, and thousand riches.
Nothing that bears a life but brings a treasure.
The people they show brave, too: civil-mannered,
Proportioned like the masters of great minds.
The women, which I wonder at—

(*The Island Princess*, I. iii. 16–34)²⁸⁹

Armusia's speech is an exaggerated parody of the conventional tropes of wonder expressed by explorers on first arrival, as McManus points out.²⁹⁰ For Neill, it uses the rhetoric of *enargeia* and *evidentia* to create a vivid impression of an inhabited place that is unfamiliar to the audience. Critical to this evocation of inhabited place is the

289 Fletcher, *The Island Princess*.

290 Fletcher, *The Island Princess*, p. 35.

anthropomorphization of indigenous land as female body. Armusia's paean to the blessed islands is full of sexual and reproductive vocabulary that tropes the island as fertile and female: 'breeds', 'bring forth', 'throw up', 'swell', 'bears', 'brings', 'suck'. As Neill comments, Armusia 'instinctively assimilates the "beauties" of Moluccan women with the "riches" of an earthly "Paradise"'.²⁹¹ Armusia is overawed at the natural bounty of this female land, which is 'pregnant' with treasures awaiting his arrival to plunder them.

McManus enumerates a number of sources for Armusia's speech, including the Song of Solomon ('blessed Islands'), *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (which describes the treasure of Paradise in the East). It also recalls Gonzalo's evocation of 'foison and abundance' in *The Tempest* (II. i), the Ovidian 'golden age', and the Land of Cockaigne myth, a difficult to access paradise on earth where food appears ready to eat without the need to labour to produce it. As princess of the island, Quisara is its embodiment. However, since the governing desire of this imaginary is extraction of profit, it is quite distinctive from Mowaljarlai's imaginary of Bandaiyan as having a sustaining generative potential of female and male parts.

The things to be found in the 'blessed Islands' are the most important focus of the explorer's discovery: the exotic commodities, including spices and fruit, as well as mineral wealth of gold, silver, pearls, gems, and perfumes. These are also associated with the female. The island is the female, and the things are its produce. The inhabitants of this fortunate place are a secondary consideration of Armusia's, appearing at the end of his list of wonders. Most significant, they are brave, and have great minds, but they do not work. How the fertile bounty of the island is produced is 'an admiration' not to be investigated. As in Queirós's imagination of *Terra Australis*, abundance is simply the work of Nature, or God.

291 Neill, p. 112.

To that extent, the reference to sex and miscegenation remain at the level of metaphor, the intercourse between Armusia and Quisara limited to their alternatively flattering and fiery rhetoric, just as any notion of the labour needed to produce the islands' remarkable bounty is elided in the paradisaical rhetoric of *enaergia*. The energy of the tension between metropolitan desire and anxiety about the East is displaced to the religious domain and returns in the working out of the consequences of Armusia's desire to wed the Tidorian princess to improve his position to exact commercial gains.

McManus observes that Armusia's speech bespeaks the awe of a first encounter with alterity,²⁹² but it also highlights the assumption inherent to this imperial discourse of a personal relationship between the metropolitan adventurer and the exotic place, as though the adventurer were welcomed exclusively, as depicted in the famous image by Jan van de Straet of Vespucci's welcome by 'America'.²⁹³ Armusia's speech also recalls Queirós's paean in his Eighth Memorial to the cornucopia he claimed to have found in *Terra Australis*, first published in an English translation two years before Fletcher wrote *The Island Princess*. Among the treasures listed by Queirós are gold, silver, pearls, spices, and fruit.

Armusia's speech is also significant for the status of indigenous bodies among the objects of his imperial gaze. For a merchant, the inhabitants are much less important than the 'thousand riches' of fruits and spices that 'curl their heads to court us'. Agency is transferred from the human inhabitants and owners of the land to the products they

292 Fletcher, *The Island Princess*, p. 12. She notes that it should be registered as out of place, because Maluku has already been established as a trading entrepôt for European and other merchants. Armusia's paean is typical of the colonist who arrives somewhere new for him, and imagines that he is 'the first man' (pun intended) to gaze on a landscape of bountiful potential. Ryan has deconstructed the response of explorer Charles Sturt, for example, who surveyed what he imagined was an empty landscape and proclaimed: 'Let any man lay the map of Australia before him, and regard the blank upon its surface, and then let me ask him if it would not be an honourable achievement to be the first to place foot in its centre.' Quoted by Simon Ryan, *The Cartographic Eye: How Explorers Saw Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 101.

293 'Americen Americus rexit, & Semel vocavit inde semper excitam' ('Americus discovers America; and he called but once and thenceforth she was always aroused'). The most common extant version is the engraving by Theodore Galle, c. 1580.

produce from it. Only at the end of his speech does he mention people. Having endowed the products of the land with agency, he objectifies the people in generalized terms as 'brave', 'civil-mannered', and well 'proportioned' as if they too grow out of the soil 'bravely' formed like the fruits and spices. When his speech is interrupted by Pinheiro, the audience understands the terminated sexual objectification to come, implied by '[t]he women, which I wonder at'.

Despite Armusia's imperial gaze, Fletcher accords indigenous characters in the play some degree of voice and agency. In Act IV, Armusia's quest to secure Quisara's hand and a stake in harvesting the wealth of the blessed islands seems to be within his grasp, when he realizes that in Quisara's mind, their marriage entails his conversion to her religion.²⁹⁴ Addressing Quisara, Armusia declares:

Now I contemn ye, and I hate myself
For looking on that face lasciviously:
And it looks ugly now, methinks. ...
It looks like death itself, to which 'twould lead me.
Your eyes resemble pale despair: they fright me,
And in their rounds a thousand horrid ruins
Methinks I see, and in your tongue hear fearfully
The hideous murmurs of weak souls have suffered.
Get from me: I despise ye! And know, woman,
That for all this trap you have laid to catch my life in,
To catch my immortal life, I hate and curse ye,
Contemn your deities, spurn at their powers;
And where I meet your maumet gods, I'll swing 'em
Thus o'er my head and kick 'em into puddles.
Nay, I will, out of vengeance search your temples,

294 Quisara's religion is left ambiguous in the play, and this has provoked discussion among scholars. McMullan notes that Quisara's religion is 'presumed to be Islam' (*Politics of Unease*, op. cit., p. 234). McManus observes in the note on the stage direction at the opening of Act IV, scene i (pp. 221–2) that Maluku converted to Islam in the late fifteenth century, but she discusses a number of ways in which Fletcher conflated tropes of Islam, Catholicism, and pagan worship. She notes that 'the Governor's disguise and the titles *father* ... and *priest* denote the connection between Islam and Catholicism and establish Catholicism—and the Jesuits' evangelism in Maluku—as a similar threat to Protestantism'. She notes elsewhere that English audiences might have heard the word 'moor priest' as 'an attack on the idolatry with which post-Reformation Catholics were routinely charged' (pp. 26–7). Fletcher appears to promote the idea of a providential Protestant colonialism against all religious others.

And, with those hearts that serve my God, demolish
Your shambles of wild worships.

(*The Island Princess*, IV. v. 104–119)

Armusia's angry tirade contains a number of rhetorical echoes of his arrival paean, which have been inverted. Rather than remarking the growth and fertility of the blessed islands, the governing rhetoric has turned to entrapment and death. Quisara, whose queenly body was personified with the space of her realm, is now represented as ugly, with a face that 'looks like death itself'. The hyperbole of a 'thousand unknown gems and thousand riches' has become 'a thousand horrid ruins'. The trees that 'bring forth immortal fruit' have become a trap that Armusia accuses Quisara of laying 'to catch my immortal life'. The fruits, spices, perfumes, and incense have been replaced by 'weak souls', 'deities', and 'maumet gods'. The verbs of wonder and growth—'blows', 'dreamt', 'breeds', 'float', 'wonder at'—have become verbs of accusation and hatred: 'contemn', 'hate', 'despise', 'curse'. Paradise has become a temple of 'wild worships'. The 'beauties' of the blessed island have been transformed into the ugliness of Quisara's face, the 'despair' of her eyes. For Armusia, indigenous bodies and land are only beautiful if they 'court' his attention and fulfil his desires and expectations.

McMullan interprets Armusia's hyperbolic response as that of a 'Bomby, the sectarian fanatic in [Fletcher's] *Women Pleased*'.²⁹⁵ McManus considers it unlikely that Fletcher can be credited with religious satire in the first half of the seventeenth century text. Armusia's histrionics then might be read as a measure of the conviction with which Europeans felt it was natural for all others to convert to the 'one true' religion. However, as McManus has shown, the 'metaphorical vibrancy' of Fletcher's play enables shifting and multi-layered allusions from the same character, as when Pinheiro pulls off the Governor's beard and reveals an image suggestive of both a smooth-faced Portuguese colonist and a Catholic persecutor of Protestants. When Pinheiro calls him 'Don', he might also have been associated by an English Jacobean audience with Spanish Habsburgs, enemies of the English in Europe and Maluku. These variant

295 McMullan, p. 235.

allusions appear at specific moments, all in the person of the Malukan ruler whose main role in the play is working to counter Portuguese colonial strategy in his region.²⁹⁶

They also express the madness which is risked by travel to the *eschatia* of the *oikoumene*. Armusia's shock and anger is expressed topographically, as McManus notes. He has misplaced himself: 'Where have I been? And how forgot myself?' he asks (IV. v. 44–5). His response is to take up arms and wreak vengeance on the 'maumet gods', the things which represent the unavoidable materiality of religious worship, of trade, and messy negotiation with different peoples. He will trample them in puddles. Not satisfied merely to reject Quisara's offer, Armusia declares his intention to wreak vengeance on her. He will seek out and destroy her temples. Wherever he meets her 'maumet gods', he will 'demolish' her 'shambles of wild worships'. As elsewhere in the play, these expressions contain multi-layered allusions to 'monstrous' worship, which not only refer to Islam and paganism, but also to Catholicism.²⁹⁷ Audiences would not have been surprised to find such monstrousness in the antipodes, given that, in Hall's words, 'Satans policie' was 'most contagious' in the south.²⁹⁸ Armusia's fanatical desire to demolish and eliminate the material supports of religious worship he regards as idolatrous (like Cortés in Tenochtitlan) might also speak to the monstrous fanaticism applied to Portuguese Catholics by English Protestants. But since Armusia is also a figure of English colonial desire, the presentation of his violence swings between disavowal and approval.

296 Fletcher, *The Island Princess*, pp. 28–9.

297 A 'shambles' was a market stall for selling meat, sometimes fish, and therefore works as a derogatory allusion to the ritual of the Eucharist, which considers the bread and wine as the body and blood of Christ. 'Maumet' is a contraction of Mohammed, and had been used in European languages since medieval times. It had acquired a range of associations in English by Fletcher's day, including an image of a false god or idol; an image of a Catholic saint (used derogatively); and a puppet, doll, or 'guy' (*Oxford English Dictionary*, *q.v.* 'maumet'). Although the surface meaning intended by Armusia is 'false idol', these other meanings would also have been available to an early modern audience, continuing the rhetoric of Protestant antipathy to Islam, paganism, and Roman Catholicism, and conflation of their differences. The term gained tangible depth in this context in the play by combining it with the flimsy and contemptible materiality of a guy, puppet, or doll—perhaps even its inflammatory properties.

298 Hall, *Quo Vadis?* pp. 12–13.

In Act II, Armusia organizes and leads an attack on the city of Ternate to capture the King, Quisara's brother, as part of Armusia's strategy to win the queen's hand. By setting fire to the city and training it on the gunpowder warehouses, Armusia and his companions will gain cover to kidnap the King. Armusia exults at his plan:

The fire I brought here with me shall do something—
Shall burst into material flames, and bright ones,
That all the island shall stand wondering at it
As if they had been stricken with a comet.

(*The Island Princess*, II. ii. 38–41)

As the chaos of the fire ensues, and citizens rush for water or even wine to quench the flames, Armusia is remorseless in setting off to complete his plan: 'Let it flame on: a comely light it gives up | To our discovery (II. iii. 54–55). As McManus notes, the fire is a multivalent metaphor for 'the flames of empire, religious fervour, sexual passion and Armusia's virile honour'.²⁹⁹ Neill discusses the use of fire in the play as both literal and metaphorical.³⁰⁰ Often, as in example above, the 'material flames' are a sign of the fire of the characters' psychological passions. Armusia's use of fire to achieve his objectives then represents his sexual passion for Quisara, although that passion also comprises an analogy for his commercial desires. Neill observes that fire was an ever-present danger in factors of the East, with many examples of the destruction of commercial interests included in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*. Merchants often regarded fire as wielded by native populations against their commercial activities.³⁰¹ Fletcher can therefore be said to have inverted this trope of indigenous power, because, in the play, fire is mostly wielded, with great violence and effectiveness, by Armusia and the metropolitan characters. The Governor of Ternate threatens Armusia with fire in Act V (ii. 104), but he does not act on his threat. Neill concludes that fire is 'the providential instrument of Christian

299 Fletcher, *The Island Princess*, p. 150.

300 Neill, pp. 121–5.

301 Neill, p. 122.

empire' in the play.³⁰² It is the play's equivalent of Ortelius's *Typus* in *Tamburlaine*. It is the prop which quells the barbarism of the indigenous.³⁰³

Fletcher's romantic geography of commerce is spatially flexible and difficult to pin down in this play. Much like Mercator's citation of Mandeville or the mention of Lantchidol as lapping the shores of India in *Tamburlaine*, Fletcher's imagination collapses vast spaces of the Indian Ocean and South and Southeast Asia into one 'India' located beside the Red Sea. His image of the East highlights a perception of the world from a viewpoint in Europe in which, as in a Renaissance perspective painting, the actual extent of space seen by the eye is inverted, so that the foreground appears larger than the much greater extent of space that can be seen with less clarity in the distance. In this uncertain geography of the distant 'Indies', McManus notes the way that the 'floating' islands of Tidore and Ternate can be located only vaguely, and were indeed subject to movement and replacement on maps by geographers, sometimes motivated by demands of national interest, such as Spain's need to have its territories of conquest east of the line of demarcation with Portugal. As a result, despite geographers' depiction of a world in which vast spaces are taken up by the Americas and *Terra Australis Incognita*, the perspective of the early modern European poetic and theatrical

302 Neill, p. 125.

303 Armusia's use of fire on the inhabitants of the indigenous city recalls Vasco da Gama's massacre of Muslim pilgrims aboard the *Mîrî* off the coast of Kerala in 1502. Da Gama seems to have been motivated by both greed for the wealth the pilgrims carried with them and religious vengeance. He justified his actions because of forty Portuguese killed by Muslims in Calicut, and he saved the lives of about twenty children to have them converted to Christianity, in retaliation for the conversion to Islam of a Portuguese boy who was taken to Mecca. See Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Career and Legend of Vasco da Gama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 207-208. Subrahmanyam cites Barros for the latter possibility. Although the *Mîrî* massacre might appear distant from Maluku, it was told in Giovanni Battista Ramusio's *Nauigatione e Viaggi*. Since Ramusio has been proposed as a possibility for the origin of Armusia's otherwise unique name, it is possible Fletcher had read about this incident at the time he wrote the play; see Fletcher, *The Island Princess*, p. 103, n. 5. However, McManus prefers the theory that Armusia's name refers to Hormuz, the Persian Gulf island port that fell from Portuguese to English control in 1622, with the help of Persian forces. This interpretation represents Armusia therefore as the eroticized lure of 'Eastern territory', like Quisara, gateway to the Spice islands and a figure for the promised wealth that spices conveyed to early modern English merchants (pp. 93-5). If McManus's characterization of the play's 'metaphorical vibrancy' is accepted, it is possible to admit both interpretations as possibilities.

imagination begins by default with Ortelius's *Parergon* map of the *oikoumene*, *Aevi veteris, typus geographicus* (Figure 2.03), its outer limits, whether Lantchidol, Tidore, America, or *Terra Australis*, almost interchangeable tropes for distant space, for the furthest edge of the *eschatia*.

had in mind the savagery of da Gama's atrocity as an example of the extremity of religious-inspired passion of Portuguese colonists when shaping of Armusia's hysteria. Even if no direct allusion was intended, Fletcher consciously dramatized the link between violence and the pursuit of commercial wealth in the East, although he seems more drawn than Marlowe to valorize his hero. For Fletcher, the colonial end justifies the pursuit of violence as a means. His switching of characters' identities reflects his admiration for the achievements of Iberian colonialism and Spanish literary heroes such as Cervantes and Lope de Vega even as he promoted a strict Protestantism.³⁰⁴

Peregrine's Conquest of Curiosity

In Richard Brome's comedy, *The Antipodes*, first published in 1640, Doctor Hughball stages a play within the play, consisting of a voyage to the antipodes.³⁰⁵ This fictional voyage is an attempt to cure the protagonist Peregrine of his humour of madness. Peregrine has become so obsessed with a passion for travel as a result of reading fictions such as *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* that he has not consummated his three-year marriage to Martha, arranged by his parents in an earlier attempt to cure his obsession for travel reading. Despite his travel desire and name, Peregrine has not left England; his only voyage has been in his 'travelling thoughts'. As a result, he is stuck fast in melancholy, commonly associated with armchair travel and meditation on maps. His sexual desire has been suspended and indeed upturned: he is 'pregnant' with a 'tympany of news' about antipodean monsters, and has frustrated his wife to the point of madness.

304 Fletcher, *The Island Princess*, p. 16.

305 Richard Brome, 'The Antipodes', in *Three Renaissance Travel Plays*, ed. by Anthony Parr (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), pp. 217–326 (p. 51).

inversion. For Goldie, *Mundus* presents *Terra Australis Incognita* as a place of 'similarities, continuities, and amalgams rather than difference'.³⁰⁷ They cannot be qualitatively different because the antipodes is not actually visited in the play; 'upside-down' characterization is not qualitatively different because it is a simple and obvious inversion of something familiar. Like Hall's *Mundus*, the main concern of Brome's *Antipodes* is the social milieu of England. Acts II to IV adopt a similar form of satire of the upside-down world, where stereotypes of men and women, lawyers and beggars are opposite to those expected, and are presented to provide much hilarity. However, Brome's play is more complicated than *Mundus*, and adopts a critical response to Hall's *Quo Vadis?* McInnis noticed that the attitude to travel in Brome's play contradicts the Horatian commonplace espoused by Hall that 'they change their clime, not their mind, who rush across the sea'. McInnis argues that Peregrine's madness is not caused by reading about travel *per se*, but rather by the stasis that results from not acting on the desire to travel that has arisen from his reading. Hence, the cure is to make him believe he travels.³⁰⁸

It is important to consider why Brome chose a medieval, rather than contemporary, travel text to precipitate Peregrine's humour. First published in 1371, Mandeville's *Travels* remained popular in the first half of the seventeenth century. Its continued popularity in the first half of the seventeenth century is shown by five reprints between 1612 and 1639.³⁰⁹ Many readers were mainly interested in the illustrations of monstrous bodies with huge feet or eyes in their chests, which were printed with the *Travels* or separately.³¹⁰ Peregrine is more interested in the descriptions of foreign places. The reception of the *Travels* varied. It had been read as a pilgrimage, geography, romance, history, or theology, but by the sixteenth century, theological readings by the clerical

307 Goldie, p. 12. See also the discussion by Anthony Parr (Brome, *Antipodes*, op cit., pp. 38–9), who argues that scholars have overemphasized the binary distinction between the domestic space of the play in London and the antipodes in the past.

308 McInnis, p. 457: 'It is the unnatural stasis, not any unnatural desire, which seals Peregrine's descent into madness.'

309 Brome, *Antipodes*, ed. Parr, I. i. 196n.

310 Gillies, *Geography of Difference*, p. 31, notes that the popular images of Mandevillian monsters were often published separately.

elite had largely given way to other approaches.³¹¹ Many Renaissance intellectuals regarded Mandeville with derision, and even used his name as a cant term for a ‘liar’.³¹² However, Mercator cited Mandeville on his 1569 world map on the strength of his reputation as a reliable guide to geographical location.³¹³ At the same time, vernacular translations were probably read widely by the middling sort across Europe. Rosemary Tzanaki highlights the example of the Friulian miller Menocchio, whose heresy trial records from the late sixteenth century were studied by Carlo Ginzburg. Menocchio’s unorthodox ideas were derived in part from Mandeville, from whom he gained an understanding of the diversity of human societies and beliefs across the world.³¹⁴ Sebastian Sobceki has argued that the *Travels* marked an epistemological shift from a medieval discourse of difference, in which the other was regarded as a threat to social harmony and religious orthodoxy, to *curiositas*, which he defines as the Renaissance interest ‘to explore the limits and to engage willingly with the Unknown’.³¹⁵

McInnis’s answer to the question of why Brome chose Mandeville is that Peregrine and Mandeville share a similar attitude to travel. Despite both being armchair travellers, their desire is to experience the reality of travel to find out whether what is printed in books is true; in Mandeville’s words, ‘to wite yif it were such as we herde seye that it was’.³¹⁶ Joyless reports that when Peregrine was young, ‘His mind was all on fire to be abroad ... There was no voyage or foreign expedition | Be said to be in hand, but he made suit | To be made one on it’ (I. i. 139–143). Instead of going abroad, Peregrine followed his parents’ advice and married. Hence, McInnis points out, it is ‘the

311 Rosemary Tzanaki, *Mandeville’s Medieval Audiences: A Study on the Reception of the Book of Sir John Mandeville (1371-1550)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 276–278.

312 McInnis, p. 460.

313 B. van ‘t Hoff, *Gerard Mercator’s Map of the World (1569) in the Form of an Atlas in the Maritiem Museum ‘Prins Hendrik’ at Rotterdam* (Rotterdam; ‘s Gravenhage: Maritiem Museum ‘Prins Hendrik’, 1961).

314 Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, trans. by John Tedeschi and Anne Tedeschi (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992). See the discussion by Tzanaki, pp. 278–79.

315 Sebastian I. Sobceki, ‘Mandeville’s Thought of the Limit: The Discourse of Similarity and Difference in “The Travels of Sir John Mandeville”’, *The Review of English Studies*, 53.211 (2002), 329–43 (p. 342).

316 Quoted by McInnis, p. 462.

unnatural stasis, not any unnatural desire, which seals Peregrine's descent into madness'.³¹⁷ According to this logic, the traveller must be prepared to change their mind.

Mandeville inspires Peregrine with a curiosity in different peoples and places of the world, and hence an openness to experiencing the effects of indigenous power. His attraction to difference is embodied in his deictic responses to Doctor Hughball in his diagnostic interview. Peregrine points to his copy of Mandeville and asks, 'Read here else. Can you read? | Is it not true?' (I. iii. 41–2). Since Hughball claims to have travelled to the antipodes, Peregrine seeks the Doctor's confirmation of Mandeville's reports. He insists in pointing to the text and asking for confirmation: 'Read here again then: it is written here | That you may live four or five hundred year' (I. iii. 45–6). Peregrine's desperate pointing shows frustration at his dependence on the text to satisfy his longing to experience travel.

The deixis of Peregrine's direction 'read here' can be compared with Tamburlaine's call to his audience to 'Look here' at Ortelius's *Typus*. It is interesting that the earlier play uses the more contemporary geographical text. The text props point to discourses of knowledge beyond the plays, which comment in a curiously similar way on the main character, despite the different historical and material contexts in which each text was published. In *Tamburlaine*, the *Typus* points to the hero's entrapment in the epistemology of the pre-Ortelian age, unable to move beyond the *oikoumene* and conquer the antipodes as he desires. In *The Antipodes*, the medieval Mandeville also entraps Peregrine in the epistemology of the classical *oikoumene*. However, Peregrine's reading of Mandeville is informed by a Renaissance *curiositas*, which Tamburlaine does not share, even though the poetic geography of Ortelius's *Typus* is also informed by a neo-Stoic interest in collecting knowledge of the world's diversity. Hence, Tamburlaine's understanding of the map is limited, and it marks his downfall and

317 McInnis, 'Therapeutic Travel', p. 457. McInnis explains the Galenic understanding of Peregrine's illness: men's bodies are 'hot' and active and so Peregrine has become feminized not because he reads but because he does not act on his natural desire to move.

death. Peregrine, however, is cured of his madness at the end of the play; the doctor's use of Peregrine's obsession with Mandeville to create an imaginative curative journey has provided the path to Peregrine's cure. In both plays, the antipodes remains unreachable, a theoretical future possibility, although Peregrine's imaginative experience of the antipodes is much more fully realized and embodied than Tamburlaine's. The indigenous power of the antipodes is restorative for Peregrine, whereas it defeats Tamburlaine. Whatever the reality of the southern world, the imagination of its monstrous motivates the resolution of the drama in both plays.

Another way that Brome complicates the binaries is through the play within the play. This creates two audiences: one on stage beside the one in the theatre. As a result, the main audience watches a model of an audience watching the drama, creating an effect of multiple mirrors. This takes us even further from any contact with real physical southern space. Everything appears to be multiple reflections of England. However, the play's geographical imagination is more complicated than that.

Peregrine's experienced voyage to the antipodes takes place in his imagination. The Doctor has devised a potion to put him to sleep for the journey. When Peregrine wakes up and is told that he has arrived in the antipodes, he regrets that he has travelled so far without recording what he has seen:

What world of lands and seas have I passed over,
Neglecting to set down my observations!
A thousand thousand things remarkable
Have slipped my memory, as if all had been
Mere shadowy phantasms, or fantastic dreams.

(The Antipodes, II. ii. 7–11)

Peregrine travels convinced that the antipodes is full of countless wonders on account of his previous armchair travels in books. He knows the traveller is expected to record his discoveries and regrets what he has missed on his first voyage. A 'thousand thousand things remarkable' is an ironic reference to the wonders and monsters that readers of travel fiction expected their narrators to tell them about their voyages. It also

recalls the 'thousand unknown gems and thousand riches' that Armusia 'sees' before him on his arrival in Maluka in *The Island Princess*. Scepticism about the veracity of travellers' tales of wonder was an early modern commonplace, but Brome satire registers the irony that the traveller can claim to perceive such wonders before they have been seen. This also recalls Tamburlaine's arrogant intention, based on the illusion that he has conquered a place once he has seen it on the map. The proliferation of maps and travel accounts in early modern Europe made the experience of imagining seeing distant places as common as it was paradoxical; and hence a stimulus of the desire to travel in fact.

Brome thus shows the instrumental role of the sight of the traveller in the creation of a wonder and the role of the description of wonders in the construction of the traveller's persona. Such wonders then have little to do with the place in which their discoverers purport to find them, they are not objective descriptions of place but inventions of the traveller and accessories to his ego.

Echoing Hall's warning that exposure to Satan increases the farther south you travel, Doctor Hughball expresses the view that the farther you travel the more wondrous the marvels there are to see: 'Of Europe I'll not speak; 'tis too near home' (*The Antipodes*, I. iii. 63). This recapitulates the ancient Greek idea of the *eschatia*, whereby places at the orbic boundary of the Greek universe are wastelands that are the locations for the fairest blessings and *thoma* both positive and negative.³¹⁸

Once Peregrine arrives in the antipodes and is asked by the Doctor to recall something of the voyage he has forgotten while asleep with the potion, he dutifully supplies some details, based on his wide reading of travel literature that is rooted in these relative directional concepts from medieval thinking:

I do remember, as we passed the verge
O'th' upper world, coming down, downhill,

318 Gillies, *Geography of Difference*, p. 8.

The setting sun, then bidding them good night,
Came gliding easily down by us and struck
New day before us, lighting us our way,
But with such heat that till he was got far
Before us, we even melted.

(*The Antipodes*, II. ii. 23–31)

Peregrine's 'recollection' is inspired by *The Spanish Mandeville of Miracles*, by António de Torquemada, a miscellany of supernatural wonders collected from a variety of authorities including classical authors, Mandeville, and Marco Polo, and first translated into English in 1600.³¹⁹ Following Torquemada, Peregrine 'recalls', or imagines, passing through the air above the earth. He describes going 'downhill' from the 'verge / O'th' upper world', meeting the sun in its course, as though flying in a southeasterly direction towards the antipodes.³²⁰ The idea that it is necessary to travel 'down' from the northern to the southern hemispheres is a contradiction of the new geography, although one that persists in present-day expressions such as 'down-under'. The notion of having to pass through the extreme heat of the 'torrid zone' also persists, and indeed, the *Typus* of Ortelius, which would have been familiar to Brome's audiences, clearly demarcates the five zones with red lines.

The purpose of Peregrine's description is not merely to convince himself that he has arrived in the antipodes, but to convince both the theatre audience and the on-stage audience of the play within the play. This is achieved through an interaction between the dialogue and the spaces of the theatre's architecture, which are imbued by tradition as having the capacity to signify all the world, an embodiment of the cosmos.³²¹ But in the vernacular interpretation of the structure of the theatre, the arrangement of stage

319 Fletcher, 'The Sea Voyage', p. 254, nn. 25–9. The first English translation was *The Spanish Mandeville of Miracles or the Garden of Curious Flowers* (London, by James Roberts for Edmund Mates, 1600). Parr cites the second edition translated by L. Lewkenor in 1618.

320 The English translation of Torquemada reads 'these Landes goe alwayes downe-hill, or slope-wise, in respect of the course of the Sunne.' This description uses the language of chorography (the description of local landscapes) to make a poetic metaphor to explain the unknown experience of passing to the southern hemisphere. The earth is described in terms of a microcosm, for example, the garden—the original title of Torquemada's work was *Jardín de flores curiosas* ('garden of curious flowers'). Although he does not know it, Peregrine is in good company with his hero Mandeville in inventing his description from tradition.

and discovery space, and gallery in relation to the pit and the audience terraces, are based on the relative position definitions of the old geography of relative lived space. Heaven will be above and hell below the stage. The old geography is more real to the theatre audience than the new abstract geometrical notions of an earth that orbits the sun in a cosmos that cannot place heaven and hell. Peregrine's geographic imagination, like Tamburlaine's, seems rooted in ancient and medieval thought rather than the 'new' geometric Ptolemaic geography.

If Peregrine's geographical imagination is old-fashioned, his conception of his role and behaviour in the antipodes is nothing if not contemporary. Peregrine takes the first important step in his therapeutic transformation through an imaginative leap which highlights the contradiction between the fictional absurdity of the theatre and its power to materially transform the minds of its participants and audiences. Byplay reports to Letoy (and to the audiences on stage and in the galleries) that Peregrine has entered the tiring-house and launched a mad attack on the theatre properties. This section is worth quoting at some length to facilitate this discussion:

BYPLAY He has got into our tiring-house amongst us,
And ta'en a strict survey of all our properties:
Our statues and our images of gods
Our planets and our constellations,
Our giants, monsters, furies, beasts, and bugbears,
Our helmets, shields, and vizors, hairs, and beards,
Our pasteboard marchpanes, and our wooden pies.

LETOY Sirrah, be brief; be not you now as long in
Telling what he saw as he surveying.

BYPLAY Whether he thought 'twas some enchanted castle,
Or temple hung and piled with monuments
Of uncouth and of various aspects,
I dive not into his thoughts. Wonder he did
A while it seemed, but yet undaunted stood;
When on the sudden, with thrice knightly force
And thrice thrice puissant arm he snatcheth down
The sword and shield that I played Bevis with,
Rusheth amongst the foresaid properties,

321 Hamlet said, 'I could be bounded in a nutshell and count myself a king of infinite space'
(*Hamlet* II. ii. 260).

Since the audience does not witness this event, it has only Byplay's report with which to interpret Peregrine's response and thoughts. However, we know that Peregrine was initially arrested by the sight of these objects. Byplay relates: 'Wonder he did | A while it seemed, but yet undaunted stood'. That mockingly echoes the prideful self-report of the explorer and conqueror who pauses to marvel at indigenous idols before proceeding to destroy them.³²³ We also know that Peregrine's response was to take up sword and destroy them, indicating that the sight of these things disturbed him with a kind of iconoclastic passion. Let us take these two aspects of his response in turn: first, his arrested movement, and second, his springing into violent action. Peregrine's moment of arrested wonder also recalls descriptions of viewers' responses to visual art in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Typically, the early modern experience of wonder was experienced in response to the visual apprehension of works of artistic ingenuity, which enhances the sense of the power of these objects to profoundly move a viewer to experience 'inexpressible joy' or 'a kind of terror'.³²⁴

It is interesting to compare Peregrine's response to the objects in the tiring-house with Dürer's description of objects from Mexico in Charles V's cabinet of curiosities, as discussed by Stephen Greenblatt. Dürer's response to the sight of such exotic objects is quite different to Peregrine's. Greenblatt notes that one aspect of Dürer's response was atypical for his age: he focused on the objects' beauty rather than their extraordinary strangeness.³²⁵ For Peregrine the power of the 'indigenous' objects is negative: they are objects of spiritual danger. Byplay surmises that Peregrine might have thought the space of the tiring-house was an 'enchanted castle' or perhaps a temple, 'hung and

323 See, for example, the description of Hernán Cortés, and his destruction of Aztec idols at Cempoala and Tenochtitlan in Inga Clendinnen, "'Fierce and Unnatural Cruelty": Cortés and the Conquest of Mexico', *Representations*, 33, 1991, 65–100.

324 Thijs Weststeijn, *The Visible World: Samuel van Hoogstraten's Art Theory and the Legitimation of Painting in the Dutch Golden Age*, trans. by Beverley Jackson and Lynne Richards, Amsterdam Studies in the Dutch Golden Age (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008), pp. 156–160.

325 Stephen Greenblatt, 'Resonance and Wonder', *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, 49.8 (1996), 29–43 (p. 31).

piled with monuments | Of uncouth and of various aspects'. Peregrine believes he is in the antipodes, and so the idea that he has found a temple of idol worship accords with contemporary expectations of what would be found in the antipodes, as shown by the scenes of idol and sun worship painted on the space of *Jave la Grande* in the maps of the Dieppe school. Cortés explained his smashing of the idols as demonstrating the powerlessness of the Mexica gods; ironically so, given his initial moment of awe.³²⁶

Peregrine's response should be regarded as having political and iconoclastic, if satirical, meaning. Its context of colonial wonder coupled with iconoclastic fury evokes a European colonist adopting the pose of Christian knight to engage in the righteous smashing of the idols of the infidel. As Parr notes, the conquest of the properties scene has been interpreted by many commentators in light of the apprentices' riots which occurred frequently in London during the seventeenth century on Shrove Tuesday. It involved apprentice youths entering playhouses and brothels and smashing up objects, ostensibly in a Puritan fury to cleanse these spaces of Catholic idolatry.³²⁷ But it was not unusual for iconoclasm to receive the support of authority during the Reformation. Not long after Brome wrote his play, the Cheapside Cross was destroyed by an iconoclastic mob on 2nd May 1643. Erected in the early 1290s for Eleanor of Castile's funeral procession from Lincoln to Westminster, the iconography of the Cross was unmistakably Catholic, including images of the Virgin Mary and each member of the Trinity. It was also associated with the monarchy, having acquired a role in coronation processions and royal entries to the city of London. Although there were probably a range of reasons why individuals joined in the destruction, the attack was supported by Parliament, probably as part of the prosecution of its increasingly violent dispute with the King.³²⁸

326 Clendinnen, p. 68.

327 Tim Harris, 'The Bawdy House Riots of 1668', *The Historical Journal*, 29.3 (2017), 537–56.

328 Joel Budd, 'Rethinking Iconoclasm in Early Modern England: The Case of Cheapside Cross', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 4.3–4 (2000), 379–404. Budd notes that such acts of iconoclastic violence might have many inspirations, not only religious. He argues that it was generally carried out by people who were familiar with the targeted objects, the circumstances of their creation, their appearance, and the uses to which they had been put. The attackers might have a variety of reasons for their acts.

The conclusion to Peregrine's iconoclastic fury is likewise a moment of political change, as he crowns himself King of the Antipodes. This moment also marks an important step in his cure, a moment of personal transformation. Peregrine has moved from observing the actions of the antipodes like the audience (which Byplay and Letoy have staged for his cure) to taking action against their idolatry. He has suspended his disbelief to take full part in the action of the play within the play to the point of adding to the script himself.

The suspension of disbelief and engagement of both mind and body in an artistic event, particularly one involving the visual arts, whether viewing a painting or map, or a stage play, was commonplace in the seventeenth century. Viewers of art readily suspended their disbelief in the representation, and engaged fully in the game of responding to the emotional stimuli of the artwork.³²⁹ Peregrine has suspended his disbelief, but in taking up the sword against the idols of the tiring-house, he begins to immerse himself fully in the dramatic fiction created by Doctor Hughball and his assistants. His seizure of the sword begins his recovery.

At the end of the play, Peregrine's mind has been changed by his experience of imaginative travel, owing, in McInnis's view, to experiencing a contrast between societies.³³⁰ It would appear therefore that the start of conjugal relations with Martha has banished the indigenous power of antipodes monsters from the household in London. However, Peregrine has not in fact travelled anywhere, and the play offers no encounter with the reality of the southern world, despite an insight into the inchoate fears about knowledge of that world that prevailed in early seventeenth-century London. I disagree with those critics who are reassured that normalcy has been resumed at the end of the play. In the play's last scene, Peregrine has not returned to London but appeals to the audience to applaud from the ocean, ostensibly on his way home. Goldie observes that it is as though the ocean is the new 'imaginary place of

329 Weststeijn, p. 160.

330 McInnis, 'Therapeutic Travel', p. 463-4.

habitation'; it suggests 'perpetual travel ... monstrously embodied by English people at sea in their minds'.³³¹

Peregrine's suspension on the sea between England and the Antipodes points to a disturbing aspect of the play's resolution. Harmony in England, the play finally proposes, is to be founded on sowing discord abroad. Following the conquest of the properties and his self-crowning as King of the Antipodes, which marked Peregrine's transformation, he conducts a royal survey of his subjects (as per imperial practice). Eventually, he loses the patience to tolerate the antipodes' values, so opposite from his own. He cries, 'I'll hang ye all' (IV. 370). When everyone begs for his mercy, he replies 'my mercy | Meets your submission. See you merit it | In your conformity' (V. 379–81). Peregrine's response to the experience of difference is to reprove it. His experience of social contrast might cure him, but his visit to the antipodes and experience of difference are means to personal and social ends directed at English society alone. The antipodes' own values and practices are held in contempt as aberrant, a difference that ought to be crushed. Peregrine gives up his earlier curiosity for its own sake which has been shown to be transgressive and to undermine English social and domestic harmony. Instead, he adopts the ethic of nascent English imperialism, which regards the expression of indigenous power as in need of correction and replacement. Peregrine's return to normalcy exhibits an imperial attitude, that insists on moulding others to his own ideal.

In the end, Peregrine, if not the play, grows closer to Hall's belief in English imperial right to take whatever was available in other parts of the world for themselves. Brome's play suggests a society chafing at the rigidity of Hall's admonition against travel except for utilitarian reasons. The increasing availability of geographical literature, whether

331 Goldie, p. 96. Interestingly, Brome's ending might also suggest that he anticipated Blaeu's imminent removal of *Terra Australis Incognita* from the world map, and the shift in the perception of the earth that that produced from the Ortelian vision of a land-dominated earth to one that predominantly comprises ocean.

true or fictional travel accounts, or maps and atlases, was stimulating a desire to travel not merely for the sake of knowledge but to gain in personal reputation and wealth.³³²

Brome's play is probably the most complex of all early modern treatments of the idea of the antipodes. Soon after, details of Bandaiyan, however limited, will begin to reduce the other-worldly wonder of the south. On the threshold of knowledge, Brome shows the continuing meaningfulness of antipodes discourse, and its power to inspire curiosity for its own sake in difference. However, growing familiarity with real southern bodies will have the effect of reversing this *curiositas*. Brome's drama of Peregrine's shift from mad curiosity to cured imperiousness is prophetic.

Conclusions

In *Tamburlaine*, the imagination of the indigenous power of the antipodes derives from the immense size of the territory believed to lie unsurveyed and unexploited ('[a]s much more land, which never was descried') and the great wealth believed to reside there, emblemized by the 'rocks of pearls'. The power of the indigenous inhabitants of these unknown regions, who have escaped the conqueror's desire, is minimized in Tamburlaine's imagination of them. There is no question in his mind of his power to subjugate them. If he had reached the antipodes, he would have trampled them 'underneath our feet'. They would be of no greater interest to him than any of the other peoples he has conquered across the *oikoumene*. Tamburlaine's lament about the land that will remain 'unconquerèd' by him betrays his acknowledgement of his limits. Tamburlaine is trapped by time, by living when the world known in Eurasia was limited to the *oikoumene*. Forced to recognize the limits of his conquests, he invents the fantasy of conquering the antipodes by living on in the flesh of his son, a notion that his sons' tears at his imminent death show to be a denial of reality. The power of the antipodes presented by Ortelius's *Typus* resides in its existence being acknowledged but being beyond knowledge and reach.

332 No doubt women as well as men. Margaret Cavendish's desire to join the public realm of men, see Cecile M. Jagodzinski, *Privacy and Print: Reading and Writing in Seventeenth-Century England* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999), pp. 94–130, was apparently not limited to publishing. *The Blazing World* suggests a powerful drive to travel.

In *The Island Princess*, indigenous power is most prominently represented by Quisara. At the end, her conversion to Christianity marks her capitulation to the flames of Armusia's imperial and commercial desire. The resolution of the drama demands the subjugation of Quisara's indigenous power, which occurs through her conversion. Armusia is an ambiguous figure. Although nominally Portuguese, he marks the arrival in the East of a new, more potent Christian commercial presence (a figure for the English), which will brook less compromise with indigenous agents to achieve its commercial objectives. Fletcher shared Hall's 'puritanical' ethic that the agents of this expansion must not be changed by the 'Antichristian' subjects they engage with, and on the proviso of adherence to that ethic, Purchas's belief that English commercial and imperial expansion would receive providential sanction.

In *The Antipodes*, the apprehension of indigenous power is forestalled by the play within the play which reduces it to a fictional contrivance in the service of Peregrine's therapy. Brome's dark warning is that the imperial encounter is an opportunity for plunder or correction. This imperial epistemological universe cannot encompass indigeneity. The monsters reside in the minds of the colonists.

Chapter 3:

Observation: Countersigns of Aboriginal Presence

They [are] presumed, here to be Very tall people.

ABEL JANSZOOM TASMAN³³³

Found several footprints both of children and old people but no larger than normal size.

WILLEM DE VLAMINGH³³⁴

After almost a century and more than twenty visits to many parts of Bandaiyan by VOC agents, Willem de Vlamingh's planned scientific expedition arrived on the west coast in 1697 with an expectation of seeing giants, or the 'Very tall people' reported fifty years earlier by Abel Tasman. Given two millennia of traditions of the antipodes and 'the marvels of the East', the appearance on maps of Mercator's *Beach, provincia aurifera*, and the paeanic evocation of *Terra Australis* by Queirós, a lack of giants must have been disappointing, if reassuring to those stepping ashore in places that remained *terra incognita* for Europeans at the end of the seventeenth century. Yet the expectation of people of tall stature does not seem to have inspired much respect for the peoples and vestiges of culture that were observed. Much about their observations justifies Bronwen Douglas's conclusion that, '[o]f all the Indigenous lifestyles in Oceania, those observed in New Holland and Van Diemen's Land were most often misrepresented'.³³⁵

In this chapter, I assess the primary seventeenth-century evidence that was reported concerning the peoples and landscapes in Bandaiyan to provide a basis for assessing in the next two chapters how details about Bandaiyan and its peoples were disseminated and shaped by myths associated with *Terra Australis Incognita* in more elaborated

333 Andrew Sharp, *The Voyages of Abel Janszoon Tasman* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), p. 110.

334 Günter Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land: Willem de Vlamingh 1696-1697*, trans. by C. de Heer (Sydney: Royal Australian Historical Society in association with the Australian Bank, 1985), p. 125.

335 Bronwen Douglas, *Science, Voyages, and Encounters in Oceania, 1511-1850* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p. 112.

geographical representations of the Southland. The aim is to try to distinguish what Arthur refers to as 'the real stone that stubs the toe' of the explorer from the emotional and ideological colouring that shaped the interpretations of their embodied experiences of the places they visited, recorded in logs and charts.³³⁶ To assess the observers' responses, I make reference to anthropological, archaeological, linguistic, botanical, and other evidence of the peoples and places they saw.

Much evidence for Aboriginal cultural and land management practices as they existed at the time of European contact was lost during the violence of colonial invasion and dispossession. Bruce Pascoe has explained how depopulation by disease, murder, and displacement, and the invasion of introduced grazing species, such as sheep, interrupted Aboriginal social structures, undermining the productivity of traditional land management, and in turn, Aboriginal people's nutrition. Archaeological research in Australia has been important in attempts to recover important evidence of Aboriginal societies, but it has often reproduced conclusions based on assumptions that sixty-five thousand years of human occupation of Australia must follow similar patterns to those observed in Europe, such as progress through stages of increasing complexity from hunter-gathering to agriculture to industrialization.³³⁷

This idea promoted the notion that Aboriginal peoples were nomadic, hunter-gatherers, without a complex culture, living at the mercy of nature. Such ideas are implicit or explicit in many of the seventeenth-century European observations discussed in this chapter. In an attempt to understand the culture of Aboriginal societies at the time of contact, some historians have turned their attention to the record of colonial explorers of the continent who described Aboriginal settlements and the

336 J. M. Arthur, *The Default Country: A Lexical Cartography of Twentieth-Century Australia* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2003), p. 6.

337 For an accessible and critical synthesis of more recent archaeological studies of precolonial Australia, see Peter Hiscock, *The Archaeology of Ancient Australia* (London: Routledge, 2008). Hiscock takes to task archaeologists who have surmised an unchanging and uniform pan-continental culture informed by back-projections from ethnographic readings of historical accounts of Aboriginal cultures, and finds rather that the archaeological record demonstrates great cultural diversity and change over time and from place to place.

evidence of land and fauna management before they were disturbed by European methods. As Pascoe highlights, what is striking about many of the explorers' and settlers' observations is the power of their prejudices and prior assumptions to sweep away the significance of what they had described.³³⁸

Comfortable historical 'truths' die hard, and the idea that Aboriginal peoples were nomadic and 'backward' continues to be propagated by populist historians such as Geoffrey Blainey:

For more than 50,000 years or even more the Aborigines had been nomads. They maintained the tradition of moving systematically around their terrain long after most people of the world had settled down to the sedentary life of garden, farm, village or town. New Guinea had gardens and pigs, and several islands in the Torres Strait grew vegetables in neat gardens, but the new way of life did not apparently reach Australia. Why did its people not adopt the idea of cultivating plants and keeping herds?³³⁹

Blainey dismisses copious observations of land cultivation in the colonial record on the basis that 'these first short steps in creating an infant form of agriculture did not proceed far along the required road'.³⁴⁰ In Blainey's progressivist discourse is the

338 See Bruce Pascoe, *Dark Emu, Black Seeds: Agriculture or Accident?* (Broome: Magabala Books Aboriginal Corporation, 2014), pp. 17–22.

339 Geoffrey Blainey, *The Story of Australia's People: The Rise and Fall of Ancient Australia* (Melbourne: Viking, 2015), p. 217.

340 Blainey, op cit., p. 229. The condescension of 'infant' and 'required' is typical of Blainey's 'polite' prose, a description I borrow from Claire Wright, 'Story of Australia's People Review: Geoffrey Blainey's Conservative Populism', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 January 2017 <<http://www.smh.com.au/entertainment/books/story-of-australias-people-review-geoffrey-blaineys-conservative-populism-20161229-gtjc1r.html>> [accessed 1 May 2020]. Blainey also helpfully includes a map of 'gardeners' world [in New Guinea] and nomads' world [in Australia]', explaining, 'Between New Guinea and Australia in 1788 stood an economic and political barrier, another Iron Curtain'. Aside from the absurdity of comparing Aboriginal peoples' pursuit of their way of life over millennia to the totalitarian isolationism imposed on whole populations by a small clique of sociopathic revolutionaries, the trope of Aboriginal isolation is increasingly questioned by archaeologists, anthropologists, historians, and others. Contacts across the Torres Strait probably go back millennia, given the islands' linguistic affiliations with both sides of the strait, and evidence of trade, see the three-part series by F. D. McCarthy, "'Trade" Aboriginal Australia, and "Trade" Relationships with Torres Strait, New Guinea and Malaya [Part 1]', *Oceania*, 9.4 (1938), 405–38. Rock art evidence shows Macassan trepang traders were already living with Aboriginal peoples on the northern coasts of the continent in the mid-1660s, see Paul S. C. Taçon and

assumption that there is one 'required' road that all human societies must follow. This might be regarded as a form of epistemological imperialism, rooted in the monist poetic geography seen in seventeenth-century dramas of the antipodes.

The myth of Aboriginal peoples as nomadic hunter-gatherers has a long ancestry, and the threads of its ideological formation can be discerned in the descriptions made by the first European visitors to the continent and its region in the seventeenth century. Mark Pluciennik has traced the invention of the concept of the hunter-gatherer to mid-seventeenth-century agricultural treatises. He finds it related to the trope of the golden age, the rise of the Protestant work ethic, rationalism, and ideas of improvement, as well as eighteenth-century discourse on a moral hierarchy of social evolution.³⁴¹

On the basis of a decade's research, Bill Gammage argued in *The Biggest Estate on Earth: How Aborigines Made Australia* that Aboriginal people were not hunter-gatherers, wandering the land at random, relying on whatever meagre rations nature produced in the second driest continent on earth. Conducting an exhaustive comparative analysis of historical sources including explorers' journals, photography, and paintings in the context of botany, husbandry, landscape analysis, and other fields, Gammage demonstrated how Aboriginal peoples understood and cultivated the continent as a single, universal estate. Their land management was based on sophisticated knowledge of the fire tolerance of different flora, and the habitat, shelter, and feed preferences of animals; that this knowledge was used to inform the selection of areas for 'firestick' burning for optimal post-fire regeneration and relocation of animals; that management

Sally K. May, 'Rock Art Evidence for Macassan–Aboriginal Contact in Northwestern Arnhem Land', in *Macassan History and Heritage: Journeys, Encounters and Influences*, ed. by Marshall Clark and Sally K. May (Canberra: ANU Press, 2013), pp. 127–139. There is genetic evidence of contact between Bandaiyan and India c. 4,230 years ago, see Irina Pugach and others, 'Genome-Wide Data Substantiate Holocene Gene Flow from India to Australia', *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 110.5 (2013), 1803–1808. The dingo might have arrived in Bandaiyan through contacts with Indonesia more than 4600 years ago, see M. V. R. Oskarsson and others, 'Mitochondrial DNA Data Indicate an Introduction through Mainland Southeast Asia for Australian Dingoes and Polynesian Domestic Dogs', *Proceedings of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences*, 279 (2011), 1–8.

³⁴¹ Mark Pluciennik, 'The Invention of Hunter-Gatherers in Seventeenth-Century Europe', *Archaeological Dialogues*, 9.2 (2002), 98–118.

was based on what would nowadays be called ‘sustainability’ of land, fauna, and flora; that animals and fish were grazed and shepherded through pathways intentionally constructed in land-, river-, and seascapes for hunting or fishing; and that these complex curation practices and knowledges were maintained, regulated, and passed on for generations across the whole continent through ‘the Law’ of Aboriginal culture, ‘an ecological philosophy enforced by religious sanction’, associated with the totemic system.³⁴² An understanding of the implications of Gammage’s research can help identify evidence of Aboriginal land management practices in the seventeenth-century voyage accounts that have been overlooked by previous historians. It can also help reevaluate the metropolitans’ claim to empirical and accurate transmission of observations and realities they perceived, shedding light on the ideologies that informed their accounts.

The records of seventeenth-century metropolitan visits to Bandaiyan examined here have been given less attention by Gammage and others, who have focused on the more voluminous and detailed records available from after 1788. In general, this seventeenth-century record has also suffered from readings that reinforce colonial assumptions and stereotypes. Historians have traditionally read this material to rescue certain metropolitan agents from ‘obscurity’. Examples include the ‘contribution to the discovery of Australia’ of Dutch explorers (Heeres and Schilder) and the role of William Dampier (the Prestons), figures overshadowed by the more well-known British figures of Cook and other agents of the colonial invasion that began in 1788.³⁴³ Very few consider the obscurity of the people who had been living in Bandaiyan for many millennia, whose voices have been silenced by an exclusive historial focus on the point of view of the metropolitans who arrived with the belief that they had the right to claim the continent as their own.

342 Bill Gammage, *The Biggest Estate on Earth: How Aborigines Made Australia*, [iBooks edn] (Crows Nest, N.S.W: Allen & Unwin, 2011).

343 Diana Preston and Michael Preston, *A Pirate of Exquisite Mind: Explorer, Naturalist, and Buccaneer: The Life of William Dampier* (New York: Berkley Books, 2005). The Prestons wrote that Dampier ‘has been largely forgotten’ (p. 25).

My method in this chapter is to reevaluate the seventeenth-century accounts of voyages to Bandaiyan from a new perspective. I read against the grain of traditional interpretations, seeking out gaps, fault lines, silences, and ambiguities which might reveal important clues to metropolitans' ideological motivations, facts that might have been omitted from the record, as well as evidence of Aboriginal agency.

Ethnographic historians have demonstrated that it is possible to examine the historical record created by colonial or metropolitan writers, and discern evidence of Indigenous agency in the margins. Bronwen Douglas has approached the reading of metropolitan texts using a strategy of identifying Indigenous 'countersigns', involuntary traces of the agency of Indigenous actors in voyage accounts written by colonial or metropolitan writers. Indigenous countersigns may be present in such texts in vocabulary; in the choice and syntax of words or motifs; in grammatical tense, mood, and voice; in the presence, emphasis, ambiguity, or absence of meaning; and in emotional tone and style, tension or contradiction. Countersigns can help identify how Indigenous agents impinged on Europeans' representations of the Indigenous; Indigenous social, ritual, economic, and political practices; and how Indigenous agents affected voyagers' perceptions and reactions.³⁴⁴

It is not unproblematic to consider the possibility of identifying or recovering Indigenous agency in accounts of Aboriginal people written by metropolitan Europeans, people who had no access to Aboriginal languages and experienced minimal and sometimes violent contact with Aboriginal people. However, Douglas's research has demonstrated that it can be a productive method of historical analysis, perhaps at the very least, to demonstrate that there were alternative agents involved. Although the extant documentary record might not allow the story to be told from an Indigenous perspective, it can serve to give a more balanced reading of texts and

344 Douglas, *Science, Voyages, and Encounters*, pp. 18–26. For a concise introduction to Douglas's method and definitions of key terms including 'agency', 'encounter', and 'countersign', see also Bronwen Douglas, 'Naming Places: Voyagers, Toponyms, and Local Presence in the Fifth Part of the World, 1500-1700', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 45 (2014), 12–24 (pp. 13–14).

greater insight into events which can only ever be known partially. It can help to interrogate the metropolitan assumptions on which the descriptions were based, and read between the lines of the writers' self-fashioning statements, designed to present themselves in the most socially advantageous light to their readers.³⁴⁵ It is not my intention here to focus on self-fashioning, however. That has been done well by others and also risks reinforcing the charisma of the metropolitan hero, whose story has already been well told. Instead, I am interested in investigating whether it is possible to gain glimpses of the agency of Aboriginal people and their impact on Europeans, whose position in a strange land, despite the technology of their guns and ships, was much more fragile and vulnerable than the advocates of the triumphal advance admit. In my discussion in this chapter, I apply this method to shed new light on the ideologies and motivations of the visitors to the southern continent, and how they were affected by Aboriginal agents.

One strategy of my deconstructive practice is to pay attention to traces of emotion in the voyage accounts, particularly to those emotions that the self-fashioning heroes might want to deny. Susan Broomhall has demonstrated how attention to the emotional responses in encounters between metropolitan and indigenous agents in the South Pacific can open up new insights into records of events that might otherwise appear brief and straightforward. Broomhall builds on Sara Ahmed's idea of 'affective economies' as well as the ethnographic approach of Greg Dening and Mary Louise Pratt, who pointed out that metropolitan sailors and explorers found themselves disempowered in relations with local inhabitants in the unfamiliar environments they visited in the South Pacific.³⁴⁶

345 The importance of self-fashioning by early-modern metropolitan writers cannot be underestimated. See Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005). On the importance of self-fashioning in seventeenth-century Dutch culture, including in the correspondence of Constantijn Huygens, see Lisa Jardine, *Temptation in the Archives: Essays in Golden Age Dutch Culture* (London: UCL Press, 2015).

346 See, in particular, Susan Broomhall, 'Emotional Encounters: Indigenous Peoples in the Dutch East India Company's Interactions with the South Lands', *Australian Historical Studies*, 45.3 (2014), 350–67 (pp. 351–2). For a survey of the field of early modern emotions, see *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction*, ed. by Susan Broomhall (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017).

This chapter adopts the approaches of Douglas and Broomhall in the light of research by Gammage and others to reappraise the seventeenth-century record of descriptions of Bandaiyan and its peoples, and consider the Aboriginal presence in, and construction of, the landscapes and places that metropolitan agents experienced, observed, and interpreted.

Accidental Exploration

Much of the early Dutch knowledge of the southerly continent was constructed on the basis of the observations of pilots and crews on ships that arrived by accident along the shores of Bandaiyan, rather than from planned expeditions. In 1610, Hendrik Brouwer, later governor general of the VOC in Asia, recommended to the Heren XVII that they consider a new route for ships sailing to the East. Previously, they had either followed the Portuguese route via the Cape of Good Hope, Madagascar, and India. This meant Dutch ships having to labour against south-easterly tradewinds, and navigating the same waters as their Portuguese rivals (*Figure 3.01*). It had been observed, however, that the westerly winds in the latitude of 35° to 40° south (the 'roaring forties') were more favourable, and Brouwer was asked to test the idea.³⁴⁷

After leaving the Cape of Good Hope, Brouwer's experimental voyage sailed due east for about one thousand miles, and then turned due north to the Sunda Strait between Sumatra and Java. The passage took less than half the time of the old route. After further testing, it was adopted by the VOC as mandatory policy in captains' sailing directions (the *Seynbrief*).³⁴⁸ The 'Brouwer' route ensured faster transport for goods, which could be maintained in better condition, and avoided the risk of attack by sailing the routes favoured by Portuguese rivals.

347 The idea might have been first proposed by the geographer Petrus Plancius, see James A. Henderson, *Marooned: The Wreck of the Vergulde Draeck and the Abandonment and Escape from the Southland of Abraham Leeman in 1658* (Perth, WA: St. George Books, 1982), pp. 12–13.

348 Günter Schilder, *Australia Unveiled: The Share of the Dutch Navigators in the Discovery of Australia*, trans. by Olaf Richter (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1976), pp. 54–57.

This policy introduced a new significant risk, however. It relied on the accurate calculation of when to turn north to the Sunda Strait, at a time when measuring distance and longitude at sea was inexact.³⁴⁹ As a result of the adoption of this policy, several ships miscalculated and sailed too far east, and ran aground or were wrecked on the western coast of Bandaiyan. The first was in fact an English ship, the *Tryall*, which went that way in 1622 and ran onto rocks in latitude 20°13'S, about one hundred kilometres northwest of the mainland. Ninety-four lost their lives.

At least seven VOC ships were involved in disasters that led to the loss of life and the marooning of passengers off the western coast in the century up to the wreck of the *Zeewijk* in 1727. Two hundred or more are estimated to have been marooned on the coast, while at least 150, perhaps 200 or more died, and another 125 were murdered by their compatriots during the 1629 *Batavia* mutiny.³⁵⁰

It has been suggested that Brouwer's proposal might have been intended in part with this outcome in mind. As it happened, the pilots of ships that became stranded or went to rescue the stranded probably made as much of a contribution to VOC charting and knowledge of the western coastline in the seventeenth century as those on planned expeditions. He and Anthoni van Diemen were interested in exploration as well as trade, but the Heren XVII were reluctant to turn resources away from commerce to

349 The 'Dutchman's log', the method by which sea miles were measured by VOC ships in the seventeenth century, is explained by Henderson, pp. 16–17. Henderson points out that the problem was exacerbated by a lack of consensus about the length of a mile. In general, the Dutch used the German mile at sea, but Snellius published more accurate calculations for the mile in 1617 (defining it as 7157 metres) just as Brouwer's recommendations were adopted. As a result, pilots differed in their choice of which mile to use.

350 Nonja Peters, Dora Marinova, and Glen Stasiuk, 'Marooned Dutch East India Company Mariners' Aboriginal Connections in Western Australia: The Untold Story', *Transformacje*, 3/4.82/83 (2014), 70–81. These estimates are based on the analysis of Rupert Gerritsen, 'The Evidence for Cohabitation between Indigenous Australians and Marooned Dutch Mariners and VOC Passengers', in *The Dutch Down Under 1606–2006*, ed. by Nonja Peters (Sydney: University of Western Australia Press, 2006), pp. 38–55. Another ship, the *Ridderschap van Holland* also disappeared with crew of 352, en route eastwards after leaving the Cape of Good Hope on 9th January 1694. Remains were found of a ship of similar age in the Houtman Abrolhos in 1727 by crews of the wrecked *Zeewijk*, and later in 1840 by the HMS *Beagle*.

exploration.³⁵¹ They knew that ships heading directly east from the Cape of Good Hope might confirm or disprove the existence of Mercator's 'gold-bearing' *Beach* promontory.

In 1616, Dirck Hartog's ship the *Eendracht* was following the 'roaring forties' route from the Cape of Good Hope to Batavia when it came suddenly on 'divers [sic] islands, but uninhabited'³⁵². Hartog had a pewter plate inscribed to mark his brief visit and posted on a stake on the northwestern headland of the island that would later be named after him:

1616 the 25th October [is] here arrived the ship Eendracht of Amsterdam, the supercargo Gillis Miebaais of Liège captain Dirck Hatichs of Amsterdam. The 27th ditto [we] set sail for Bantum, the subcargo Jan Stins, the first mate Pieter Doekes van Bil. Anno 1616.³⁵³

This was the first metropolitan ceremony of possession-taking to be carried out on the shores of Bandaiyan by its fleeting visitors from far across the sea. This unsophisticated possession-taking makes no explicit claim to territory, probably because the ship had arrived at the land by chance (Schilder refers to it as 'fortuitous'³⁵⁴) and Hartog had no instructions to seek or formally take possession of territories as Abel Tasman was to do later. The inscription and posting of the pewter plate is suggestive of the graffiti artist who in a highly contested, often dangerous, environment, 'conquers a place momentarily; maintenance is impossible, hence embellishment is maximized in the capture of an exotic, inaccessible place with a garnished signature'.³⁵⁵

351 See, for example, Kees Zandvliet, 'Golden Opportunities in Geopolitics: Cartography and the Dutch East India Company during the Lifetime of Abel Tasman', in *Terra Australis: The Furthest Shore*, ed. by William Eisler and Bernard Smith (Sydney: International Cultural Corporation of Australia, 1988), pp. 67–84 (p. 68).

352 *The Part Borne by the Dutch in the Discovery of Australia 1606–1765*, ed. by J. E. Heeres, Project Gutenberg Australia eBook by Colin Choat (Leiden and London: Royal Dutch Geographical Society, 1899), p. ix.

353 Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*, pp. 294–5.

354 Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*, p. 54, although Aboriginal peoples and their descendants might take a different view.

355 David Ley, 'Urban Graffiti as Territorial Markers', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 64.4 (1974), 491–505 (p. 505). On the theory of marking territory, see Robert David Sack, *Human Territoriality: Its Theory and History*, Cambridge Studies in Historical

The first VOC ship to be wrecked off the western coast of Bandaiyan was the *Batavia*, which came to grief on the Houtman Abrolhos, on 4th June 1629. The disaster occurred in the context of a mutiny organized by captain Adriaen Jacobszoon and *onderkoopman* Jeronimus Corneliszoon against the authority of the commander, Francisco Pelsaert. After the wreck, 230 survivors were left on the Abrolhos Islands while Pelsaert and thirty companions took the ship's boat to look for water and then sailed to Batavia for assistance. While they were away, Jacobszoon and Corneliszoon conducted a reign of terror, murdering 125 of their companions, including women and children. When Pelsaert returned, he administered justice, trialling six mutineers and sentencing them to hang. He also marooned two accomplices on the mainland.³⁵⁶

The news of these events spread rapidly following the trial of Pelsaert and others. In 1647–48, Pelsaert published an account to exonerate himself of his part in the disaster. *Unlucky Voyage of the Ship Batavia in the East Indies* was widely read in Europe.³⁵⁷ Melchisédec Thévenot published an abridged French translation of Pelsaert's journal in 1663 in his *Relations de divers voyages curieux*. Interest in the *Batavia* story was as much for the murderous drama of the mutiny as for information about the southerly land, although the idea of Europeans being marooned in *Terra Australis* on sandy beaches at the mercy of 'savages' contributed to the growth of the so-called 'Robinsonade' genre. It promoted certain exaggerated ideas about the experiences of VOC agents in *Hollandia Nova*, which appear to combine a number of key tropes comprising details of

Geography, 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). Sack discusses competing territorial claims of Indians and colonists in North America at pp. 131–7, but does not canvas colonial Australia, although he makes a very brief mention of classical Aboriginal totemic systems in relation to territoriality, p. 58.

356 For a modern history of these events, see Francisco Pelsaert, *Voyage to Disaster*, ed. by Henrietta Drake-Brockman (London: UWA Publishing, 2006). See also Andrew Sharp, *The Discovery of Australia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), pp. 59–64. For a recent English translation of Pelsaert's journal, see François Pelsaert, 'The Batavia Journal of François Pelsaert (ARA Document 1630: 1098 QQ II, Fol. 232-316)', ed. & trans. by Marit van Huystee (Department of Maritime Archaeology, Western Australian Maritime Museum (Report No. 136), 1994).

357 François Pelsaert, *Ongeluckige Voyagie van 't Schip Batavia, Nae de Oost-Indien* (Amsterdam, 1647).

events that were elaborated in continual retelling, such as the report that the Dutch had found men eight foot tall, who had attacked them in their boats.³⁵⁸

'Utter Barbarians, All Resembling Each Other'

The VOC's first seventeenth-century voyage of exploration to the shores of Bandaiyan took place in 1606. The ship the *Duyfken* ('little dove') sailed southwards from Bantam along the western coast of New Guinea and about 320 kilometres of the western coast of what is now called Cape York Peninsula (Figure 3.02). A report written by an English agent in Bantam, John Saris, published by Purchas, noted that the *Duyfken* had returned to Banda and that nine crew had been killed by cannibals in New Guinea. At this time, the Dutch referred to all the lands visited by the *Duyfken* as 'Nova Guinea', as they were unaware of the strait that separated the continent to the south from what is now New Guinea.³⁵⁹

358 Melchisédec Thévenot, *Relations de divers voyages curieux, qui n'ont point esté publiées, ou qui ont esté traduites d'Hacluyt, de Purchas, & d'autres Voyageurs Anglois, hollandois, portugais, allemands, espagnols, et de quelques persans, arabes & autres auteurs orientaux, enrichies de figures de plantes non décrites, d'animaux inconnus à l'Europe, & de cartes geographiques de pays dont on n'a point encore donné de cartes. Première Partie* (Paris: Iacques Langlois, 1663). Thévenot cast doubt on the report of the extraordinary height of the 'New Hollanders', but the idea remained in general circulation. In his notice to the reader, he wrote: 'L'on sçait d'ailleurs qu'ils y enuoyerent des troupes pour s'y establir, & qu'ils trouuerent des Peuples fort resolu qui se presenterent aux Hollandois sur la grève où ils deuoient débarquer, & les vinrent receuoir iusques dans l'eau, les attaquerent dans leurs chaloupes, nonobstant l'inégalité de leurs armes; Les Hollandois disent qu'ils trouuerent des hommes qui auoient huict pieds de haut; Pelsart ne marque point cette grandeur extraordinaire; & peut-estre que la peur qu'ils firent aux Hollandois, qui les obligea à se retirer, les fit paroistres plus grands qu'ils ne sont en effet.' ('It is moreover known that they sent some troops to establish themselves there, and that they found some strongly resolved Peoples who confronted the Dutch on the beach where they had to disembark, and they came to receive them right at the water's edge, they attacked them in their boats, despite their unequal arms; the Dutch said that they found some men who were eight feet tall; Pelsaert noted nothing of this extraordinary height; and perhaps the fear that they gave the Dutch, which obliged them to withdraw, made them appear taller than they actually are') (my translation). The report of giants in *Hollandia Nova* might have inspired Hendrick van Schooten's *Hairy Giants* (1671).

359 No journal accounts of the *Duyfken* expedition survive. For Dutch transcriptions and English translations of the primary sources of knowledge of the voyage, see Heeres, pp. 3–6. These are discussed by Sharp, *The Discovery of Australia*, pp. 16–20. For a recent reappraisal, see Nick Brodie, *1787: The Lost Chapters of Australia's Beginnings*, [iBooks edn] (Melbourne: Hardie Grant Books, 2016), Chapter 4: 'The voyage of the *Duyfken*'.

Historians generally assume that this fatal encounter occurred in Bandaiyan, because of a mention in the journal of Jan Carstenszoon, who visited the same coast in 1623. Carstenszoon wrote that one sailor from the *Duyfken* was killed near the Batavia River. The VOC's instructions written for Abel Janszoon Tasman's voyage of 1642–43 were also informed by the fatal events of the *Duyfken's* voyage. Tasman was warned that 'Nova Guinea' is inhabited by 'wild, cruel dark barbarous men, who killed *some* of our sailors' (my italics).³⁶⁰ The land in question was defined as lying between 5°S and 13.75°S, that is, parts of both New Guinea and Australia.

It is possible that Carstenszoon mistook or misrecorded the number killed, but the discrepancy of numbers might also indicate that the *Duyfken* sailors had more than one fatal encounter with inhabitants of the coasts they visited. Of the *Duyfken's* expedition, only secondary accounts (those by Saris, Carstenszoon, and the VOC's instructions to Tasman) survive, along with a copy of a chart made in 1670.³⁶¹ The fragmentary circulation of primary sources and reports by word of mouth might have combined multiple events into one historical memory. It is not an incontrovertible fact that the event in which nine Dutchmen were killed occurred in Bandaiyan.³⁶²

Brodie suggests that the killing of the Dutchmen might have been 'a sort of traditional foreign policy where a deep mistrust of outsiders was learned and fostered over generations as a security measure', evidence of a prevailing state of affairs in the Australasian region of 'intense regional inter-group conflict', but gives no supporting evidence for such conflict.³⁶³ In general, the VOC accounts indicate that Aboriginal

360 Heeres, pp. 3–6.

361 The chart by Vingboons and staff appears in *The Atlas Blaeu-van Der Hem of the Austrian National Library, Vol. V: Africa, Asia and America, Including the 'Secret' Atlas of the Dutch East India Company (VOC)*, ed. by Peter van der Krogt and Erlend de Groot (Houten: HES & De Graaf, 2005), pp. 408–9 (map 41.29).

362 Sutton proposes that it is most likely that one man was killed in Cape York Peninsula and eight others in New Guinea; see Peter Sutton, 'Stories about Feeling: Dutch–Australian Contact in Cape York Peninsula, 1606–1756', in *Strangers on the Shore: Early Coastal Contacts in Australia*, ed. by Peter Veth, Peter Sutton, and Margo Neale (Canberra: National Museum of Australia Press, 2008), pp. 35–59 (p. 38).

363 Brodie, Chapter 4: 'The voyage of the *Duyfken*'.

responses to incursions were more organized and combative in the north of Cape York. In other parts of the continent, people's most common response was to avoid encounters with arriving foreigners. This suggests that Aboriginal people in the north of Cape York had become familiar with others making incursions before the Dutch arrival, but it need not imply that they were involved in ongoing 'inter-group conflict'.

Aboriginal oral testimony might also be helpful in understanding the background to local responses to incursion. The Aboriginal settlement, previously a mission, at the entrance to the Batavia River (now called the Wenlock River) is Mapoon, a name derived from the language of the land's traditional owners, the Tjungundji. Mapoon is an anglicization meaning 'place where people fight on the sand-hills'. This name might reflect a longstanding need of the Tjungundji and their neighbours to defend themselves from invaders from the sea, who might have been arriving since before 1606.³⁶⁴

Carstenszoon's journal gives a clear account of the circumstances in which VOC agents' encounters with peoples from Bandaiyan could lead quickly to violence and killing. What stands out in the events discussed next is the invaders' denial of the role of their presence and actions in precipitating fatalities, and a tendency to regard all the peoples they met as undifferentiated 'savages', despite the observation of differences between them.

Jan Carstenszoon's journal represents one of the lengthiest surviving records of VOC exploration before Tasman. He led an expedition in 1623 of two ships, the *Pera* and *Aernem*, which sailed along the western coast of New Guinea, across the entrance to the

364 The most recent invasion was arguably little more than half a century ago when in 1963 the Queensland government forcibly evicted the residents from the town at gunpoint in order to develop bauxite mining. For a summary, see Mapoon Aboriginal Shire Council, 'Our History', *Mapoon Aboriginal Shire Council* <<https://www.mapoon.qld.gov.au/our-history/>> [accessed 1 June 2019]. See also Mary-Jean Nancy Sutton, 'Remembering the Mother Mission: Exploring Trauma, Cultural Heritage Values and Identity at Mapoon, a Former Mission Village in Western Cape York Queensland' (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Queensland, 2014), pp. 57–8. Sutton summarizes the pre-mission history of Mapoon, but does not reveal the circumstances of the naming or its age.

Torres Strait (unknown to them), and along the western coast of Cape York Peninsula.³⁶⁵ The *Pera* returned the way it had come from about 17°8'S, while the *Aernem* returned via a more westerly course along the coast now called Arnhem Land.³⁶⁶

The ships first reached Cape York on 12th April.³⁶⁷ The most fatal incident of the voyage had already occurred in New Guinea on 11th February. Ten VOC men were killed, including the captain of the *Aernhem*, Dirck Melissoon, in an encounter with local people.³⁶⁸ Willem van Colster was appointed captain for the rest of the voyage. This episode early on in the voyage probably overshadowed the rest of the experience and conditioned the crew to expect hostility from all those they met. It made it easier for them to respond more violently to other encounters, adopt the pose of victims, and deny their culpability in events. During subsequent landings and encounters with people in canoes along the shores of New Guinea, VOC agents shot and killed three local men, according to Castenszoon's account.

Carstenszoon set out the aims of the voyage at the opening of his journal. The kidnap of local men was a priority. The aims were:

to endeavour to come to parley with the inhabitants and generally inspect the state of affairs there; in leaving we shall, if at all practicable, seize one or two blacks to take along with us; the main reason which has led us to touch at the island aforesaid being, that certain reports and writings seem to imply that the land which we are now near to, is the Gouwen-eylandt.³⁶⁹

365 Heeres, pp. 21–44.

366 Sharp, *The Discovery of Australia*, pp. 45–54.

367 Sharp, *The Discovery of Australia*, p. 47.

368 The account states that sixteen men from the *Aernem*, including the captain, had landed poorly armed and 'with great disorder' to fish. Local people attacked them, killing nine and wounding seven. Melissoon died later of his wounds. The account gives no hint of a provocation for the attack other than the sailors' intrusion on foreign soil and intention to help themselves to the inhabitants' resources. Heeres, p. 24.

369 Heeres, p. 23.

The *Gouwen-eylandt* ('golden island') is a reference to the belief in the existence of a land of gold, which had been mapped by Mercator as *Beach, provincia aurifera*. The existence of such a land had been recently described by Manuel de Erédia in his *Declaração de Malaca e India Meridional com o Cathay* (1613), and the idea of finding new sources of gold and precious metals must have exerted a powerful attraction for the merchants of the VOC.³⁷⁰ The desire for information about the presence of gold or other sources of wealth and how to acquire them was an important reason for kidnapping local people. Carstenszoon explained that, once they had been taken to Batavia and learned Malay, the captives would then be able to inform the VOC directors about what sources of wealth their lands produced:

through them, as soon as they have become somewhat conversant with the Malay tongue, our Lords and Masters may obtain reliable knowledge touching the productions of their land.³⁷¹

Carstenszoon described certain features of the appearance of the local inhabitants that were seen: their hair, skin colour, dress and body decorations, what their houses were made of and what possessions were found inside (betraying trespassing), their watercraft, and particulars of the local landscape. Carstenszoon's crew were attuned to observe and describe superficial differences in the people and landscapes they saw.

Did Carstenszoon's crew have any awareness that the places they observed along the coast of Cape York might have been different from those further north? The most common observations of the western coast of Cape York include the presence of many rivers running into the sea, a low-lying, arid landscape with few, spindly trees, which were submerged in (salt) water in some places. They found it difficult to find fresh water. Their frequent attempts to dig pits for fresh water often failed.

370 Avan Judd Stallard, *Antipodes: In Search of the Southern Continent* (Clayton, Vic: Monash University Publishing, 2016), pp. 140–1.

371 Heeres, p. 24.

When they arrived near the Cape York coast on 12th April, the journal describes it as 'as a low-lying coast without hills or mountains'.³⁷² On 15th April, 'low-lying and without variety, having a fine sandy beach in various places'; on 3rd May, 'the land here is low-lying and without hills as before, in Lat. 15° 20' it is very dry and barren'.³⁷³ This made a stark contrast with the landscape in New Guinea where on 16th February they had observed very high mountains capped with snow, which surprised them so close to the Equator. The inscription on Vingboons' copy drawn from Martenszoon de Leeuw's chart of the voyage has the label 'All this coast is low-lying land' ('Alle dese cust is Laeghlandt') along the Cape York coastline. In Carstenszoon's summary of the land seen between the latitude of 13°0'–17°8', he writes that it is 'a barren and arid tract, without any fruit-trees, and producing nothing fit for the use of man; it is low-lying and flat without hills or mountains; in many places overgrown with brushwood and stunted wild trees; it has not much fresh water'.³⁷⁴

In contrast to the lack of fresh water, in some places the land is described as submerged, but the language is subtly different to that used along the New Guinea coast, where the term *verdroncken landt* ('drowned land') was used several times. In Cape York, on 25th April, a region at 17°8' near the estuary of what they called the Staten River is described as having 'verscheijde plaetsen onder water was staende' ('several places lying underwater'). In a curious remark, the area was described as resembling Waterland in Holland.³⁷⁵

372 Heeres, p. 35.

373 Heeres, pp. 35 and 39. 15°20' must be the *Water plaets* that is furthest south, as, according to *Abel Jansz. Tasman's Journal of His Discovery of Van Diemen's Land & New Zealand in 1642, with Documents Relating to His Exploration of Australia in 1644*, ed. by J. E. Heeres and C. E. Coote, Project Gutenberg Australia eBook by Colin Choat and Bob Forsyth (Amsterdam: F. Muller & Co, 1898), p. 100, it is the Mitchell River, north of de Rivier Nassouw.

374 Heeres, p. 41.

375 The full quotation is: 'we then marched a considerable distance into the interior, which we found to be submerged in many places, thus somewhat resembling Waterland in Holland, from which it may be concluded that there must be large lakes farther inland' (Heeres, p. 38). It should be assumed, without contrary evidence, that the author was serious about his comparison. Further research of the historical landscape of both places would be needed to determine with greater clarity the relative empirical, emotional (homesickness?), and imaginative content in this remark.

There is an attempt to capture in the description particularities of place, and the overall impression is that while the southern coasts have areas of ‘submerged’ land, the land is more arid, and it is more difficult to find fresh water than it was further north. On the other hand, the presence of people raises the suspicion that there might be more water and more fertility than the sailors can perceive. On 17th April, the *Pera* journal records ‘flat, fine country with few trees, and a good soil for planting and sowing, but so far as we could observe utterly destitute of fresh water’. On 8th May, vegetables are found near a river: ‘we gathered excellent vegetables or pot-herbs’.³⁷⁶ The land is not so arid that vegetables cannot grow. It is most likely that they were not growing by chance but had been cultivated by the Winduwinda people.

It is in the descriptions of the local inhabitants that the most marked differences were observed between the inhabitants of Cape York and the peoples the sailors met in New Guinea. On 18th April, the inhabitants of the coast near present-day Pormpuraaw, where descendants of the Thaayore, Yir-Yiront, Wik, and Bakanh peoples live, were described as having ‘coal-black’ skin and going naked, as the peoples of New Guinea were described. However, they were also observed to be ‘less cunning, bold and evil-natured’ than the peoples the visitors had met further north. They also had ‘less-deadly’ weapons.³⁷⁷ The peoples of New Guinea approached the VOC ships in canoes. By contrast, on the coasts of Cape York, the inhabitants’ boats are described with disdain: ‘the natives drag their wives and children by means of dry sticks or boughs of trees’ across saltwater rivers.³⁷⁸ The VOC agents probably observed dugout seafaring canoes, and possibly also a form of stitched bark canoe, more common further south in Bandaiyan.³⁷⁹ The housing they saw was generally made of dry grass or hay, although

376 Heeres, p. 40.

377 Heeres, p. 36.

378 Heeres, p. 41.

379 ‘Indigenous Australian Canoes: Questions of Chronology’ (‘Nawi’ Conference, Australian National Maritime Museum, 31 May–1 June, 2012) <https://media.australianmuseum.net.au/media/dd/Uploads/Documents/38547/Indigenous%20Australian%20Canoes_Chronology%20Florek%202012.25c7d4a.pdf> [accessed 3 June 2019].

they had different contents. In New Guinea, however, Carstenszoon noted that the huts were 'so small and cramped that a man could hardly get into them on all fours'.³⁸⁰

Carstenszoon claimed the peoples they met were cannibals, but the signs of supposed cannibalism were different in the north and south. The people of New Guinea were observed to be cannibals because they carried 'human thigh bones' and wore 'strings of human teeth round their necks'). In the south, the VOC agents 'observed in various places great quantities of divers [*sic*] human bones, from which it may be safely concluded that the blacks along the coast of Nova Guinea are man-eaters who do not spare each other when driven by hunger.'³⁸¹ Such assumptions could not fail to influence the thinking and behaviour of the visitors in their encounters with the peoples they met along the Gulf coast.

Fires were observed only along the coast of Cape York. On 15th April, the sailors saw 'great volumes of smoke'. On 28th April, it is noted, 'the blacks on shore sending up such huge clouds of smoke from their fires that the land was hardly visible'.³⁸²

Whereas meetings between VOC agents and local inhabitants were reportedly more deadly for the VOC than the locals in New Guinea (ten VOC agents reportedly killed compared with three indigenous people), on the coast of Cape York three Aboriginal people were reported killed and no sailors.

The first landing of significant numbers of VOC agents was on the 17th April, more than ten miles south of 14°56'S.³⁸³ They were in the vicinity of present-day Pormpuraaw, now home to the descendants of the Thaayorre, Yir-Yoront, Wik, and

380 Heeres, p. 29

381 Heeres, p. 37

382 Heeres, pp. 36 and 38.

383 On 16th April they were at 14°56'S and on the 21st, after leaving the area where the events of 18–20 April took place, they sailed to 15°38'S; see Heeres, pp. 36–7.

Bakanh peoples.³⁸⁴ Carstenszoon led an armed party 'a considerable distance' inland. They reported positively on 'a flat, fine country' with 'good soil for planting and sowing', and 'a fine beach and plenty of excellent fish'. They did not 'see any human beings or even signs of them', but that might not have been by chance.

The next day, the 18th April, the visitors went ashore again a little farther south, still in the lands of the Yir-Yoront and associated peoples. A large group of people approached, apparently with curiosity. Carstenszoon reported:

these blacks showed no fear and were so bold, as to touch the muskets of our men and to try to take the same off their shoulders, while they wanted to have whatever they could make use of.³⁸⁵

The sailors tried to distract the Aboriginals by showing them 'iron and beads'. The chance of a meaningful engagement was quickly forgone, however, when the VOC sailors seized an Aboriginal man and took him by force to their pinnace. The man's compatriots responded with 'dreadful howls and made violent gestures'. The kidnap of local peoples to be returned to Batavia to act as informants to the VOC about the cultures and languages of their people was a priority of the expedition.

The next day, the VOC sailors went ashore to cut down trees for firewood, and were attacked by what they estimated to be two hundred Aboriginal people, possibly a group assembled from the local Thaayore, Yir-Yoront, Wik, and Bakanh peoples. The sailors fired their muskets and killed one man. The rest of the assembled people retreated to the bush. The Dutch then penetrated farther into the country and found some weapons, some of which they stole 'by way of curiosities'.³⁸⁶

384 Pormpuraaw Aboriginal Shire Council, 'History'

<https://www.pormpuraaw.qld.gov.au/bible_groups> [accessed 3 June 2019].

385 Heeres, p. 36.

386 Heeres, p. 37.

The journal indicates that the Aboriginals first approached the visitors with curiosity, but felt sorely wronged by the kidnap of one of their compatriots. They could not have certainly predicted the return of the sailors the next day until they saw them approaching the shore; that they organized a large army at short notice to attack the sailors when they returned shows the effectiveness of their social organization, and their determination to take decisive action in response to the loss of one of their people.

They probably also took offence to the cutting down of the trees. Although the sailors could not have understood, the trees were part of the local people's managed and curated landscape, a complex ecosystem which combined botanical, zoological, personal, geographical, and spiritual meanings in a society which did not demarcate human and natural worlds, but saw the whole as one system. As Gammage observed, 'totems are ecological'. In classical Aboriginal society, each person is born with an ancestral totem, a plant or animal which it is their life duty to learn to care for within the local environment. The knowledge of each totem is passed on through the songlines which encode specific information about its seasonal behaviour and proper curation and use. Gammage explains that the songlines 'recite countless ecological signals to people and animals: when coral trees flower it is time to dig crabs, ... when march flies appear crocodiles lay eggs, when the blackwoods flower northwest Tasmanians hunted muttonbirds'.³⁸⁷ The mariners' indiscriminate tree chopping not only extracted elements from this complex ecosystem inappropriately and without permission; it could disrupt the network of meanings between elements. It also paid no respect to local regulations of resource distribution.³⁸⁸ Care for the system was spiritually sanctioned by the ancestors; inappropriate treatment of elements in the ecosystem could have serious social consequences.³⁸⁹

387 Gammage [iBooks edn], end of Chapter 4 [pp. 210–11].

388 Resource distribution was highly regulated in Aboriginal societies. Among the Pitjantjatjara, for example, consumption regulations applied to age, gender, initiation status, and reproductive status; see Ian Keen, *Aboriginal Economy and Society: Australia at the Threshold of Colonisation* (South Melbourne, Vic: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 391. There were also complex observances for the use and sharing of resources between skin and clan groups that shared access to the same places.

389 Gammage notes (beginning of Chapter 4) that Aboriginal religion integrated the explanation of existence and the regulation of behaviour 'by subjecting every aspect of [life]

After another one of their people was murdered by the intruders, the locals kept their distance from the sailors. The actions of the Yir-Yiront might also suggest preparedness. Carstenszoon presents the Yir-Yoront and their compatriots at their first meeting as curious and acquisitive—wanting to have ‘whatever they could make use of’. It seems not to have occurred to him that their attempts to remove the firearms from the sailors’ shoulders might have been more than simple curiosity or a desire to get hold of shiny objects. Later in the journal, Carstenszoon adds a supplementary note to the narration, that,

in our landings between 13° and 11° we have but two times seen black men or savages, who received us much more hostilely than those more to southward; they are also acquainted with muskets, of which they would seem to have experienced the fatal effect when in 1606 the men of the Duyffken made a landing here.³⁹⁰

The two occasions in which people south of 13° greeted the visitors with hostility probably refers to events in May in the countries of the Wik. On the 5th, Carstenszoon and his companions were attacked after landing. The Wik are not impressed by the beads and iron offered, and instead, Carstenszoon wrote, ‘repeatedly held up their shields with great boldness and threw them at the muskets’. The captain described the men as ‘like all the others we have lately seen, of tall stature and very lean to look at, but malignant and evil-natured.’³⁹¹

to overwhelming religious sanction.’ For an accessible introduction to Aboriginal religion, see Jim Poulter, *Sharing Heritage in Kulin Country: Lessons in Reconciliation from Our First Contact History* (Melbourne: Red Hen, 2011), pp. 75–95. For an academic study, see Colin Dean, *The Australian Aboriginal ‘Dreamtime’: Its History, Cosmogogenesis, Cosmology and Ontology* (West Geelong, Vic: Gamahucher Press, 1996). For a variety of perspectives, see the contributions by Fred Myers, Howard Morphy, Marcia Langton, Peter Sutton, and David Mowaljarlai, among others, in *Aboriginal Religions in Australia: An Anthology of Recent Writings*, ed. by Max Charlesworth, Françoise Dussart, and Howard Morphy (Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate Publishing, 2005).

390 Heeres, p. 43.

391 Heeres, pp. 39–40.

On 7th May, one hundred armed people assembled to deter them on the beach as they tried to land. If the Wik were alert to the need to defend themselves with arms from the visitors, then they might well have learned about the visitors' fatal weapons of fire from their neighbours further north who had learned by experience during the visits of the *Duyfken*. If the Wik knew, then they might also have communicated this knowledge with their Yir-Yoront neighbours to the south. It is possible that the Yir-Yoront men's apparently innocent curiosity about the muskets was a ruse to disarm the visitors.

It does not seem to occur to Carstenszoon that the Wik might have been intent not on being 'malignant and evil-natured' but simply on defending themselves from attack. Aggression by Carstenszoon's people is troped defence, but by the invaded as malice. Susan Broomhall has suggested that Carstenszoon 'was primed to see indigenous behaviour as angry and aggressive'.³⁹²

Carstenszoon's note also betrays another probability generally overlooked by historiography of these events. The meagre accounts that have survived of the *Duyfken*'s voyage refer to the deaths of VOC agents only, but Carstenszoon states unequivocally that the inhabitants met by the *Duyfken* 'experienced the fatal effect' of the muskets. Therefore, when the VOC journals record that the sailors fired their muskets into the air as a deterrent but killed one 'native' (as though by accident), it is probably a reasonable assumption that such numbers are underestimates; that more Aboriginals were killed in these encounters than the journal writer wanted to admit, or was prepared or able to determine.

The killing of Aboriginal people by the VOC's agents was almost certainly made more likely by the zeal with which Carstenszoon attempted to carry out his instructions to kidnap local men. On 24th April, he redoubled his efforts, devising a scheme to motivate the crew to greater success:

³⁹² Broomhall, 'Emotional Encounters: Indigenous Peoples in the Dutch East India Company's Interactions with the South Lands', p. 360.

it was furthermore proposed by me and ultimately approved of by the council, to give 10 pieces of eight to the boatmen for every black they shall get hold of on shore, and carry off to the yachts, to the end that the men may use greater care and diligence in this matter, and Our Masters may reap benefit from the capture of the blacks, which may afterwards redound to certain advantage.³⁹³

Carstenszoon had made their intentions in this regard clear from the first main landing and meeting with the Yir-Yoront in April. Word probably spread along the coast, and might well explain the numbers in which local Aboriginal peoples assembled on the beaches with weapons to deter the invaders. Yet Carstenszoon took no heed of the message being communicated.

Following the attacks on 5th May, and the hostile greeting on the beach on 7th May, Carstenszoon's companions went ashore again on the 8th.³⁹⁴ They were not greeted this time, but were probably being observed. After picking 'excellent vegetables or pot-herbs' near a river, the Wik came to the beach in two separate groups as the Dutch prepared to board the pinnace. Carstenszoon attracted them with beads, and seeing a chance, grabbed one man around waist, while the quartermaster put a noose around his neck. As they dragged him to the ships, the Wik 'tried to rescue their captured brother by furiously assailing us with their assagays'.³⁹⁵ As on previous occasions, the sailors resorted to their more deadly weapons and shot a Wik man as he and his compatriots retreated to the bush. Perhaps others were shot too.

Another man was shot and killed a few days later, a little farther north. On 12th May, the sailors were confronted again on a beach by about two hundred armed people near the Batavia River, near present-day Mapoon in Tjungundji country. One man was shot in the chest. Still alive, the sailors carried him away to the pinnace, probably in the hope he might survive as a captive, but he died before they reached the ship and they left him behind.³⁹⁶ According to Carstenszoon's account, during the visits of the *Pera*

393 Heeres, p. 37.

394 At a river they named after Coen, the VOC governor-general in Batavia.

395 Heeres, p. 40.

396 Heeres, p. 42.

and *Aernem* to the western coast of Cape York, two Aboriginal men were kidnapped. Three were killed, possibly more. No VOC agents lost their lives, despite attacks by local inhabitants.

Brodie frames his discussion of the 1623 voyage in terms of Carstenszoon's 'direct experience of Aboriginal defensiveness'.³⁹⁷ This reinforces the account's own blurring of distinctions between the different people that the sailors met. He begins with the encounter that took ten VOC lives in New Guinea. This may be an encounter with aboriginals with a small 'a', but it was not with Aboriginal people from Bandaiyan.

From the VOC agents' perspective, their limited knowledge of the land and its peoples, and ignorance about the existence of the Torres Strait, led them to refer to all the coasts that they visited as *Nova Guinea*. As can be seen from the previous discussion, the journal includes descriptions of differences that were perceived between the peoples and landscapes of the western coast of New Guinea in the north, and the more southerly coast of Cape York Peninsula: differences in weapons and aggressiveness, in water-going vessels, in housing, in the signs interpreted as cannibalism; as well as a drier, more low-lying coast in Cape York.

In attempting to interpret countersigns of Indigenous agency, it is important to distinguish the two landmasses and their inhabitants. But Carstenszoon, although recording observations of differences in behaviour and technology at different points of the coast, makes summaries which conflate all differentiation of the peoples into one group of 'savages'. He states that the people between 13° and 17° south were 'in general utter barbarians, all resembling each other in shape and features, coal-black, and with twisted nets wound round their heads and necks for keeping their food in'.³⁹⁸ He appears to show a surprising degree of cognitive dissonance about the intentions of his own people, and their culpability in the fatal events that occurred:

³⁹⁷ Brodie [iBooks edn], Chapter 4: 'Carstensz's expedition'.

³⁹⁸ Heeres, p. 41.

in all places where we landed, we have treated the blacks or savages with especial kindness ... but in spite of all our kindness and our fair semblance the blacks received us as enemies everywhere, so that in most places our landings were attended with great peril.³⁹⁹

It would seem that 'especial kindness' did not extend to being careful in the use of muskets to avoid killing at least three local people, perhaps more. Aside from the offering of iron and beads as free gifts, kindness apparently also included the mariners' acts of kidnapping and helping themselves to whatever resources of water, food, and wood they wanted. No doubt this was considered justified. As we have seen, Carstenszoon's English contemporary, Joseph Hall, believed that those with the keys to navigation were divinely sanctioned to 'vnlocke these chests of nature, without any neede to picke the wards'.⁴⁰⁰ The difference between the two cultures could not have been starker: one had arrogated to itself a divine licence to take what they desired; in the other, the divine sanction of the ancestors invested the knowledge and responsibility for managing the appropriate use of specific local resources to individual caretakers, and distribution according to a system of reciprocal relationships.

On 3rd May, as they begin their return north along the coast, having found no signs of gold or other trade opportunities, Carstenszoon summed up his disappointment:

we have not seen one fruit-bearing tree, nor anything that man could make use of; there are no mountains or even hills, so that it may be safely concluded that the land contains no metals, nor yields any precious woods, such as sandal-wood, aloes or columba; in our judgment this is the most arid and barren region that could be found anywhere on the earth; the inhabitants, too, are the most wretched and poorest creatures that I have ever seen in my age or time; as there are no large trees anywhere on this coast, they have no boats or canoes whether large or small.⁴⁰¹

399 Heeres, p. 41

400 Joseph Hall, *Quo Vadis? A Just Censure of Travel as It Is Commonly Undertaken by the Gentlemen of Our Nation*, EEBO (London: Printed by Edward Griffin for Nathaniel Butter, 1617), pp. 1–3.

401 Heeres, p. 39.

More than half a century before Dampier wrote his infamous lines about the 'miserablest people in the world', Carstenszoon had already described the peoples of Bandaiyan as 'the most wretched and poorest creatures that I have ever seen in my age or time', apparently lacking in all essentials to life, even mountains and hills (perhaps surprisingly for a Dutchman). It is possible that the earlier comparison of the coast to Waterland in Holland was sarcastic. After all, *Terra Australis Incognita* was reputed to have mountains of gold and other extraordinary blessings. Carstenszoon wrote this at a location recorded as *Water plaets*, about 15°13'S, in the southerly lands of the Wik. A few days later, the meetings with the Wik became fatal. Perhaps Carstenszoon's disappointment contributed to that violent outcome.

Fear of Singing Giants

In the mid-1630s the VOC wanted a more complete idea of the landmass that had been identified so far by the investigations and charts of Hartog, Carstenszoon, Pelsaert and others. They wanted to know if the southerly continent was attached to New Guinea or whether a strait divided them. An expedition of two ships, the *Cleyn Amsterdam* and *Wesel*, commanded by Gerrit Thomaszoon Pool, set out to circumnavigate the known and unknown coasts in 1636, but navigated only parts of the north coast after Pool was killed in New Guinea.⁴⁰²

Abel Janszoon Tasman (1603–1659) was appointed captain of a new expedition in 1642. In its rationale for the voyage, the Heren XVII made it clear that exploration was being impeded by the continued war with Spain and 'a lack of suitable ships'. The VOC's resources were stretched. The aim of Tasman's voyage was to identify new treasures in the 'South and Easternland' that might be made use of 'at a more convenient time'.⁴⁰³

On the first voyage of 1642–43, the *Heemskerck* and *Zeehaen* sailed from Batavia to Mauritius, and then south before turning east, sailing south of Bandaiyan until meeting

402 Sharp, *The Discovery of Australia*, pp. 64–9.

403 Sharp, *The Voyages of Abel Janszoon Tasman*, p. 20.

the south coast of Lutruwita (Tasmania), which was charted. Tasman continued east to Aotearoa (New Zealand), charting parts of the west coast of North and South Island. The ships then headed north, identifying Tonga and Fiji, before returning to Batavia via the north coast of New Guinea. As a result, Bandaiyan had been circumnavigated, confirming its status as a separate landmass.⁴⁰⁴ The aim of the second voyage in 1644 was to 'obtain perfect knowledge of the many new lands the discovery of which has been effected or begun'.⁴⁰⁵ Three ships, the *Limmen*, *Zeemeuw*, and *Bracq*, sailed east along the south coast of New Guinea. Tasman was instructed to investigate whether there was a passage between it and Bandaiyan at the location of Torres Strait, and if one was found, to chart the east coast as far as *Anthoni van Diemens Landt*. The instructions stated that the existence of a strait was unlikely; perhaps unsurprisingly, none was found.⁴⁰⁶ The ships continued sailing south around the Gulf of Carpentaria and then westwards along the north coast of Bandaiyan, before returning to Batavia.⁴⁰⁷

The VOC's instructions for the first voyage were optimistic. The 'inestimable riches, profitable tradings, useful exchanges, fine dominions, great might and powers' the kings of Portugal and Castile had brought their kingdoms through the 'discoveries' of the 'very famous Sea-heroes', Columbus, Vespucci, and da Gama were thought to be at the VOC's reach. Recalling the tropes of *Terra Australis* of Queirós and Erédia, the expectation that riches would be found was considered 'beyond doubt':

it is to be judged for good reasons, many attractive and fruitful lands are located therein, as being in the cold, temperate and hot zones, where necessarily there must be many inhabited places, in the pleasant climate and attractive sky, and because in many lands, situated to north of the equinoctial (in the latitude of 15 to 40 degrees), many rich mines, and other treasures are found, so it is beyond doubt, similar fruitful and rich lands are also situated south of the Equator, as the gold and silver-rich provinces of Peru, Chile, Monomotapa or Soffala (all situated south of the Equator) show and indicate as clear examples, thus it is certainly to be hoped, that the outlay and trouble,

404 *The Atlas Blaeu-van der Hem of the Austrian National Library*, ed. by Koert van der Horst and Günter Schilder (Houten: HES & De Graaf, 2004), pp. 410–12 (map 41.30).

405 Quoted in Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*, p. 182.

406 Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*, pp. 182–3.

407 Tasman charted along the north coast about as far west as Port Hedland in the Pilbara; see Sharp, *The Discovery of Australia*, p. 91.

which must be incurred in the discovery of so large a part of the world, can be recompensed with certain fruits of gain, and undying fame.⁴⁰⁸

Explorations south of Java were therefore built on the assumptions of experiences of exploration and discovery elsewhere, particularly in the Americas. What is omitted from this paean to wealth extraction is an insight into the material and human resources needed to extract wealth. In southern America and India, and in the Dutch experience in Asia, local systems were already in place to organize the extraction of resources and their conversion into products that could be traded for profit in markets. In many cases, colonial merchants from Europe had only to gain a foothold in local political structures to their advantage (at gunpoint) to take away products to sell in Europe or elsewhere and skim off the profits. In Bandaiyan, however, traded goods such as songs, axe heads, seeds were not ones that the Dutch recognized or valued.

Tasman's ships for the first voyage, the *Heemskerck* and *Zeehaen*, were loaded with many samples of trade goods for the purpose of gaining access to these treasures. Tasman was instructed to show these samples to the inhabitants of the lands he visited 'in order to find out what wares and materials they have, and what [they] want of ours in return, all of which you shall keenly observe, properly draw and correctly describe'.⁴⁰⁹ The salesperson's unquestioned assumption that the people they meet must always want—or can always be convinced to want—what they have to offer is striking.

The ancient Greek binary between the civilized *Hellas* and the barbarous *eschatia* that informs the idea of the antipodes remains at the heart of the imagination of *Terra Australis* as portrayed in the VOC's instructions. Tasman was told that it was unlikely he would meet with 'civilized people' because 'it is apparent, the Southlands are peopled with very rough wild people'. Although Tasman was told to attempt trade with both the civilized and barbarous, he was 'to take more account of' the civilized.

408 Sharp, *The Voyages of Abel Janszoon Tasman*, pp. 30–1.

409 Sharp, *The Voyages of Abel Janszoon Tasman*, p. 36.

Tasman's instructions therefore primed him at the outset with the expectation of meeting with 'barbarous' people and violent encounters like the crews of Janszoon and Cartenszoon had experienced in the Gulf of Carpentaria. The instructions also encouraged Tasman to take little trouble to communicate with those whose nakedness and other superficial characteristics defined them as 'barbarous' to early modern Europeans. Setting out on a voyage of discovery with such predetermining instructions ensured that Tasman would dismiss the peoples he met as worthless and not worth engaging with. That is how he treated them.

The distribution of the evidence gathered during Tasman's voyages was uneven and patchy.⁴¹⁰ The cartographical knowledge produced by Tasman's two voyages was published more widely and earlier than the descriptions of the land and its inhabitants that were recorded in Tasman's journals.⁴¹¹ The first published textual account of the 1642–43 voyage did not appear for almost thirty years. In 1671, an extract of a narrative account written by the expedition surgeon, Henrik Haelbos, was published by Arnoldus Montanus in *The New and Unknown World: Or Description of America and the Southland*.⁴¹² The interest it aroused is suggested by the quick appearance of two translations, the first in English in the same year by John Ogilby, and a second in German in 1673.⁴¹³ Most of this description focuses on a sensationally violent encounter with Maori in Aotearoa. Only a few details are included from the account of events on

410 For a comprehensive review of all the extant sources of both voyages, see Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*, pp. 139–57. Surviving documentation of the second voyage is scant compared to that from the first voyage and no copy of the journal of the second voyage has survived.

411 Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*, p. 150. Two independent manuscript copies of an original copy of the journal of the 1642–43 expedition are extant, neither in Tasman's hand: one well illustrated copy signed by Tasman in the Nationaal Archief in The Hague, and the 'Huydecoper' copy, with fewer illustrations and charts, in the Mitchell Library, Sydney. An additional illustrated one-folio fragment also exists in the Nationaal Archief. See Sharp, *The Voyages of Abel Janszoon Tasman*, pp. 54–6.

412 Arnold Montanus, *De Nieuwe en Onbekende Weereld: of Beschryving van America en 't Zuidland* (Amsterdam: Jacob Meurs, 1671).

413 John Ogilby, *America. Being the Latest and Most Accurate Description of the New World ... With an Appendix, Containing, besides Several Other Considerable Additions, a Brief Survey of What Hath Been Discover'd of the Unknown South-Land and the Arctick Region. Collected from Most Authentick Authors, Augmented with Later Observations, and Adorn'd with Maps and Sculptures* (London, 1671); Olfert Dapper, *Die Unbekannte Neue Welt oder Beschreibung des Welt-teils Amerika, und des Süd-Landes* (Amsterdam, 1673).

the south coast of Lutruwita (Tasmania), so that the whole of Haelbos's account can be quoted in full:

discovered on the twenty-fifth of November a barren coast, against which the sea beat boisterously. He kept along this coast: found a convenient bay; but had because of the bad weather to go about to sea again. Later the beach was approached, where [he] found thick trees, hollow inside: round about lay mussel-shells. From the wood rose a shrill noise of singing people: wherat through fear [he] went back on board: and saw a thick smoke rise among the trees. Having returned hereto the next day, [he] fastened an orange flag to a stake, in which the mark of the East-India company was cut. He named this inlet *Frederik Henrik*, and the whole coast *Antonius van Diemen*: continued on an eastward course.⁴¹⁴

Tasman's own journal records more information about what was observed but omits the detail about the captain's fear. Haelbos suggests that it was the sound of unfamiliar song that disturbed Tasman. Perhaps the sound triggered other expectations about the inhabitants which had been primed by the instructions Tasman had received, as well as circulating myths about *Terra Australis* such as the idea that giants dwelt there. This idea framed Tasman's description of steps cut into tree trunks, used by the Palawa people of Lutruwita to reach birds' nests. Tasman wrote that the steps 'measured fully 5 feet from one another So that they presumed, here to be Very tall people or that these same by some means must know how to climb up said trees'.⁴¹⁵

Tasman's fear was also induced by the strangeness of his surroundings. The journal records that at the moment when the mariners heard singing, they 'had nevertheless not managed to See anyone'.⁴¹⁶ So Tasman's fear was triggered as much by not being able to see where the sound was coming from and how it was made as by the sound

414 Sharp, *The Voyages of Abel Janszoon Tasman*, p. 41. The original text is in Montanus, *De Nieuwe en Onbekende Weereld*, p. 578.

415 Sharp, *The Voyages of Abel Janszoon Tasman*, p. 110. My quotations from Tasman's journal are from Sharp's translation of the Nationaal Archief text. Sharp's translation is relatively 'literal', preserving the punctuation and syntax of the Dutch. An earlier translation edited by Heeres and Coote, *Abel Jansz. Tasman's Journal*, elided some of these important traces and clues of the original composition. Sharp states (p. 55, n. 2) that Coote's translation 'frequently departs from the text'. Sharp also notes significant variations in the Huydecoper copy.

416 Sharp, *The Voyages of Abel Janszoon Tasman*, p. 110.

itself. This highlights that the explorer, who is usually lauded for powers of sight and perception, in fact, was more likely to experience a kind of blindness. So strange were the surroundings that the experience must have been akin to the experience of walking from sunlight into a dark room. This must have promoted feelings of vulnerability in a strange land. Unseen human voices suggest that unseen people might be watching your movements. Tasman's flight to the ship suggests he felt vulnerable to a surprise attack, like that experienced by Carstenszoon, from inhabitants Tasman was convinced were as savage and cruel as stated in his instructions.

It is ironic therefore that the VOC's instructions primed Tasman for fear rather than anything he actually experienced in Lutruwita. Tasman's written instructions probably would not have been the only (or even most important) priming or conditioning discourse to which Tasman and his companions were exposed, however. 'Shop-floor' talk by merchants, pilots, and seamen in Amsterdam and the ports of the East would have been replete with sensational 'true' stories about the barbarousness and savage acts of the peoples of the Southland.

At the end of the entry for 2nd December, Tasman reiterated the notion that the inhabitants were giants. He wrote, 'so that here without doubt people, who must Be of unusual height'.⁴¹⁷ Tasman's view is expressed in spite of the fact that observations of the Palawa people had been made through the trees, even though there no communication was established, so that it must have been evident that the local people were of average height:

the land is widely provided with Trees, which stand so Thinly, that one [may] pass through everywhere, and see far from him, So that on landing always, [one] could get sight of the people or wild animals, being unimpeded by thick dense forest or thicket, which on Landing Should give a freedom for exploring.⁴¹⁸

417 Sharp, *The Voyages of Abel Janszoon Tasman*, p. 111.

418 Ibid., p. 111.

This suggests that the landing party led by the pilot Major François Jacobszoon and the under-mate of the *Zeehaen* had seen Aboriginal people through the trees, in which case it seems likely they would have commented on their extraordinary stature if they had perceived them to be giants. The recording of giants in an empirical account carried weight and influence, and probably influenced the recording of later observations too. It is an example of how antipodean myths combined with an emotional response to being in an unfamiliar place with unexplained phenomena could skew efforts at empirical observation toward the reaffirmation of myth.

The trope of the pervious forest supports the observations of British explorers after 1788 which contributed to the evidence that Gammage assembled that Aboriginal people across Bandaiyan maintained a carefully managed estate, using fire to clear the forest of undergrowth for cultivation, and to maintain pathways for the herding and hunting of animals. Evidence of cultivation may be discerned in the observations of the landing party, which brought back to the ship

various samples of Greens (which they had seen growing in plenty) some not unlike certain greenstuff which grows at the Cabo de bona Esperance and is suitable to use as pot-herbs another being long and salty, which has not a bad likeness to sea parsley.⁴¹⁹

The landing party led by Jacobszoon reported that they

had found high, yet level land with greenstuff (unplanted Being forthcoming from God and nature) fruit-bearing Timber in abundance, and a running water place many empty valleys; which water indeed good but difficult to get.⁴²⁰

In the manner of later British descriptions of the landscape, the Dutch observed green vegetables growing abundantly in level land (possibly levelled or selected for its flatness), and trees producing fruits in a well-watered landscape. Their interpretation of what they saw was that all these fruits and vegetables had appeared 'naturally' from

419 Sharp, *The Voyages of Abel Janszoon Tasman*, p. 110.

420 Ibid, p. 110.

God's hand (were 'forthcoming from God and nature'), not as a result of human labour. This recapitulates the thinking of Queirós in his description of *Terra Australis* as an uncultivated land in which fruits grow in abundance as in the Land of Cockaigne or Paradise. The journal accounts reinforce the assumptions of Tasman's instructions using an 'empirical' method that is decidedly circular. In the VOC's instructions to Tasman for his second voyage, it is stated that the Southland is 'uncultivated' and inhabited by 'savages'. The *Duyfken*, the VOC administrators wrote, had 'only ascertained that vast regions were for the greater part uncultivated, and certain parts inhabited by savage, cruel, black barbarians who slew some of our sailors'.⁴²¹

Perhaps the assumption of savages and lack of cultivation had the effect of relieving the explorers of making further inquiries and risking a communicative encounter with the local inhabitants, whom they feared were dangerous. It is ironic that such fears and assumptions probably prevented the mariners from gaining any more detailed knowledge of the land, its people, resources, and trading opportunities; the information which the VOC so greatly desired. Despite the insubstantial details of the journal's description and the ideological frame that implies a 'natural' landscape of nomadic hunter-gatherers, a reading against the ideological framework of the antipodes oppositions of civilized versus barbarous can lead to a different insight into what it was the Dutch sailors actually saw.

At the end of this brief visit, on 3rd December, Tasman fulfilled his instructions with one final act by having one of his men hoist the orange flag on a stake in the bay now called Prince of Wales Bay to claim the land for the United Provinces.⁴²² Tasman ordered his master carpenter to swim ashore and plant a pole with the Prince-Flag on

421 Instructions for Skipper Commander Abel Jansen Tasman, Skipper Pilot-Major Frans Jacobsz Visscher, and the Council of the Yachts Limmen, Zee-Meeuw and the Quel the Brack, destined for the further discovery of Nova Guinea, and of the unknown coasts of the discovered East- and South-lands, together with the channels and islands presumably situated between and near the same', 29 January 1644, in Abel Janszoon Tasman, *The Journal of Abel Jansz Tasman, 1642: With Documents Relating to His Exploration of Australia in 1644*, ed. by G. H. Kenihan (Adelaide: Australian Heritage Press, 1960), p. 147.

422 Sharp, *The Voyages of Abel Janszoon Tasman*, p. 112.

the beach, so 'that those who shall come after us may become aware that we have been here, and have taken possession of the said land as our lawful property.' Tasman seems to have expected that this sign would endure as a 'memorial for those who shall come after us, and for the natives of this country'. Perhaps he had little faith that the flag would remain flying from pole, as he felt the need to include a detailed description of its site in his journal:

we made him [the master carpenter Pieter Jacobszoon] plant the said pole with the flag at top into the earth, about the centre of the bay near four tall trees easily recognisable and standing in the form of a crescent, exactly before the one standing lowest. This tree is burnt in just above the ground, and in reality taller than the other three, but it seems to be shorter because it stands lower on the sloping ground; at top, projecting from the crown, it shows two long dry branches, so symmetrically set with dry sprigs and twigs that they look like the large antlers of a stag; by the side of these dry branches, slightly lower down, there is another bough which is quite green and leaved all round, whose twigs, owing to their regular proportion, wonderfully embellish the said bough and make it look like the upper part of a larding-pin.⁴²³

This detailed account of the shape, colour, and quality of the twigs, branches, and boughs of the trees that made a context for the flag pole suggests a fair capacity for attention to detail worthy of a member of a culture that gave great importance to sight and description. Although van Diemen found Tasman lacking in sufficient courage and vigilance,⁴²⁴ Tasman went to some trouble to create a clear image in words of this location, or place, investing it with an immense legal significance through the order to his master carpenter to plant the flagpole. He singled out one particular tree for special attention: it is taller than the other three although it appears shorter because of its location lower down the shore. The bough that provides a backdrop to the flag is described in even greater detail, its embellishing leaves make it appear like the 'upper part of a larding-pin'. As Patricia Seed observed, for the Dutch, 'the principal mode of

423 Heeres and Coote, *Abel Jansz. Tasman's Journal*, p. 16.

424 See Anthoni van Diemen's assessment of Tasman's two voyages in his correspondence to the Heren XVII on 23rd December 1644 in Heeres and Coote, *Abel Jansz. Tasman's Journal*, p. 165. However, van Diemen accepted that a fuller exploration of the lands 'is no work for the first comer' and needs more manpower and ships than Tasman had at his disposal.

manifesting possession was describing'.⁴²⁵ In this case, Tasman used two methods: description and a token.

Seed explained that the purpose of such ceremonies of possession taking was generally not to establish colonial rule—the VOC employed more penetrating and violent means to achieve that in other places—but rather to warn the agents of other European powers who might come after them that they had arrived 'first', and had a claim that needed to be acknowledged; although the Dutch complained that the English did not always respect their signs. According to the Dutch jurist Hugo Grotius, such signs only indicated possession and could not create a right of possession, which needed to be demonstrated by human actions.⁴²⁶ However, Grotius believed Indigenous peoples' lands were 'waste', and therefore their actions did not count as conferring possession.⁴²⁷

This was the aim behind Erédia's claim on his maps, 'Nuca Antara detecta 1601'. The Dutch followed the practice of the Portuguese, who had preceded them in navigation and exploration in Asia, and in the methods used to carry out those activities.⁴²⁸ Portuguese practice had arisen in the context of rivalry with Spain and the agreement of the Treaty of Tordesillas. As Seed explained, when the Dutch arrived in a place that was new to them, they checked for signs of previous Christian presence such as crosses, shipwrecks, or objects of other Europeans.⁴²⁹ Tasman seems to have acknowledged the likelihood that the Dutch claim might need to be asserted not only by the presence and vision of the Prince-flag by a European rival, but textually, by reading the description of the ceremony and seeing the names on the map.

425 Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 165.

426 Seed, pp. 165–666.

427 Christoph A. Stumpf, *The Grotian Theology of International Law: Hugo Grotius and the Moral Foundations of International Relations, Religion and Society*, v. 44 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2006), pp. 163–99.

428 Seed, pp. 149–78.

429 Seed, pp. 160–5.

Tasman's was not the first possession-taking ceremony made by VOC agents in the southerly continent. Dirck Hartog had an inscription made on a pewter plate in 1616, when his ship the *Eendracht* landed on the west coast, the first European visitors to that coast. The pewter plate, which most Australian schoolchildren have been told about before they learn anything about Indigenous cultures, was replaced by a second one by de Vlamingh in 1696 with an inscription that marked both visits.⁴³⁰

Carstenszoon also conducted a similar possession-taking or presence-marking ceremony. At an estuary which they named 'de Staten Rivier' ('the States' River'), the farthest south along the Cape York coast that they sailed, they nailed a piece of wood to a tree with the words: 'The year 1623, on the 24th of April there arrived here two yachts dispatched by their Mighty Highnesses, Lords of the States-General.'⁴³¹

None of these ceremonies of possession taking had the aim of establishing a colony. They were notices to rival European powers. They were also both textual and visual: a flag with a description in the journal, and inscribed plates and a piece of wood. The texts marking these claims are intended to inform others who might come after of the embodied presence of the claimers at a specific location. They are therefore attempts to mark territory, to create an attachment to place. They begin the process of knitting tropes and associations into the discourse of place, which is an association between embodied presence and social relationships. The claim to emplacement is limited, however, for the reaffirmation of place demands an ongoing relationship. One of the most fundamental principles of Native Title is that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders must prove continuous attachment to and use of the lands they claim. A Prince Flag or a pewter plate would not be sufficient for a Native Title claimant. Both were supported by the apparatus of map and toponyms—exclusively Dutch—which carried meaning and authority within early modern Europe, but their significance was irrelevant to the peoples who had owned and lived in those places for millennia.

430 Both plates are reproduced and their inscriptions translated into English by Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*, pp. 294–7.

431 Heeres, p. 38.

Watching for the Fires of the Marooned

On 28th April 1656, a second VOC ship, the *Vergulde Draeck* ('Gilt Dragon'), was wrecked off the western coast of Bandaiyan, farther south than the *Batavia*, at 30 $\frac{2}{3}$ °S.⁴³² A majority of the 193 on board at the Cape drowned, but seventy-five survived, of which seven, the understeersman and six sailors, used the ship's boat to travel to Batavia to get help, arriving on 7th June. Immediately the VOC convened a council and sent two vessels—a fluit, the *Witte Valck* and a jacht, the *Goede Hoep*—to search for survivors and try to recover some of the goods and the 185,000 guilders that were on board. Winter storms prevented these crews from carrying out their task. The *Goede Hoep* managed to land and find the wreckage of the *Vergulde Draeck*, but eleven of its men disappeared looking for survivors on the mainland.⁴³³

Despite efforts by the VOC to restrict the publication of information about the events and location of the wreck, Jan van Riebeeck, VOC administrator at the Cape, admitted in instructions to a new rescue ship, another *fluit*, *de Vincq*, that '[i]t is well known in and outside the council how this ship has unexpectedly run into the Southland at about 30 $\frac{2}{3}$ ° and how many people are still miserably left behind'.⁴³⁴ The crew was instructed to 'keep a close watch' along the shore 'for any signs of fires or such from those poor, miserable people'.

432 According to the VOC memorandum of 7 June 1656. See Lous Zuiderbaan, 'Part One: The Historical Background, in *The Loss of the Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie Jacht Vergulde Draeck, Western Australia 1656: An Historical Background and Excavation Report with an Appendix on Similar Loss of the Fluit Lastdrager*, by Jeremy N. Green with Contributions from Lous Zuiderbaan, Robert Sténuit, S. J. Wilson, Mike Owens', *British Archaeological Reports, Supplementary Series*, 36(i) (1977), 1–60 (p. 48). However, the wreck was found in 1963 at 31°13'S; see Henderson, p. 98. David Fausett, *Writing the New World: Imaginary Voyages and Utopias of the Great Southern Land* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1993), p. 98, suggests that the VOC might have intentionally recorded a false position, to mislead rivals interested in its valuable cargo. If so, it probably also confused its own agents who were sent to rescue the stranded.

433 Zuiderbaan, pp. 48–50.

434 Quoted and translated by Zuiderbaan, p. 51.

The *Vincq* failed to find the wreck. On 1 January 1658, two more ships, the *Waeckende Boey* (a *fluit* with 40 crew captained by Samuel Volkersen) and the *Emeloort* (a galliot with 25 men skippered by Aucke Pieters Jonck), left Batavia in search of survivors. Volkertszoon's actions led to more deaths. He ordered uppersteersman, Abraham Leeman to return to the mainland in the ship's boat to continue the search just as a storm was brewing. Leeman's remarkable survival, making it back to Batavia by sea and land after being left for dead by his captain, is another story. As in the case of de Vlamingh's voyage discussed below, it was sometimes lower status individuals of the expeditions that made the more revealing observations and encountered the more interesting opportunities.

This was the case with the crew of the *Emeloort*. On 8th March, the *Emeloort* was six miles from the shores of the Yued people, in what is now called Jurien Bay. The crew were studying fires that had been lit there for signs of the *Vergulde Draeck* survivors. They fired three guns in response to the lighting of a fire in the morning of 9th March, growing hopeful of finding the survivors. The assumption that the fires seen were lit as signals by fellow Dutchmen was also made by Tasman when awaiting the return of a landing party sent to the shores of Lutruwita (Tasmania). On 2nd December, Tasman spotted fires coming from the land, and because the landing party had been away longer than he expected given his instructions that they should return speedily, assumed that they had lit a signal fire to communicate their delay. When they returned to the ship a little later, they denied lighting the fires.⁴³⁵ The fires were more obviously lit by the Palawa, as part of their regular curation of the landscape. These two episodes suggest the extent to which the idea of Aboriginals having agency was difficult for the Dutch visitors to conceive.

In response to the fires seen by the *Emeloort* on the coast of the Yued, Jonck sent a small boat with ten men to the mainland. As soon as the boat reached the shore, the fire was put out, so the men returned to the ship. At noon the next day (10th March), the boat

435 *The Journal of Abel Jansz Tasman, 1642*, ed. by Kenihan, p. 27.

was sent back to the mainland. The *Emeloort* fired a cannon every hour as a signal. The crew remained on land all afternoon and night. On the morning of 11th March they returned to the ship reporting what they had observed. Jonck wrote this up in the ship's log as they reported it (*Figure 3.03*):

Monday 11th March. This morning at sunrise our boat came back from the mainland in the east ...Having received our boat just before midday, by 10 hours received on board, it surprised us that there had been three houses, and five persons of esteem, and very tall in stature, who beckoned us to come nearer to them, as they put their hands under their heads as a sign of sleeping. But we, not being simple enough to put ourselves in the hands of such savage people as we have had good example [or warning], returned to our boat. When we were in our boat they came up on to the beach. We signalled with our lantern and flag that they should come to us, but they were very timid and we couldn't get them near our boat. They departed from us at dusk and we rested all night in our boat. On land we found much low scrub and in some places also seeding land which they burn off in some places, arable or seeding land, but we saw no fruit but some herbs that had a fragrant scent. We saw nothing more of fresh water or trees going inland, but many sand dunes as we walked along the beach and inland three *mijlen*, but saw at night many fires being lit.⁴³⁶

Although a brief account, the *Emeloort* sailors' report contradicts two historical commonplaces about Aboriginal societies: that they were nomadic and had no houses;

436 Translation adapted from Henderson, pp. 88–9. 'Maendach 11 ditto. Des morgens met zon opganck zagen onse boot weder van het landt koomen in het Oosten ... Hebben onsen boot des naer (voor) middagh ten 10 uren aan boort gekregen, verhaelden ons dat se by drie huysen waeren geweest, en vyf persoonen van aansien, en seer groot van postuur waren, wenckten ons dat men naer haer toe soude coomen, als mede lyden de hand onder haer hoofd, tot teycken om te slapen, maer wy niet slecht synde, ons in handen van soodanigh wilt volck te begeben, waer wy goede exempels van hebben gehad, syñ weder naer onse boot gekeert, en doen wy in onse boot waren quamen sy op strandt. Wy deden een tycken met onse lantaren en vlagge, dat sy by ons souden coomen, maer sy seer schroomchtig waren, konden haer niet by onse boot krygen, syñ met den doncker van ons vertrocken, en wy den geheelen nacht in onse boot gerust, naer het ofcorten van den wal. Wy hebben aen landt veel kreupelbos gevonden, op eenige plaetsen mede [also] zaÿlandt, dat sy afbranden, op eenige plaetsen bouland ofte zaÿlandt, edoch geenige fruÿten gesien, als eenige kruÿden dat fraÿ roock hadden, sonder iets meer te sien van vers water of boomen landwaert, maer veel sandtduynen, naer dat wy soo drie mylen soo langhs strandt als in 't landt hebben gegaen; maer saegen 's nachts veel vieren aansteeken, hebben gans | geen quaet ontmoet of gesien'; Aucke Pieters Jonck, 'Dagh Register gehouden bij den Schipper Aucke Pieters Jonck schipper op 't gallioot Emeloort seijlende met deselve van Batavia naer 't Zuytlandt Int. Jaer ano. 1568', The Hague, Nationaal Archief, inv. nr. VOC 1225, fols. 204–217 (fols 212 v–213 r).

and that they were hunter-gatherers and had no agriculture. The report of the Yued men's sympathetic invitation to sleep also suggests that their reputation as dangerous 'savages' was misinformed.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the *Emeloort* sailors' account has received marginal attention from scholarship. Those few who more recently have noted the observation of houses and crops pass over these details to focus on the high drama of the events that ensued in the *Vergulde Draeck's* shipwreck and rescue missions. David Fausett observed in 1993 that 'Aboriginals are assumed to have been, as in recent times, nomadic'.⁴³⁷ So far as is known, Jonck's journal remained unpublished in the VOC archives until modern times. P.A. Leupe published an extract in Dutch in 1868.⁴³⁸ The episode's first record in English is R.H. Major's paraphrase published in 1859.⁴³⁹ Major translated the Dutch *huijsen* ('houses') as 'huts' and omitted the sympathy of the Yued men's invitation to sleep. In 1899, J.E. Heeres printed only the charts of Jonck's journal, and referred readers to Major for its content, thus omitting the reference to houses, crops, and sympathy.⁴⁴⁰ Sharp omitted the episode entirely.⁴⁴¹

James A. Henderson published a detailed study of the *Vergulde Draeck* events in 1982. He regarded the report of the three houses as 'somewhat suspect'. 'It would have been more likely a tree branch and bark lean-to ... a humpy rather than a house', he wrote. He also dismissed the sailors' report of arable land as 'imaginative', apparently believing that the sailors made up a story to enhance the usefulness of their time ashore to the captain.⁴⁴² Henderson also observed that it was impossible for the sailors to have

437 Fausett, p. 200 (n. 12).

438 P. A. Leupe, *De Reizen der Nederlanders naar het Zuidland of Nieuw-Holland, in de 17e en 18e eeuw* (Amsterdam: Hulst van Keulen, 1868), pp. 114–15.

439 *Early Voyages to Terra Australis, Now Called Australia*, ed. by R. H. Major (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1859), pp. 81–3 <<http://gutenberg.net.au>>.

440 Heeres, pp. 77–8. The three houses appear in Heeres' reproduction of Johan Nessel's copy of Jonck's map but are much too small a detail to be noticed by anyone not looking for them.

441 Sharp, *The Discovery of Australia*, pp. 93–5.

442 Henderson, p. 89. A 'humpy' is an Australian English word meaning 'a temporary shelter' as used by Aboriginal people. It has a transferred sense of 'any makeshift or temporary dwelling, esp. one made with primitive materials', see *The Australian National Dictionary*:

walked as far as they claimed. Jonck reported the distance as three *mijlen*, which Henderson interpreted as twelve miles (about nineteen kilometres).⁴⁴³ It seems more probable that the sailors had reported their walk in Dutch land miles, which were known as *één uur gaans* ('an hour's walk').⁴⁴⁴ Despite Henderson's suspicion of the *Emeloort* sailors' report, it is evident that their captain took it seriously, otherwise he would not have written it up in his journal.

The *Emeloort* sailors used the general term 'houses' (*huijsen*). By contrast, Carstenszoon used the term 'hut' (*hutties*) to record observations of housing on his 1623 voyage.⁴⁴⁵ The sailors of the *Elburg* also observed 'huts' (*hutjens*) further south of present-day Perth in July 1658.⁴⁴⁶

The journal gives no description of the houses, but Jonck seems to have included a drawing of them on his charts. The originals do not survive, but we have copies made soon after by Johan Nessel in the hydrographic office in Batavia in 1658.⁴⁴⁷ The charts show three domed structures each with a low doorway. They are accompanied by the legend '*De drie Inwoonders Huijsen*' ('the three Inhabitants' Houses') (*Figure 3.04*).

Rupert Gerritsen wrote that the 'representation of these dwellings is fanciful and not

Australian Words and Their Origins, ed. by Bruce Moore and others, 2nd edition, 2 vols (South Melbourne, Vic: Australian National University and Oxford University Press, 2016), q.v.

'humpy'. Despite the word's connection to Aboriginal people, it is not well known that it is an anglicized loan word from the now extinct Yugara language of the Jagera people, who lived where Brisbane stands today. A Jagera dwelling was a *ngumbi*.

443 Henderson, p. 89. Henderson defines 1 *mijl* as 3.86 nautical miles, p. xiii.

444 There were different definitions of the *Hollandse mijl*, according to 'Woordenlijst Navigatie', *De VOCsite* <<https://www.vocsite.nl/woordenlijst/navigatie.html>> [accessed 20 January 2019]. The greatest was 5.56 km. Even if the sailors were unlikely to have walked at 5.56 km/h over rough, unfamiliar terrain, they had time to walk for three or four hours, and would, in any case, have had no way to accurately measure the distance they had travelled. So the reckoning of the *Hollandse mijl* as *één uur gaans* makes their estimate credible.

445 Heeres, p. 37.

446 Heeres, p. 81.

447 Joan Nessel, 't Lant van Eendracht: oft Afbeelding van 't Zuytlandt Ontdeekt door den Schipper Aucke Pieters Jonck in de Maend Februario En Maart A[n]o 1658 met Emeloort', 1658, The Hague, Nationaal Archief, Kaarten Leupe 4.VEL 504.

typical of the type of habitations the Juat [Yued] actually made', but unfortunately did not elaborate on the nature of Yued dwellings.⁴⁴⁸

Paul Memmott has studied the great variety of forms of classical Aboriginal architecture. He has shown how local resources were used to build and site dwellings for optimum comfort, and shelter from weather and insects. Separate buildings were also built by some communities for food storage. Often Aboriginal dwellings were for seasonal use as people dwelt in different parts of their country at different times of year to make optimal sustainable use of local food resources. In some parts of the continent, however, houses were semi-permanent. Memmott's *Gunyah, Goondie and Wurley: The Aboriginal Architecture of Australia* includes no examples of Yued architecture, but does have some images of Noongar houses from the cooler climate of the south coast.⁴⁴⁹ They include an open-sided dome house depicted by Louis Auguste de Sainson in 1826 (*Figure 3.05*), and the houses of a village painted by Robert Havell after a drawing by Robert Dale (c. 1834). These houses would have been about 1.3 m high. The general domed appearance is similar to Nessel's image but they are open at the front rather than having a low doorway. A smaller entrance is more likely further north where insects are more of a problem, so they might have been more like this reconstruction built by Jack Karadada on the Kimberley coast (northeast of Noongar country), in 1978, which is taller but has a low doorway (*Figure 3.06*).

The *Emeloort* sailors' description of 'seeding land which they burn off in some places, arable or seeding land' is probably the first explicit reference to cultivation in metropolitan descriptions of Bandaiyan. Although Henderson dismissed the sailors' report as 'imaginative', it accords with the understanding of the Aboriginal estate

448 Rupert Gerritsen, 'The First Views of Australia's Coast in 1658', 2012

<http://rupertgerritsen.tripod.com/pdf/published/First_Views_of_Australias_Coast_in_1658.pdf> [accessed 3 July 2018]. Gerritsen might have regarded Nessel's representations as fanciful because they appeared too tall in proportion to the rest of the landscape, although, as we will see in the next chapter, it is possible that the heights of elements in the coastal profile were deliberately exaggerated by the artist.

449 Paul Memmott, *Gunyah, Goondie and Wurley: The Aboriginal Architecture of Australia* (St Lucia, Qld: University of Queensland Press, 2007), plates 5–6.

described by Bill Gammage. Across Bandaiyan, Aboriginal peoples used 'firestick farming' to cultivate seeds and plants to ensure the availability of fruits, vegetables, herbs, and tubers where and when they expected them to mature.⁴⁵⁰ Aboriginal peoples cultivated grains such as the yam daisy across the continent, and there is plenty of evidence that they harvested a surplus for bread production in many areas.⁴⁵¹

The *Emeloort* sailors looked at a cultivated landscape, curated with fire. The implications of these observations were incidental to the purpose of the expedition to find the marooned of the *Vergulde Draeck*, and have been given marginal attention by scholars, but they represent one of the first empirical observations of Aboriginal land management practices. If these observations are set beside the description of the 'greenstuff' noticed on the coast of Lutruwita by Tasman's landing party, and the vegetables picked by Carstenszoon's party, it is possible, in the light of Gammage's research, to perceive that the VOC visitors also made observations of the Aboriginal agricultural estate. Those vegetables had not grown by force of nature alone, but through human intervention to cultivate endemic plants.

The *Emeloort* sailors' report of a sympathetic response from the Yued men is remarkable given the general tenor of the discussion of the peoples of Bandaiyan in most seventeenth-century metropolitan accounts. It is all the more surprising as the sailors by their own admission had been primed to expect aggression and violence from the inhabitants whose land they had entered. This is clear from the instructions from the Heren XVII to Jonck and Volckertszoon in preparation for the voyage. They wrote:

450 Gammage [iBooks edn], Chapter 6.

451 Gammage [iBooks edn], Chapter 10, presents evidence that, contrary to former belief, Aboriginal peoples stored surpluses from the cultivation of yam daisy and other products. Evidence of Pleistocene stone grinding technology at Cuddie Springs dated to more than 30,000 years ago shows that bread baking from harvested grain arose earlier among Aboriginal peoples than anywhere else in the world; see Pascoe [iBooks edn], Chapter 4. For archaeological research on stone-grinding technology at Cuddie Springs and other sites, see, for example, Judith H. Field and others, 'Sandstone Quarries and Grinding Stone Manufacture: Survey and Excavation at Yambacoon Hill in South-Eastern Australia', *Australian Archaeology*, 56, 2003, 46–47.

there remains for us, in view of the long lapse of time, very little hope that these people will still be found alive, but we have great fear that they have perished through hunger and misery or have been beaten to death by savage inhabitants and murdered.⁴⁵²

The experience of the small landing party of the *Emeloort* was quite contrary to the VOC's expectations. Despite hourly firing of the cannons by the *Emeloort* off shore, the Yued men approached the wandering sailors with openness. They appear to have recognized that the foreigners were fatigued and needed to rest. Although it is impossible to be certain that it was an invitation to sleep that the Yued men communicated, it is not unreasonable to accept the sailors' interpretation. Humans all share basic biological needs that can be communicated across barriers of culture and language. It might have been 'rest' rather than 'sleep' that the Yued meant to suggest, or another shade of meaning. The important point is that the Yued showed sympathy to their visitors, and the sailors accorded the Yued men respect and dignity in their description. There was an exchange of *invitations* across the linguistic and cultural divide, a pitifully rare event in VOC agents' meetings with the peoples of Bandaiyan. There is nothing in the account to suggest that the Yued had hostile intentions, which is the antithesis of how the peoples of the 'Southland' had been represented to sailors by the VOC hierarchy, as the sailors themselves admit in this account. Neither the sailors nor the Yued accepted the other's invitation. For the Yued, in particular, that was probably a wise choice, as the sailors would almost certainly have been tempted to kidnap the men if they had agreed to board their boat, given the priority the VOC put on kidnap in other expeditions. On both sides, a curiosity about the other was expressed, and the possibility of peaceful interaction, one of the first between Aboriginal people and Europeans recorded in the literature of the seventeenth century.

Pieter van Dam's version of Jonck's account, prepared for the internal use of the VOC, concludes with the statement that the sailors 'went about three miles along the beach

452 Quoted in translation by Henderson, p. 63.

and inland, without meeting any evil'.⁴⁵³ This sums up the lack of fear that the sailors experienced in exploring the country of the Yued. Unlike the meetings between Carstenszoon's sailors and the Wik, Yir-Yoront, and other peoples of Cape York, they found no need to reach for their muskets. The *Emeloort* sailors walked with genuine curiosity; they did not have a purpose to kidnap, steal resources, or trade trinkets in exchange for information about the Aboriginals' valuable goods.

The experience of the *Emeloort* sailors stand out in the literature because they present a rare instance of meeting between Europeans and Aboriginals in the seventeenth century in which there appeared to be a possibility for exchange and to overcome the fear of the other without violence. When the Heren XVII decided on 14th December 1658, following the voyages of the *Emeloort* and *Waeckende Boey*, to terminate the search for survivors of the *Vergulde Draeck*, they reiterated the more common perception of the continent's inhabitants as dangerous 'savages':

we assume that of the poor people of the ship, the *Draeck*, no one will be present any longer since otherwise it would be very difficult to explain, as they would have shown themselves by means of fires or other signs here and along the beach.⁴⁵⁴

Visits to Bandaiyan by other metropolitan agents in the later part of the seventeenth century would do little to change this perception of its inhabitants. Until this moment, the availability of information to the public about the continent was largely limited to the lines and toponyms on maps and globes. In the last third of the century, a number of narratives and descriptions began to appear. In the last decade of the century, three voyages were attended by extensive charting and writing. One in particular, recording an English visit to the west coast, was published with an eye to sensation and whetting the public's appetite for more, which contrasted markedly with the limits the VOC placed on releasing details about its voyages.

453 Pieter van Dam, *Beschryvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie*, ed. by Frederik Willem Stapel, 4 vols ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1927), I.1, pp. 691–99.

454 *Zuiderbaan*, p. 59.

The Want of the 'Miserablest' People

The first English visit to Bandaiyan was by William Dampier (1651–1715), a pirate who gained his early experience at sea off the coast of central America raiding Spanish ships and settlements.⁴⁵⁵ He was the son of a tenant farmer from Somerset, England, who published several accounts of his voyages, promoted himself as a plain speaker, and became close to many members of the Royal Society in London.⁴⁵⁶

He visited Bandaiyan twice, the first time in 1688 during his first circumnavigation of the world. He stayed in King Sound, on the Kimberley coast from 4th January until 12th February. He anchored off the lands of the Bardi people and probably visited the islands of what is now called the Buccaneer Archipelago, the islands of the Djawi people.⁴⁵⁷ The second voyage was in 1699, when he visited Dirck Hartog island not long after the VOC expedition of de Vlamingh had been there, and sailed northeast towards King Sound.

Dampier publicized both voyages well. Details of the first visit to King Sound are included in his first book, *A New Voyage Round the World*, published in 1697.⁴⁵⁸ It was an instant sensation, and was republished in English twice within two years. It was

455 Two English ships are recorded as sailing through nearby waters before Dampier. The *Tryall* was wrecked on the Tryal Rocks, 105 km west of the mainland, in 1622; and John Daniel made a map of parts of the west coast including the Houtman Abrolhos and Rottneest Island when his ship the *New London* sailed off course en route for Bantam in 1681. Ida Lee Marriott, 'The First Sighting of Australia by the English', *The Geographical Journal*, 1934 <<http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks06/0609031h.html#end>> [accessed 7 June 2019].

456 National Centre of Biography, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Canberra: Australian National University) <<http://adb.anu.edu.au/>> [accessed 6 June 2019] q.v. Dampier, William.

457 Sharp, *The Discovery of Australia*, pp. 96–7. David R. Horton, 'The AIATSIS Map of Indigenous Australia' (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press and AIATSIS, 1996) <<https://aiatsis.gov.au/explore/articles/aiatsis-map-indigenous-australia>> [accessed 21 March 2019]. Liz Conor, 'Found: The Earliest European Image of Aboriginal Australians', *The Conversation*, 5 November 2018 <<http://theconversation.com/found-the-earliest-european-image-of-aboriginal-australians-106176>> [accessed 6 November 2018] states that Dampier met the Bardi people.

458 William Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World: Describing Particularly the Isthmus of America, Several Coasts and Islands in the West Indies, the Isles of Cape Verd, the Passage by Terra Del Fuego, the South Sea Coasts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico* (London: James Knapton, 1697) <<http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks05/0500461h.html>>.

also translated into German in 1701, into Dutch (appearing twice, in 1704 and 1715), and into French in 1723.⁴⁵⁹ A manuscript version of the journal from which this book was adapted is in the British Library (Sloane manuscript 3236).⁴⁶⁰ Possibly an early draft for publication,⁴⁶¹ it shows many corrections in Dampier's hand and a scribe's.⁴⁶²

Differences between the journal and the book have been studied by scholars interested in Dampier's contribution to knowledge of Australia, often with a view to the debate over whether he was an empirical observer or was influenced by prejudice. His well-known derogatory dismissal of Aboriginal people as the 'miserablest people in the world' appears in *New Voyage* but not in the Sloane manuscript. Michael McCarthy has suggested that these words might have been added by Dampier's editor, James Knapton, who had 'an eye for a good story' and was focused on selling the book.⁴⁶³ However, Dampier himself had an eye to publicity, and stood by the accuracy of the published book. Despite immense scholarly interest in this one phrase, it is unexceptional. There is no record that Dampier made an attempt to correct it, and other derogatory evaluations of Aboriginal people appear in both *New Voyage* and his manuscript journal. In his account of his return voyage to *Hollandia Nova*, he restates his contempt for the inhabitants of Bandaiyan:

These New Hollanders were probably the same sort of people as those I met with on this coast in my Voyage round the World; ... these were much the same blinking creatures (here being also abundance of the same kind of flesh-flies teasing them) and with the same black skins, and hair frizzled, tall and thin, etc., as those were: but we

459 Donald F. Lach and Edwin J. Van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe, Volume 3: A Century of Advance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 585.

460 William Dampier, *The Adventures of William Dampier with Others Who Left Capn. Sharpe in the South Seas and Travelled Back Over Land through the Country of Darien*, British Library Sloane MS. 3236, 1681.

461 William Hasty, 'Piracy and the Production of Knowledge in the Travels of William Dampier, c.1679-1688', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 37 (2011), 40–54.

462 The manuscript has been edited in full by Adrian Mitchell, *Dampier's Monkey: The South Seas Voyages of William Dampier, Including William Dampier's Unpublished Journal* (Kent Town, South Australia: Wakefield Press, 2010).

463 Michael McCarthy, 'Who Do You Trust? Discrepancies Between the "Official and Unofficial" Sources Recording Explorers' Perceptions of Places and Their People', in *European Perceptions of Terra Australis* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 185–209.

had not the opportunity to see whether these, as the former, wanted two of their foreteeth.⁴⁶⁴

The repetition of 'the same' highlights Dampier's exasperation at the 'refusal' of these people not to be different from those he had met earlier. He finds tiresome those of their superficial characteristics that he observes: they are 'probably the same sort of people', 'much the same blinking creatures', 'the same black skins, and hair frizzled, tall and thin, etc.' At the same time as he emphasizes the 'sameness' of these characteristics, he dismisses them as signs of insignificance. He appears to desire these people to lack what for him is important. The representation of others as undifferentiated and without individual distinctions is a form of dehumanization.

New Voyage was a good career move for Dampier: it enhanced his reputation among the elite. He became a dinner guest of John Evelyn and Samuel Pepys; associated with other members of the Royal Society; and just after publication, was given command by the Admiralty to embark on a new expedition to *Hollandia Nova*, departing in January 1699.⁴⁶⁵ As McCarthy points out, *New Voyage* had wider consequences in shaping European perceptions of Aboriginal peoples. Joseph Banks admitted to being influenced by Dampier's prejudices a century later at the start of the British Invasions.⁴⁶⁶

Despite Dampier's derogatory and prejudiced descriptions of Aboriginal people, many scholars have honoured him with the title of 'Australia's first natural historian'.⁴⁶⁷ The colonial ideology of primacy in this case is enabled by a denial of the existence of any knowledge of the natural world on the continent before the arrival of Europeans. The abundant evidence assembled and discussed by Gammage for the curation of the

464 Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World: Describing Particularly the Isthmus of America, Several Coasts and Islands in the West Indies, the Isles of Cape Verd, the Passage by Terra Del Fuego, the South Sea Coasts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico*.

465 National Centre of Biography, q.v. Dampier, William.

466 Michael McCarthy, p. 189.

467 Justly so, according to Michael McCarthy, p. 187.

landscapes, fauna, and flora of Bandaiyan shows this idea to be false. However, through the ideological prism of primacy, many scholars have desired to see the green shoots of empiricism in Dampier's writings. For instance, Gary C. Williams opined that '[p]rejudice is not a trait of Dampier's observational skills, as he had a more dispassionate and objective quality to his attention which distinguished him from his contemporaries'.⁴⁶⁸ Such an appraisal of Dampier is questioned in what follows by analysing the emotional content and prejudice in his writings, which are often overlooked in the effort to show him to be a dispassionate empiricist.

Dampier's account of himself as an empiricist of the plain style has been accepted too readily. In his dedication of *A New Voyage* to Charles Montagu, President of the Royal Society, Dampier stated:

I have not so much of the vanity of a traveller as to be fond of telling stories, especially of this kind; nor can I think this plain piece of mine deserves a place among your more curious collections ... Yet dare I avow, according to my narrow sphere and poor abilities, a hearty zeal for the promoting of useful knowledge, and of anything that may never so remotely tend to my country's advantage: ... This has been my design in this publication, being desirous to bring in my gleanings here and there in remote regions to that general magazine of the knowledge of foreign parts.⁴⁶⁹

Dampier distinguishes himself from those travellers who tell lies and good stories, but he liked telling sensational stories himself. Barnes and Mitchell have questioned the empirical status of his writings. For them, Dampier 'stands midway between medieval lore and modern empirical investigation'. They state that Dampier's 'unsupported generalizations' about Aboriginals 'construct a racial Other at a remove, more in line with Mandeville than with a burgeoning interest in anthropology'.⁴⁷⁰ In the quotation

468 Gary C. Williams, 'William Dampier: Science, Exploration and Literary Influence Including His Hydrographic Treatise of 1699', *Proceedings of the California Academy of Science*, 4, 59.14 (2008), 533–663, 576.

469 Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World: Describing Particularly the Isthmus of America, Several Coasts and Islands in the West Indies, the Isles of Cape Verd, the Passage by Terra Del Fuego, the South Sea Coasts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico*.

470 Geraldine Barnes and Adrian Mitchell, 'Passing through Customs: William Dampier's Medieval Baggage', in *Medievalism and the Gothic in Australian Culture*, ed. by Stephanie Trigg (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 131–45 (pp. 132–3).

above, it is not that Dampier does not describe a superficial reality, unlike Mandeville's descriptions of cynocephali; but he presents them through a rhetoric of exasperation to evoke derision in his audience. Thus framed they become monsters.

McCarthy concluded that the reasons for the discrepancy between Dampier's stated Baconian commitment to the pursuit of 'Knowledge and Experience' and the examples of prejudice in his book 'remains elusive' (p. 191). But prejudice and empiricism are not mutually exclusive. How might the emotional rhetoric of Dampier's writing, in both the manuscript journal and the books, explain his demonstrable prejudice?

The passage of Dampier's journal which was later elaborated with the phrase 'the miserablest people in the world' is as follows:

For wee begun to be scarce of Provision and did not question but these people could relieve vs but after all our search neare the sea side and in the Country wee found our selves disappointed for the people of this Country have noe houses nor any thing like a house neither have they any sorte of Graine or pulse, flesh they have not nor any nor any sorte of Cattle not soe much as Catt or Dog for indeed they have noe occasion of such Creatures vnless to eat them for of that food which they have they leave noe fragments, they have noe sorte of fowle neither tame nor wild for the latter I saw very few in the Country, neither did wee see any kind of wilde beast in the Country but the track of one.⁴⁷¹

Most scholars who quote Dampier from his original journal omit the introductory words to this paragraph above. Both McCarthy and Geraldine Barnes begin the quote with 'the people of this Country have noe houses'.⁴⁷² The opening words of this paragraph are important, however, because they state the thoughts with which Dampier began the description. They reveal his physical and emotional state: he was anxious that the crew's food supplies were running low and about finding sufficient food to survive.

471 Mitchell, pp. 520–1 (fols 221r–221v).

472 Michael McCarthy, p. 191. Geraldine Barnes, 'Traditions of the Monstrous in William Dampier's New Holland', in *Travel Narratives, the New Science, and Literary Discourse, 1569–1750*, ed. by Judy A. Hayden (Ashgate, 2012), pp. 87–101 (p. 92).

Caution should be exercised before taking Dampier's apparently straightforward description at face value. The Bardi's 'lack' of houses, cats, and dogs is not a statement of what Dampier *observed*, but of what he *desired* to see but did not. 'No houses' reveals little; it is not evidence of absence, only that Dampier saw no houses where he looked. The hyperbolic rhetorical tag 'nor any thing like a house' has an emotional charge, perhaps betraying the writer's frustration that there was nowhere where he could find food. The rhetorical tag 'not soe much as Catt or Dog' (that is, to eat) might suggest the extent of the Englishman's hunger.

The statement that the people had no grain or pulse must first be considered in light of the research of Gammage, Rupert Gerritsen, and others which shows that species of *Dioscorea* (the yam daisy) were cultivated in the Kimberley, of which King Sound is a part.⁴⁷³ Dampier might not have recognized the signs of cultivation, or might not have visited the areas where it grew.⁴⁷⁴ Fire-stick farming was also practised in the Kimberley. Dampier did not record seeing fires, probably because he visited during the wet season. In the north, the fire season begins in April or May.⁴⁷⁵ Memmott's study does not include the Kimberley coast, but likewise, he might not have seen houses that were there.

While research evidence from other sources demands that Dampier's confident assertions are questioned, his assertions of Aboriginal want and interpretations of what he did not see are questionable on the basis of contradictions in his own account. Given the persistent belief in Dampier's commitment to empirical observation, it is important to pay attention to the contradictions entailed in how he makes interpretations of his observations based on prejudice and assumption, cast in an emotional rhetoric of want.

473 Gammage [iBooks edn], Chapter 10 [p. 378]. Rupert Gerritsen, *And Their Ghosts May Be Heard* (South Fremantle, WA: Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 1994), pp. 93–4. Settlers reported seeing vast fields of grain growing in all parts of the continent including Cape York, the Kimberley, Swan River, from Melbourne to Mt Gambier

474 Alex George, 'William Dampier as a Natural Historian', *The Great Circle*, 37.1 (2015), 36–52.

475 Gammage [iBooks edn], Chapter 6 [pp. 240, 257].

On the one hand he claimed he saw no birds nor wild animals, but later, he recorded that '[t]here are many Turtle and manatooe in this bay which our strikers supplied vs with all the time wee lay here' (p. 522, fol. 222v). Yet when he describes the fish and sea food that the Bardi have access to, he emphasizes its scarcity:

I believe there are not any of the Natives in the Country farr from the sea for they gett their living out of sea without nett or hooke but they build wares [weirs] with stones cross the bays and every Low water whether night or day, they search those wares for what the sea hath left behinde which is all that they have to depend on for a lively hood some times they are bountyfully rewarded for their paines and at other times providence seemes to be nigardly, scarce giving them a taste instead of a Belly full, ... They are people of good stature but very thin and leane I Judge for want of foode they are black yett I beleive thei[r?] haire would be long ... if it was comed out but for want of Combs it is matted vp like a Negroes haire.⁴⁷⁶

For Dampier, the Bardi are on the verge of starvation.⁴⁷⁷ He does not consider they might have been thin and lean because of a healthy pescatarian diet.⁴⁷⁸ Eating fish and depending on the sea for a living did not form part of an idea of plenty for a seventeenth-century Englishman. Thomas Moffett, the author of a dietary, or regimen of dietary recommendations, published in 1655, said that 'all fish (compared with flesh) is cold and moist, of little nourishment, engendring watrish and thinn blood'.⁴⁷⁹ Not only does Dampier assume that the Aboriginals' reliance on fish means they are probably starving, but he pays less attention to the weirs built to catch fish than to the Aboriginals' 'uncombed' hair. Weirs and dams were constructed in waterways across

476 Mitchell, p. 521 (fols 221v–222r).

477 It might be asked whether the initial capital of 'Judge' betrays Dampier's godlike presumption to judge his subjects.

478 The idea that Aboriginal peoples were starving before the arrival of Europeans can still be heard expressed in Australia, without regard for the disruption of food supplies caused by colonization. Blainey, p. 307, shares a related prejudice with his readers, opining that Aboriginals found the settlers' flour and sugar delicious because their 'sugar previously had come from the *mean* hives of native bees [and their] *only* flour was a rough wholemeal *speckled with grit and sand* gathered during the stone-grinding of wild grains' (my italics).

479 Quoted in Joan Fitzpatrick, 'Diet and Identity in Early Modern Dietaries and Shakespeare: The Inflections of Nationality, Gender, Social Rank, and Age', *Shakespeare Studies*, 42 (2014), 75–90 (p. 92). See Thomas Moffett, *Healths Improvement: Or; Rules Comprizing and Discovering the Nature, Method, and Manner of Preparing All Sorts of Food Used in This Nation* (London: Newcombe for Samuel Thomson, 1655).

Bandaiyan to harvest fish, and explorers such as Thomas Mitchell, a century after Dampier, were so struck by their ingenuity that they gave a fuller description:

on one creek we were surprised to find what looked like the commencement of work for a line of tramway. There were sapling sleepers about eight feet in length and of various thicknesses laid a few feet apart for at least half a mile. The work must have been done by natives but am quite at a loss to understand their motive.⁴⁸⁰

The weirs Dampier saw were built of stone, and perhaps were less intricate than this one,⁴⁸¹ but given Dampier's disdain for the livelihood of the subjects of his observations, it might be unwise to accept his description at face value. What is important in Dampier's description is the emphasis. After passing over the weirs briefly, he dwells on the Aboriginals' reliance on 'what the sea hath left behinde', on being 'bountyfully rewarded', and on Providence being sometimes 'nigardly' (more likely perhaps for those who were undeserving non-Christians). He downplays human agency (even his later countryman seems surprised natives could build weirs) and evidence he himself had observed that the Aboriginal people were healthy to draw an image of people at the behest of nature. As a result, the impression conveyed by Dampier's description reinforces European ideologies about people living in a state of nature.

Dampier gives no evidence in the journal that the people he observed were weak of body because of hunger. However, in *New Voyage*, he included a sensational episode that provided him with an opportunity to rationalize an interpretation of events as caused by the Aboriginals' hunger and weakness. Dampier's greatest need was for fresh water, which he needed barrels of before setting sail. He decided to persuade

480 Quoted by Gammage [iBooks edn], Chapter 10 [p. 370].

481 Perhaps the best known dry stone weir is Baiame's Ngunnhu at Brewarrina, on the Barwon River in New South Wales. See Australian Government Department of the Environment and Energy, 'National Heritage Places - Brewarrina Aboriginal Fish Traps (Baiame's Ngunnhu)' <<http://www.environment.gov.au/>> [accessed 7 June 2019]. The Budj Bim Cultural Landscape, and extensive aquaculture system built by the ancestors of the Gunditjmarra people an estimated 6,600 years ago, gained UNESCO world heritage inscription in July 2019; see UNESCO, 'Budj Bim Cultural Landscape' <<https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1577/>> [accessed 3 May 2020].

some Bardi men to carry some barrels of water to his ship. The way he expressed his exasperation at their refusal is illuminating:

all the signs we could make were to no purpose for they stood like statues without motion but grinned like so many monkeys staring one upon another: for these poor creatures seem not accustomed to carry burdens; and I believe that one of our ship-boys of 10 years old would carry as much as one of them.⁴⁸²

Does physical weakness explain the response of the Bardi? Almost certainly they did not understand what was being asked of them. Probably they could not conceive of the foreigner's expectation that they would be his servants. As Liz Conor observed, the Bardi were 'unaccustomed to assigning labour to others that they were perfectly capable of carrying out themselves ... Aboriginal people did not enslave nor exploit.' Dampier, on the other hand, had worked on a slave plantation in the Caribbean.⁴⁸³

Dampier's disparaging description of the Bardi as grinning 'like so many monkeys' might also be read as an expression of his emotional state, as a result of frustration at his failure to persuade the Aboriginal men to work for him. He was probably also angry about their assertion of agency, by not cooperating with his designs in the way he expected. He might also have feared their derision. The grins of the Bardi are countersigns that they were indulging the foreigner in his strange game of dress-ups for the laughs. The attribution of physical weakness is a projection onto the Bardi of Dampier's own failure to achieve his goal.⁴⁸⁴

482 William Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World*, ed. by Albert Gray, Project Gutenberg eBook edn (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1937) <<http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks05/0500461h.html>>, Chapter 16, 'Their Habitations, Unfitness for Labour, etc.'

483 Conor, 'Found: The Earliest European Image'.

484 Broomhall, 'Emotional Encounters: Indigenous Peoples in the Dutch East India Company's Interactions with the South Lands', p. 352, highlights how European sailors sought familiarity in the foreign environments they visited: 'the presence of European vessels, objects and bodies in [foreign locations] gave some sense of familiarity and security to Company crews,' she writes. Read in this light, Dampier's act of dressing might be an unconscious attempt to overcome the emotional confrontation of the naked Aboriginal men by familiarizing their appearance.

Nonetheless, Dampier's report of this encounter had a strong impact on perceptions of the peoples of Bandaiyan. Conor recently found a print illustration of the encounter. She describes it as the earliest image depicting a group of Aboriginal people resisting their enslavement, although for metropolitan eyes it was proof of Dampier's 'observation' — that is, interpretation of their behaviour — as obstructive and stupid (*Figure 3.07*).⁴⁸⁵

Before Dampier revised his story for print, he noted observations in his journal which suggest the physical condition of the Bardi was stronger than he claimed:

They swim from one Iland to the other or toe and from the maine and have for armes a lance sharpned at one end and burned in the fire to harden it and a sword made with wood which is sharpe on one side, these weapons a Judge are cutt with stone hatchetts as I have seen in the West India (p. 522, fol. 222r)

Carrying these weapons while swimming to and fro between islands seems hardly the actions of weak and starving people. In the book, this passage is revised to remove the weapons the swimmers carried with them. Instead, another disparaging comment is inserted about another alleged lack:

At another time, our canoe being among these islands seeking for game, espied a drove of these men swimming from one island to another; for they have no boats, canoes, or bark-logs.⁴⁸⁶

Dampier made selective observations of what was around him, and interpreted what he saw through the lens of his own culture. His description of the western coast of Bandiayan, where many Aboriginal communities had lived for millennia, as a barren place with little food is the result of his European expectations and his own fears of starving in a land where he did not know how to get sustenance. Geraldine Barnes

485 Conor, 'Found: The Earliest European Image'.

486 Dampier, *A New Voyage*, Chapter 16, 'Their Habitations, Unfitness for Labour, etc.' See also the discussion by Kim Akerman, 'A Review of the Indigenous Watercraft of the Kimberley Region, Western Australia', *The Great Circle*, 37.1 (2015), 82–111.

claimed that Dampier's journal 'reports unadorned fact: the land was dry and barren, and its inhabitants apparently undernourished and lacking in material possessions and comforts'.⁴⁸⁷ I disagree. The 'fact' of the Bardi's undernourishment is contradicted by other observations, such as the plentiful seafood, the weirs (which would have required ongoing maintenance), and the swimming between islands with their weapons. The Bardi can only be considered to have been 'lacking' in possessions and comforts from a European perspective. If Dampier had been able to communicate with them, they would most likely have described themselves as happy.

Barnes is correct to state that Dampier adopted 'a distinctly colored mode of reportage' in *A New Voyage*, in which the people of *Hollandia Nova* become 'the most extreme example of the obstinately "Other" [with] no potential for Europeanization ... in terms of willingness to trade, perform menial tasks, learn European languages, or wear European clothing'.⁴⁸⁸ This perspective is also implicit in BL Sloane 3236. The manuscript journal, like the published book, betrays Dampier's prejudices and Eurocentrism, if more subtly. Reading between the lines, Dampier's journal reveals some meagre details of Aboriginal life, but not much. Dampier was a less dispassionate observer than many of his readers like to think.⁴⁸⁹ Dampier addressed the president of the Royal Society, an advocate of the plain style, promising only useful knowledge that would be to his 'country's advantage',⁴⁹⁰ but his story-telling was motivated by self-fashioning and personal advantage. In this he was successful for a time before ending his life in disgrace. Dampier's own wants and emotions amplified his prejudices in his coloured descriptions of Aboriginal people as wanting almost all human characteristics. The toxic legacy of his popular writings had serious implications in perpetrating a dismissive and derogatory image of the inhabitants of Bandaiyan.

487 Barnes, p. 92.

488 Barnes, pp. 92–3.

489 Dampier's account of his second visit to Shark Bay in 1699 is different. In that work he makes extensive and detailed descriptions of the fauna and flora. See Major, pp. 134–64.

490 Ryan J. Stark, 'From Mysticism to Skepticism: Stylistic Reform in Seventeenth-Century British Philosophy and Rhetoric', *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, 34.4 (2001), 322–34 (p. 324), has argued that the plain style was about the absence of occult influence on events.

'Everything Was Timid in Our Presence'

The VOC's last expedition to Bandaiyan in the seventeenth century was led by Willem de Vlamingh.⁴⁹¹ A fleet of three ships left the Texel on 3rd May 1696: the *Geelvinck*, the *Nyptangh* and a galliot, 't *Weseltje*. The voyage was the brainchild of Nicolaes Witsen (1641–1717), thirteen times mayor of Amsterdam, VOC administrator, fellow of the Royal Society, and teacher and friend to the tyrant Peter I of Russia. There are several surviving accounts of the expedition and related materials, including de Vlamingh's journal written from the *Geelvinck*, and the *Nyptangh* journal written by the uppersurgeon Mandrop Torst, so it is arguably the best documented of all VOC expeditions to Bandaiyan.⁴⁹²

De Vlamingh's voyage had two chief objectives: finding people or wreckage from the *Ridderschap van Holland*, the *Vergulde Draeck*, or other ships; and exploration of the coast 'and also as much as possible, of the interior'.⁴⁹³ As in the VOC's instructions for previous expedition commanders, de Vlamingh was exhorted to be cautious with regard to the local inhabitants:

But since according to several accounts the coast is inhabited by very savage, barbaric and cruel people and that it is to be believed, from the great size of the land and the temperate climate under which it is situated, that the inhabitants are not unprovided, in their way, with a large number and strength of body and perhaps also with intelligence or evil, therefore those who will be ordered to set foot ashore shall have to

491 The VOC sponsored two further expeditions in the eighteenth century: those led by van Delft in 1705 and Gonzal in 1756.

492 These include a copy of an original version of the journal of the *Geelvinck*, made at Batavia at the end of the expedition, and signed by de Vlamingh, as well as a copy of an account of the first stage of the voyage of 't *Weseltje*. The full journal of the captain of the *Nyptangh*, Gerrit Colaert, has been lost; only a part of it survives, covering the voyage from the Texel to the Cape of Good Hope. A journal kept by the upper-surgeon of the *Nyptangh*, Mandrop Torst, was printed in 1701. The surviving journals have been transcribed, edited, and discussed by Schilder. See *De Ontdekkingsreis van Willem Hesselsz. de Vlamingh in de Jaren 1696-1697*, ed. by Günter Schilder, 2 vols ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1976). This work has been translated into English as Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*. Schilder's work includes additional documents on the aims of the voyage, instructions for de Vlamingh, and Witsen's commentaries on the voyage's findings. Witsen also published a summary of the findings in Nicolaes Witsen, *Noord en Oost Tartarye, ofte bondig ontwerp van eenige dier landen en volken, welke voormaels bekend zijn geweest ... Tweede druk*. (Amsterdam: François Halma, 1705).

493 Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, p. 166.

proceed with the utmost caution and circumspection so as not to be attacked unawares ...⁴⁹⁴

Stallard represented the voyage as 'more a salvage mission than a voyage of discovery'.⁴⁹⁵ However, its ostensible primary aim to search for the *Ridderschap van Holland*, which went missing heading east after it left the Cape of Good Hope on 9th January 1694, was probably a political rationale to ensure approval and funding from the Heren XVII.⁴⁹⁶ Witsen would not have been involved in planning a simple salvage mission, nor in ensuring the participation of the artist Victor Victorszoon to chart and draw illustrations and coastal profiles. The surviving records have much to tell about the way in which the Dutch thought about and represented *Hollandia Nova* at the turn of the eighteenth century. Moreover, as Schilder observed, having charts as well as textual accounts of the voyage can 'make interpretations possible that could not be achieved with written sources only'.⁴⁹⁷

A priority of the voyage was the mapping of the coastline, which the Amsterdam directors of the VOC wrote in the instructions remained 'not well known and not very clean'. Printed maps showed a gap on the coast at around 30°S, between 't *Land van Eendracht* and present-day Perth. De Vlamingh was instructed to look out for a 'suitable harbour' along the coast and to head first to an island off the coast at about 32°S, which had been identified on previous voyages, and charted by Volckertszoon on the voyage in search of survivors of the *Vergulde Draeck* in 1658. This suggests the VOC wanted to identify a potential base off the coast for future exploration. Witsen wanted information on the interior of the continent too.⁴⁹⁸

494 Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, p. 166.

495 Stallard, p. 185.

496 The addition of a search for survivors of the *Vergulde Draeck*, lost forty years earlier, confirms the political purpose of the expedition's primary aim.

497 Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, p. 82.

498 Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, p. 166.

The idea that *Terra Australis* was inhabited by the monstrous and miraculous is a commonplace that was a genuine expectation of visitors to the place the Dutch called the Southland (*'t Zuydlandt*). The journals reveal that the landing parties of de Vlamingh's voyagers expected to come across giants. After landing on the coast for the first time on 8th January, the *Geelvinck* journal reports: 'Went on to the beach there, found several footprints both of children and old people but no larger than normal size'.⁴⁹⁹ On 11th January: 'Found many footprints in the shallow water as also on the beach, but only normally sized'.⁵⁰⁰ Likewise on 16th January, the Dutch 'had also seen footprints of human beings both small and large, but mostly normal'.⁵⁰¹

The sight of giants seems to have been fully expected. Tasman had reported that the people of the place he named *Anthoni van Diemens Landt*, which was assumed to be contiguous with the west coast, are 'presumed, here to be Very tall people', on account of the steps cut into tree trunks. But just as the report from Pelsaert's expedition that the people of *Hollandia Nova* were eight feet tall was questioned by Thévenot at the same time as he disseminated it, ideas of the existence of the monstrous in *Terra Australis* enjoyed widespread notoriety in popular discourse even as some questioned their veracity. This ambiguous double vision enabled the strangeness of the unknown continent to be given form in jest or comedy; the power of its otherness decapitated by resort to comic defenestration.

This comic defenestration took the form of caricature and exaggeration, and can be seen in both textual and performative discourse. On 25th January, someone reported seeing 'footprints eighteen inches long' near huts and water. When the place was reached by the rest of the party the next day, Torst reported that 'those eighteen-inch footprints changed into ordinary ones'.⁵⁰² A performance of mirth carried over two days seems to lie behind Torst's concise prose. Perhaps a hoax was hatched by the

499 Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, p. 125.

500 Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, p. 127.

501 Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, p. 129.

502 Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, p. 158.

sailors of lesser status who had been sent ahead of the main group. Whether a hoax or not, this performance was no doubt cathartic for all concerned. In the strange land, surrounded by unknown people and animals who seemed to be watching just out of sight, the spectre of vicious giant beasts was evoked only to be dispelled in a shared moment of comic relief. Other reported signs of the monstrous included 'a miraculous fish about two feet long with a round head and arms and legs of a kind, nay even something like hands'; and on 7th February, Torst recorded that they 'caught a fish of immense size of which we 24 ate'.⁵⁰³

Large carnivorous beasts were apparently expected. On 16th January, the *Geelwinck* journal records that they '[h]ad also seen footprints of animals such as tigers', and on 22nd January, a party walked inland about a mile and 'saw a body of water which was salty where they had seen some footprints as of tigers'.⁵⁰⁴ Fifty-five years earlier, Tasman's party also observed the 'spoor or furrows of some animals in the earth not unlike the claws of a tiger'.⁵⁰⁵ One of the most dangerous mammals seemed the most likely explanation for the prints. Tasman might have seen the prints of a thylacine (named the 'Tasmanian tiger' by British colonists) or those of a wombat. Both animals have prints a little like a tiger's. The thylacine probably became extinct on the mainland 2000 years ago, and there are no wombats in the west either.⁵⁰⁶

Torst described the prints as 'various footprints as of a dog'.⁵⁰⁷ They might have been dingo prints, but the prints most likely to have been present would have been those of

503 Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, pp. 153, 159.

504 Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, pp. 129, 130.

505 Heeres and Coote, p. 15.

506 The Australian Museum, 'The Thylacine' <australianmuseum.net.au/learn/australia-over-time/extinct-animals/the-thylacine/> [accessed 7 June 2019]. For images of thylacine footprints, see 'West Australian Hindfoot Cast Initial Analysis', *Where Light Meets Dark* <<http://www.wherelightmeetsdark.com/index.php?module=wiki&page=WestAustralianHindfootCastInitialAnalysis>> [accessed 8 June 2019]. For images of wallaby, wombat, and dog prints, see Ross Mannell, 'Tracking Australian Animals' <<http://rossmannellcomments.edublogs.org/2013/05/03/tracking-australian-animals/>> [accessed 8 June 2019].

507 Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, p. 157.

wallabies or kangaroos. Their prints are distinctive, and unlike tigers' prints, but might have appeared like tigers' paws to sailors from northern Europe who might have seen few tigers. Schilder remarks on the curious fact that despite two months on the west coast, no sighting of a kangaroo was recorded.⁵⁰⁸ It is as though the distinctive characteristics of Bandaiyan were so strange to the foreigners that they were blind to them, and could only describe their signs in terms of the 'familiar'.

Barnes and Mitchell observed that in Dampier's accounts, the 'negative monstrous', such as the absence of the presence of wild beasts suggested by their footprints only, 'seemed to confirm [the] mythical reality' of *Hollandia Nova*.⁵⁰⁹ Tigers were frequently proposed by explorers as an explanation for the signs of beasts they had not seen. This attests to the voyagers' expectation of large and dangerous carnivores, their self-fashioning as intrepid adventurers, and a need to account for the strange and partly visible in terms of the familiar (a practice of poetic geography).⁵¹⁰ The absence of the sight of the beast itself was perhaps as disturbing as the growing knowledge that there were people everywhere around them that they could not meet.

On 15th January, Torst reported the observations of a walk for 1.5 miles inland. As the mariners returned to the beach, they 'had seen a yellow dog jump out of the scrub and throw itself into the sea as if to enjoy a swim'.⁵¹¹ The *Geelvinck* journal does not mention this incident at all, perhaps because the more sceptical de Vlamingh regarded it with suspicion. However, reports of the incident by others seem to have made their way back to Batavia and to Witsen in Amsterdam. He wrote in *Noord en Oost Tartarye* (*North and East Tartary*) that the voyagers 'did not see the animals themselves, except that once one jumped and dived into the water from a thicket, an animal like a hare with large

508 Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, p. 63.

509 Barnes and Mitchell.

510 This was also the purpose of the inclusion of images of crocodiles on maps, according to Spencer J. Weinreich, 'Thinking with Crocodiles: An Iconic Animal at the Intersection of Early-Modern Religion and Natural Philosophy', *Early Science and Medicine*, 20.3 (2015), 209–40.

511 Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, p. 157.

ears'.⁵¹² Witsen's description suggests that the dog was probably a wallaby, moving too swiftly for the sailors to register its unfamiliar shape, colour, and movement.

Such moments seem to have had the potential to surprise and interest the sailors in their strange environment, but their enchantment was limited. When exploring Rottnest Island at the beginning of their stay on the west coast, de Vlamingh described, 'the finest wood in the world, from which the whole land was filled with a fine pleasant smell'.⁵¹³ But much of de Vlamingh's journal is more sober than this.

Torst's writing often reveals a greater curiosity in and attention to his surroundings. He seems to be moved to wonder and delight at times by his environment. While people and animals disappeared before they could be reached, Torst made several interesting observations of plants. On 31st December, he wrote of observations on Rottnest Island:

a great variety of herbs of which a great many were not unknown to me and some of which were similar in smell to those at home; likewise also several trees and among these a kind whose wood had an aromatic fragrance, almost like *Lignum Rhodii*.⁵¹⁴

Torst's tone suggests the promise of elements in the landscape that were similar to those found in Europe or the exotic bounty of *Terra Australis* described by Queirós. These offered a small sign that European civilization might survive in a climate that otherwise appeared foreign and arid.

On 11th January, Torst wrote:

Here it was thought that some people were seen to be moving about, but having rowed to the river bank in the boat we found none, but did find a little pool of fresh water and in it, on the bottom, a certain herb smelling like thyme, possibly placed

512 Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, p. 219.

513 Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, p. 60.

514 Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, p. 153.

there by the South Landers to add an agreeable taste to the water and remove its brackishness.⁵¹⁵

The people have fled, but briefly perhaps, Torst's fears about the unseen presence of the local inhabitants was displaced by his wonder at the little pool of fresh water, which the sailors had difficulty finding, and even more interesting for the herb smelling like thyme carefully placed there. The well and the herb are countersigns that furnish evidence of the agency of the Aboriginal people unseen by the Dutch explorers but everywhere present. Through these countersigns it is possible to discern the Dutch voyagers moving through an occupied and managed landscape. In a letter to Gisbert Cuper reporting findings from the voyage, Witsen wrote that the 'trees ... had been planted in an orderly manner'.⁵¹⁶ There is no *terra nullius* here: even on one of the driest coasts of Bandaiyan, bird, fish, and animal life are abundant, and the human inhabitants are active in making the environment habitable.

Torst also discovered that not all the fruits provided 'by nature' are necessarily healthy, even if they can be described as having some familiar characteristics:

I was offered the kernel of a certain fruit not unlike the Drioens in appearance, and tasting like our Dutch broad beans and those which were less ripe, like a hazelnut. I ate five or six and drank some of the water from one of the aforeseaid holes [with a herb laid in it], but after an interval of about three hours I and five more of the others who had also eaten of the said fruit began to vomit so violently that there was hardly any distinction between death and us.⁵¹⁷

The fruit he had eaten was the zamia nut (*Macrozamia* spp.), a species endemic to the southerly continent. The nut (endosperm) is highly toxic to humans and other animals if eaten raw. The toxicity of its fleshy, bright red covering hull (sarcotesta) has been questioned. Aboriginal peoples in the north, northeast, and southwest of the continent have processed it for thousands of years, including the Noongar Mineng and Wiil

515 Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, p. 155.

516 Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, p. 215.

517 Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, p. 155.

people of the southwest.⁵¹⁸ It was prized for its high nutritional value.⁵¹⁹ Unlike Aboriginal peoples elsewhere who detoxified the nut for consumption, the Noongar processed the hull for eating and discarded the nut. Noongar processing was by soaking in salt water followed by burial in an anaerobic pit for fermentation.⁵²⁰ MacIntyre and Dobson proposed that the sailors probably ate the nuts that had been discarded after the hull was eaten. Torst could not have imagined that he was eating the organic rubbish thrown away after the highly processed meals of those he regarded as 'savages'.

After a century of Dutch incursions into Bandaiyan, mainly along the west and north coasts, it is possible that Aboriginal peoples might have formulated a coherent impression in response to these incursions. Even though they occurred at scattered places along the coast only, and were relatively brief in duration and separated by many years, they followed a consistent pattern of behaviour.

Interestingly, there is no mention of the objective of capturing inhabitants of the Southland in de Vlamingh's instructions. However, it is clear from his actions and comments written by Witsen after the voyage that he had been given orders to kidnap some inhabitants for rendition to the United Provinces for the purpose of learning more about the continent. Additional 'general rules about exploring unknown lands' were appended to his instructions, which might have included a version of the instructions on capture given to Tasman.⁵²¹

518 Keen, *Aboriginal Economy and Society*, p. 78.

519 Although it might have had ceremonial uses, its large-scale cultivation for use in large ceremonies has been questioned by Brit Asmussen, 'Anything More than a Picnic? Re-Considering Arguments for Ceremonial Macrozamia Use in Mid-Holocene Australia', *Archaeology in Oceania*, 43.3 (2008), 93–103.

520 Ken MacIntyre and Barb Dobson, 'The Ancient Practice of Macrozamia Pit Processing in Southwestern Australia', *Anthropology from the Shed* <<https://anthropologyfromtheshed.com/project/the-ancient-practice-of-macrozamia-pit-processing-in-southwestern-australia/>> [accessed 10 June 2019], argue that the aim of processing was not detoxification but the improvement of the zamia's taste and nutritional value.

521 Schilder does not include the appended material which would appear to be no longer appended to the instructions. The reference to it was intended to include a number which is missing. See Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, p. 242 (n. 10).

The *Geelvinck* journal records that, as a force of eighty-six marched inland near the estuary of the Derbarl Yerrigan (Swan River), the crew split up into parties 'to see whether we could lay aboard any of the inhabitants but all in vain':

Ahead saw several plumes rise up, approached them with 3 people, viz. our bookkeeper and upper-steersman and the under-steersman of the gallot with those two indians, in order not to frighten the inhabitants with our entire company, but still found no people.⁵²²

In fact they approached with five men, if the 'two indians' are counted as people. They had been kidnapped themselves at the Cape of Good Hope to work as go-betweens between the Dutch and the Aboriginals in the belief they might speak the same language.

This pattern of darting for the coast on the observation of signs of people continued throughout January and February until the expedition departed New Holland on 21st February. On 11th January, a landing party 'went ashore where the men had seen 2 black people but could find nothing but huts and fire, but no human being'. Later, they 'lit several fires to see if the people would come to us, but saw no people'. On 15th January, a shore party went 1.5 miles inland and '[h]ad seen many footprints, but no people'.⁵²³ On 23rd January, a shore party reported seeing '10 people, quite naked and black without any weapons' (possibly of the Nanda people). De Vlamingh tried to land another party further along the coast where some Aboriginal people had appeared to go inland but did not see them again. On the 25th January, a landing party reported seeing five huts, 'many footprints of people and animals' and 'a fresh-water hole, to which 10 to 12 footpaths led, but did not see any human being'.⁵²⁴ The waterhole was evidently a place where many people and animals came to drink but the presence of the Dutch had sent both humans and animals into hiding. Everywhere signs of people

522 Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, p. 125.

523 Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, pp. 127–8.

524 Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, p. 131.

were seen—footprints, huts, and fires, or figures moving in the distance. Each time the sailors approach, the people disappeared. The Aboriginals' presence is palpable by their consistent physical absence.

De Vlamingh ventured about 10 miles up the Derbarl Yerrigan (Swan River) and 2000 miles along the coast, making frequent landings where possible along the shore, which was difficult to approach in the ships because of rocks, shoals, and reefs. It is remarkable that along about 2000 miles of coastline, the coastal zones of the Wadjuk, Yued, Amangu, Nanda, Malkana, Yinggarda, Maya, and Payungu peoples, repeated attempts to engage with the inhabitants all failed.⁵²⁵ Almost certainly they were afraid. Perhaps they had adopted a no-engagement policy based on the experience of previous visits of foreigners who had made kidnap attempts along this coast over the previous eight years. Torst recorded in the *Nyptangh* journal on 12th January that '[e]verything was timid in our presence, both men and birds, swans, brent-geese, pelicans, cockatoos, parakeets, etc.'⁵²⁶

De Vlamingh almost certainly undermined his chances of meeting Aboriginal people by approaching exploration with the brutish behaviours of military discipline, such as repeatedly firing the ships' cannons at the coast.⁵²⁷ He also followed his instructions by observing 'the utmost caution and circumspection' about attacks from the inhabitants, but this approach must have limited the voyagers' sensitivity to the local environment. When preparing for a walking party near the Derbarl Yerrigan estuary, soon after arriving on the coast, the commanders of the expedition drew up all eighty-six

525 Horton, 'The AIATSIS Map of Indigenous Australia'. 'Noongar', *Kaartdijin Noongar - Noongar Knowledge* <<https://www.noongarculture.org.au/noongar/>> [accessed 8 June 2019].

526 Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, p. 156.

527 A letter from Governor van der Stell and Councillors to the Heren XVII on 24th June 1698 reports that de Vlamingh had fired shots everywhere (Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, p. 214). The journals are not explicit on this point, but distances from the ships to the coast are regularly recorded by 'musket shot', suggesting that muskets were fired at the coast too. Muskets were also fired to signal between parties when they split up. On 8th January, de Vlamingh wrote, 'we sailed up the river and gave the order that when our party came there to fire a few musket shots whether we might not see them on the river' (Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, p. 126).

marchers (plus 'the Indians') to parade in formation along the beach.⁵²⁸ 'Well provided with weapons' and equipment, heavy clothing and boots, and the regular firing of cannons, they must have made more din than any person or animal had ever heard in Bandaiyan. It is unsurprising that all people, animals, and birds fled. De Vlamingh even wrote in his journal of large birds (probably emus) 'which were very big but very timid'.⁵²⁹ Anyone who has met an emu knows they are not at all shy, but extremely curious and cheeky. De Vlamingh's sailors could not have done more to scare every living being away.

In his assessment of the voyage in *North and East Tartary*, Witsen was scathing about de Vlamingh's 'failure' to kidnap any Aboriginal persons:

although we had given the order that some natives should be conveyed here either by purchase or voluntarily, in order to learn the Dutch language so as to give an account of everything, but this has failed and we remain in the same obscurity as before, not knowing where so many Dutchmen who have been wrecked here earlier have ended up, whether they have been killed or perhaps transported deep into the land and still alive.⁵³⁰

It is clear from this assessment that kidnap had been a primary strategy for realizing the aims of the voyage, and perhaps justified by the unfounded suspicion implied by this assessment that the 'New Hollanders' had either murdered or captured and transported the shipwreck survivors. The journals confirm that de Vlamingh went to every effort to carry out Witsen's instructions.⁵³¹ The blunt and violent practices those instructions mandated for kidnap were less useful for the acquisition of knowledge about different peoples or lands.

528 Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, p. 61.

529 Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, p. 126 .

530 Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, p. 220.

531 De Vlamingh must have felt the pressure of Witsen's expectations as he stated that he had done all that was 'humanly possible to do' to carry out his instructions. See Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*.

The Aboriginals' absence at every approach of the Dutch is also evidence of their agency. The voyagers' repeated finding of abandoned fires and huts demonstrates that the places they entered were well populated, and that the local inhabitants were quietly retreating to a safe distance as the intruders approached, and keeping watch. As Witsen wrote to Gisbert Cuper, 'they saw black naked people but could not come near them because they were fleet of foot. They went nine miles inland and could see people but not surprise them.'⁵³² Given de Vlamingh's instructions to take captives, and the firearms carried by the Dutch, the Noongar people's defensive response to the intruders was both wise and effective.

De Vlamingh's instructions warned the commander to take extreme defensive precautions against the possible violent behaviour of the 'very savage, barbaric and cruel' inhabitants of the coasts he was to visit, even before he had left home.⁵³³ It is perhaps unsurprising that when assessing the findings of the voyage in *North and East Tartary*, Witsen confirmed the beliefs and assumptions on which he had planned the voyage. Even though de Vlamingh had had no encounters with the inhabitants, violent or otherwise, he dismissed all the inhabitants of *Hollandia Nova*, including those still unmet, as 'equally black and savage':

the interior of this land has never yet been visited by any Christian, but in all probability all the inhabitants will be equally black and savage, taking after those from whom they are held to have sprung for the greater part, to wit the peoples of Nova Guinea, Moluccas, etc.⁵³⁴

Witsen's dehumanizing assessment is partly motivated by this frustration at the failure of his hopes for de Vlamingh's expedition. He believed no new useful knowledge of the Southland had been gained, and no locals had been kidnapped as sources of information. Witsen's failure to acknowledge any distinguishing characteristics of the 'New Hollanders' betrays his disappointment. The rhetoric of his comparison of

532 Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, p. 215.

533 Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, p. 166.

534 Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, p. 220.

Aboriginals with other non-European peoples 'from whom [the 'equally black and savage' people of New Holland] are held to have sprung' is reminiscent of Dampier's dismissal of the people he saw as 'much the same blinking creatures': the reduction of human diversity to undifferentiated sameness.

Ignorance also informs the comparisons with the Hottentots of southern Africa, whose reputation in Europe was also as one of the most 'savage' of peoples. On 5th January, Torst described a Wadjuk house, as 'a small hut quite as bad as those of the Hottentots'.⁵³⁵ De Vlamingh made a similar comparison on 8th January: 'found two poles stuck in the ground where a hut had been, just like the Hottentots at the Cape of Good Hope'.⁵³⁶ Things regarded as positive, like the herb scenting the water, are compared with European referents; the negative with examples in other 'savages'. Each comparison drives the thought away from the particular, in its Bandaiyan context. It is inconceivable to these 'explorers' that what they see might be the work of the hands of those humans they refer to as 'black, naked savages'.

Despite Torst's attentive observations and occasional expressions of wonder, towards the end of February, after enduring walks in the heat with flies and little water, a storm which damaged de Vlamingh's ship, and the grief for two dead companions, he was relieved to turn for home on 21st February: 'Our ship fired three [guns] to farewell the miserable South Land'.⁵³⁷

Conclusions

By bringing together the research of Aboriginal place by Gammage and others with attention to the textual evidence of countersigns of Indigenous agency and the emotions of those recording observations of the landscapes and peoples they saw, it is possible to perceive the way in which prevailing tropes associated with the discourse of *Terra Australis Incognita* shaped the interpretation of embodied experiences of

535 Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, p. 154.

536 Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, p. 125.

537 Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, p. 161.

unfamiliar places. Expectations of giants and the labelling of Indigenous peoples as 'savages' made the metropolitan visitors (or intruders) in Bandaiyan as fearful of engaging with Aboriginal peoples as Aboriginal peoples were of them.

By comparing their observations with evidence of classical Aboriginal societies and their management of the landscape, it can be seen more clearly that the mariners generally recorded what they saw and experienced, including unmistakable evidence of Aboriginal land and water management, housing, and cultivation. To that extent, their observations provide signs of Indigenous presence and agency, even where direct communication did not occur. However, prevailing prejudices, fears for their survival in places so foreign and far from supplies and assistance meant that the mariners often discounted or dismissed as worthless the signs of Aboriginal society and management of the landscape that they had witnessed. The antediluvian trope of *Terra Australis* led them to interpret land and people as 'natural', despite observing crops, houses with bedding and the leftovers of fish suppers, weapons, weirs, controlled lighting of fires, and water holes carefully placed with herbs.

Chapter 4

Description: The Poetic Geography of *Hollandia Nova*

This precise location indicated with an Asterisk is the Antipodes of the City of Venice, the Homeland of the Author of the present Work.

VINCENZO CORONELLI

This epigraph can be discerned by looking carefully at the ‘down-underside’ of a well-worn terrestrial table globe in the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich (Figure 4.01). This globe of half a metre in diameter was made by Vincenzo Coronelli in 1696 for William III of Orange, King of England.⁵³⁸ Although Coronelli’s idiosyncratic signature might be regarded as a mere sentimental quirk, as a specialist in making luxury globes for princes such as William and Louis XIV of France, he had to meet the needs of demanding clients.⁵³⁹ The asterisk of the antipodes of Venice appears at approximately 46°S, only a little removed from where modern geometry locates it.⁵⁴⁰ The citation of the antipodes is rare on early modern maps and globes, but a sign of its continued importance in geographical discourse. Coronelli’s asterisk draws the reader’s attention to the cartographer’s homeland on the other side of the world and away from the particularities of the southern spaces represented. It also stakes a discursive Venetian claim to the southern reaches of the globe to rival the signs of Dutch presence in the toponymy displayed in elaborate italics above: ‘NEW ZEALAND, or THE STATES LAND, called by the Dutch HET NIEW ZELANDT, Discovered by the Same in the year 1654’.⁵⁴¹

538 ‘Questo preciso luogo segnato coll’As | terismo è Antipodo alla Città di Ve- | netia, Patria dell’Autore della pre- | sente Opera’. Vincenzo Coronelli, ‘[Terrestrial Table Globe]’ (Venice, 1696), National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, GLB0124. The diameter of the globe itself is 475 mm. The overall dimensions including the base and meridian ring are 623 x 641 mm.

539 For a discussion of Coronelli’s life and career, see Marica Milanese, *Vincenzo Coronelli Cosmographer (1650-1718)*, History of the Representation of Space in Text and Image (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), pp. 19–43.

540 At 45°26’S and 167°40’W; see <https://www.antipodesmap.com>.

541 ‘NUOVA ZELANDIA, ò TERRA DEGLI STATI, detta dagli Hollandesi HET NIEW ZELANDT, Scoperta dagli Medesimi l’anno 1654’. The year is incorrect.

Another luxury publication of seventeenth-century geography covers the southern spaces where the asterisk appears on Coronelli's globe with a profusion of illustration. Hugo Allard's copper-engraved wall map, *India quae orientalis dicitur et Insulae adiacentes* ('India and the so-called Orient and adjacent islands'), is as monumental as Coronelli's globe at more than two square metres (1560 x 1415 mm) (Figure 4.02). Günter Schilder observed that Allard's map 'demonstrates the extent of Dutch sea-power in its heyday'.⁵⁴² Published in Amsterdam c. 1652, it was one of many such sumptuous images purchased by the Dutch commercial elite for display in their homes and offices to reflect their educational and ethical values, and demonstrate their social status.

For Schilder, Allard's is 'the first Dutch map of the East Indies which shows the results of Tasman's two voyages', and therefore an important piece of evidence that places Tasman at the climax of the Dutch contribution to the 'discovery' of Australia.⁵⁴³

no important progress was made after Tasman in the exploration of Australian waters until the voyages of James Cook. For more than a hundred years Tasman's findings dictated the *style and pattern* of the cartography of these regions, and it can be said that no one else has so dominated the cartography of a single continent for so long. After Tasman there was a period of stagnation in *geographical advance* [my italics].

The extent to which Allard's map can be said to reflect 'geographical advance' and the 'style and pattern' of Tasman's geography can be questioned. The coastline recognized today as part of Australia reproduces hydrography published by Joan Blaeu for the first time in 1645–46, based on pilots' charts made between 1606 and 1644. The viewer's eye is irresistably drawn to the illustrations between the northern and western coastlines and the map's bottom right border, but the elephants, deer, and jack fruit trees do not reflect the fauna and flora of Bandaiyan observed by VOC mariners. Schilder offers perhaps the most logical explanation for this fanciful illustration, stating

542 Günter Schilder, *Australia Unveiled: The Share of the Dutch Navigators in the Discovery of Australia*, trans. by Olaf Richter (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1976), pp. 392–3 (map 75).

543 Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*, pp. 198–200.

that the continental interior 'is covered by drawings of native people, animals and plants to conceal actual ignorance of what was there'.⁵⁴⁴ However, if their purpose were simply to 'cover up' ignorance, why go to so much trouble? Why not omit the space of *Hollandia Nova* entirely, as *Zeelandia Nova* and *Anthoni van Diemens Landt* were? It might equally be proposed that the newly charted northern and western coastlines of Bandaiyan provide a convenient cartouche-like space for the illustrator to indulge his passion for exotic people, animals, and landscapes, which are reminiscent of the sixteenth-century poetic geographies of *Terra Australis Incognita* discussed in Chapter 1.

Another possible explanation for Coronelli's asterisk and Allard's illustrations is that they represent a desire for future knowledge. Jacob Christian includes the label '*terra incognita*' among his examples of early modern cartographers' use of the rhetoric of preterition. Jacob argues that the purpose of such labels is to exorcize the 'blank spaces' in geographical knowledge, even as the gaps are admitted. As a result, preterition enables maps to make claims on the future, by providing a way

of foretelling future knowledge, of submitting this space to a particular temporality, that of the perfectability of knowledge and the linear and continuous progress of discovery. ... Language is already qualifying, naming, and describing these spaces whose very existence is still an object of conjecture.⁵⁴⁵

Jacob highlights the need to pay attention to the relationship between image and text in deciphering the meaning of inscriptions and illustrations on early modern maps.

However well Allard's map promotes an image of Dutch sea power, it might be considered deficient as a monument to Tasman's contribution to geographical knowledge. The illustrations include nothing that Tasman and his crew recorded, and

544 Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*, pp. 392–3 (map 75). Schilder's use of the term 'native' in the sense of 'natural' or 'primitive' rather than 'particular to place' reflects the colonialism that prevailed in geographical thought at the time his book was written.

545 Christian Jacob, *The Sovereign Map: Theoretical Approaches in Cartography throughout History*, ed. by Edward H. Dahl, trans. by Tom Conley (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), pp. 263–264.

the hydrography omits arguably the most significant observations of Tasman's voyages: the south coast of *Anthoni van Diemens Landt*, the west coast of *Zeelandia Nova*, and the knowledge that *Hollandia Nova* was a separate landmass.⁵⁴⁶

The adornment of the hydrography on Coronelli's globe and Allard's map shows the limits of understanding such geographies as evidence of 'progress' in knowledge. The complexities and idiosyncrasies of their different elaborations of the same Euclidean hydrographical lines demand analysis from a broader range of perspectives. Because of their fictive qualities, their poetic use to create representations of inhabited space on maps, and their rhetorical association with political discourses, I use Gillies' term poetic geography in this chapter to refer to these elaborations on empirically drawn coastlines. I ask, how were mariners' observations of Bandaiyan translated into cartographic representations in the seventeenth century, and what do the consequent artefacts of poetic geography reveal about the meaning of *Hollandia Nova* and its relationship to the concept of *Terra Australis Incognita* on the eve of the eighteenth century?

To answer this question, I will read a variety of poetic geographies in print and manuscript as cultural artefacts that combine cartographic conventions, text, and images to convey significance about the spaces they purport to represent. I will explore rhetorical and discursive relationships between three main cartographic elements: hydrography, the representation of coastlines in Euclidean space; toponymy, an essential complement to the hydrography, which confers meaningful discursive associations on what would otherwise be meaningless lines in space; and illustrations, which geographers used to convey more interpretative or speculative ideas about the inhabitation of space.

546 Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*, pp. 139–57. Allard's map has additional detail on the small twin-hemisphere inset world map, but the space where *Zeelandia Nova* should be has an image of a voluptuous woman wearing only a broad-brimmed hat.

In Chapter 1, conjectural representations of *Terra Australis Incognita* were explored in the cosmography of Mercator, Ortelius and others. In this chapter, I consider conjectural and poetic elaborations of an empirical hydrography of Bandaiyan created by the VOC. Chapter 3 looked at the creation and dissemination of observations made by pilots and seafarers who visited Bandaiyan in the century after 1606 through the medium of text. In this chapter, I begin by examining how coastal charts made between 1606 and Tasman's two voyages of 1642–43 and 1644 were translated into a standard geography that provided an elementary framework for the elaboration of more interpretative and imaginative representations in printed maps and globes. VOC pilots continued to make new charts of parts of the coastline after the 1640s. Although these were not used to update the standard geography in print, they are a valuable source of evidence in their own right about European interpretations of Bandaiyan and its peoples in the seventeenth century. I will consider their distinctive perspectives at the end of the chapter.

Before discussing the metropolitan maps and globes in detail, I will review classical Aboriginal geography, to show how those who lived in the land and enjoyed its resources and benefits in the seventeenth century communicated their spatial knowledge of its component 'things, concepts, conditions, processes, and events'.⁵⁴⁷ As communication between the pilots and Indigenous peoples was limited, there was little chance for influence between their different cultural forms. However, it is necessary to keep Indigenous forms of ownership and inhabitation of the land in mind to appreciate metropolitan maps as documents of contestation that construct a view of lands belonging to others using limited knowledge. Although the pilots had no inkling of the knowledge and imaginative structures of Indigenous geography, they witnessed Aboriginal people using and occupying their lands. They knew that their role in charting was to grasp a representation of that land for the use of their own people.

⁵⁴⁷ Compare the definition of a map by J. B. Harley and David Woodward, 'Preface', in *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, ed. by J. B. Harley and David Woodward, *The History of Cartography*, 6 vols (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), I, xv–xxi (p. xvi), as 'graphic representations that facilitate a spatial understanding of things, concepts, conditions, processes, or events in the human world'.

They could not have been unaware that in doing so they mostly ignored the presence of the inhabitants they had witnessed. It is important to appreciate the mechanisms of geographical contestation if metropolitan cartography is to be understood, not as a comprehensive, objective description of the physical facts of a place, but rather as a poetic and poietic system for creating and conveying ideas about legitimacy of power and belonging in space by representation of a limited set of visually discernible features, arranged by geometrical coordinates on a flat, two-dimensional surface. Cartography reduces complex and dynamic biosocial-ecosystems to a simplified set of claims about things, concepts, conditions, processes, or events.

Aboriginal Icon-Maps and Songlines

The hundreds of classical Aboriginal cultures of Bandaiyan were diverse, and remain so, comprising many different languages and ethnic identities. Caution is required when making generalizations about Aboriginal cultures, but they share fundamental aspects of thought, technology, and social organization, even though particular expressions of these systems of knowledge differed between societies across the continent. By way of parallel, kingship is a social form that appears across the Eurasian continent from China to India and Ireland, but expressions of kingship—both its formal regulatory and ideological underpinnings and the aesthetic or cultural components which establish its power in a people’s imagination—are particular to local cultures and times in history.⁵⁴⁸ In what follows, I review what are regarded as key common characteristics of Aboriginal geographical, navigational, and astronomical knowledge, drawing on anthropological, geographical, and astronomical research.

Both material and performative or discursive forms of imagining place and space can be identified in traditional Aboriginal mapping. Material maps are found painted on bark, or in the sand in ephemeral paintings. Peter Sutton refers to these as ‘icon-maps’, because they can be understood to approximate aspects of both icons and maps in

548 See Richard van Leeuwen, *Narratives of Kingship in Eurasian Empires, 1300–1800* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), p. 3.

European cultures.⁵⁴⁹ Sutton states that Aboriginal icons constitute ‘knowledgeable and emotionally rich performance’ not ‘knowledge per se’. Icon-maps include elements of the songlines, which Ray Norris has defined as ‘oral maps of the landscape, enabling the transmission of oral navigational skills in cultures that do not have a written language.’⁵⁵⁰ Icon-maps are not regarded as representations in the European sense but rather ‘transformations’, the term Nancy Munn used to describe the way in which Aboriginal iconography conveys meaning.⁵⁵¹

Songlines are performative maps, which are remembered, transmitted, and performed in oral tradition or story. They are the paths taken by the transcendent ancestral beings who created the landscape. They connect cultural sites and make trade routes.⁵⁵²

Songlines are also mirrored in the stars. The stars’ tracks are used as mnemonics for maintaining the memory of the roads on the ground. The Wardaman people often travel at night following the stars.⁵⁵³ Many other Aboriginal peoples such as the Euahlayi travel only by day, but plan and learn their journeys at night, using star maps to commit the route to memory before departure.⁵⁵⁴

549 Peter Sutton, ‘Icons of Country: Topographic Representations in Classical Aboriginal Traditions’, in *Cartography in the Traditional African, American, Arctic, Australian, and Pacific Societies*, ed. by David Woodward and G. Malcolm Lewis, *The History of Cartography*, 6 vols (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), II, 353–86.

550 Ray P. Norris, ‘Dawes Review 5: Australian Aboriginal Astronomy and Navigation’, *Publications of the Astronomical Society of Australia*, 2016 <<https://doi.org/DOI:10.1017/pas.2016.xxx>>. The term ‘songline’ was coined by Bruce Chatwin in his book first published in 1987: Bruce Chatwin, *The Songlines*, Penguin Classics (New York: Penguin Books, 2012).

551 See the seminal article on Aboriginal iconography by Nancy D. Munn, ‘The Transformation of Subjects into Objects in Walbiri and Pitjantjatjara Myth’, in *Australian Aboriginal Anthropology: Modern Studies in the Social Anthropology of the Australian Aborigines*, ed. by Ronald Murray Berndt (Nedlands: University of Western Australia Press for the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1970), pp. 141–63. Munn’s article is summarized by Sutton, II, p. 365.

552 A number of modern highways follow songline routes; see Norris, p. 29.

553 Ray P. Norris and Bill Yidumduma Harney, ‘Songlines and Navigation in Wardaman and Other Australian Aboriginal Cultures’, *Journal of Astronomical History and Heritage*, 17.2 (2014), 141–148.

554 Robert S. Fuller and others, ‘Star Maps and Travelling to Ceremonies: The Euahlayi People and Their Use of the Night Sky’, *Journal of Astronomical History and Heritage*, 17.2 (2014), 149–160.

Both icon-maps and songline star-maps make references to specific morphologies and features of landscape. Although an icon-map makes no attempt to isomorphically reproduce landscape forms on a Euclidean grid as a European map does, there are correspondences between the idea of landscape or route and conditions on the ground. The perpendicular viewpoint common in Aboriginal icon-maps resembles a Euclidean map, although the Aboriginal reader interprets the viewpoint as from both below and above.⁵⁵⁵ There is also a framework of regular correspondences to enable the encoding of landscape forms and features as knowledge, and its transmission for the purpose of practical activities such as navigation, cultivation of plants, or curation of waterways and other landscape features. This knowledge is associated with a moral and legal framework, supported by religious sanction.

The icon-maps of the Yolŋu people of Arnhem Land are called *dhulaŋ*. They include bark paintings used for teaching children about their country, its history, and their responsibilities under the laws of the Ancestors to care for the features and systems of their environment. A painting on bark called *Crocodile and Fire Dreaming* was made by Djamika Munungurr, from the Gumatj clan of the Yolŋu (*Figure 4.03*).⁵⁵⁶ It describes the homeland of the Gumatj and specific sites in the landscape. Where the tail joins the body is the mouth of the river; the hindlegs mark the shoreline; the body, the land inland from the coast. The *dhulaŋ* is also an icon that represents an Ancestor of the Gamatj, the salt water crocodile (*bäru*), who holds the Gamatj homeland with his splayed feet. The background pattern *miŋtji* represents the fire dreaming. It is owned by the Gamatj and can be traded with other peoples. Fire is a metaphor for knowledge.

555 Sutton, 'Icons of Country', *HOC* II, p. 363, n. 41.

556 Much of what follows is indebted to David Turnbull, Helen Watson, and Yolngu community at Yirrkala, *Maps Are Territories: Science Is an Atlas: A Portfolio of Exhibits* (Geelong, Vic: Deakin University Press, 1989).

To interpret the *bäru dhulaŋ*, it is necessary to know the discourse and performances of the crocodile dreaming, or songline, known in Yolŋu as *djalkiri*.⁵⁵⁷ Each *djalkiri* belongs to a person or group, and comprises a series of stories, songs, dances, and images narrating the creation and characteristics of the person's or group's 'country', as created by the Ancestors.⁵⁵⁸ The *djalkiri* connotes a world of traditional knowledge associated with an object, animal, or landscape feature linked to the totemic system. It helps individuals understand an object's cultural value, practical use and care, and who is responsible for its care.

The *bäru dhulaŋ* uses signs and conventions understood by the Yolŋu to indicate specific landscape features in a way that communicates more than simply the location of these features, but invests them with significance within discourses of knowledge. The *dhulaŋ* shows more than the territory of the Gamatj like a map; it embodies important aspects of its history, its names, a sense of belonging, and knowledge about the care of place. It can be used for local navigation or for travel between sites within the Gamatj people's estate.

Like Euclidean maps, the Yolŋu *bäru dhulaŋ* is based on a system of regular correspondences that allow for the material visualization of features that can be located specifically in space. Instead of geometrical coordinates, the *dhulaŋ* relies on a mental image of the distribution of sites in the landscape according to cardinal directions and

557 The Yolŋu have many kinds of dreaming: kangaroo dreaming, long yam dreaming, cough dreaming, dead body dreaming. 'Dreaming', which has been described as 'things good to think with' (the expression comes from Claude Levi-Strauss) has both practical and religious purposes; see Sutton, 'Icons of Country', *HOC* II, pp. 360–1. Sutton (p. 360) identifies four main categories of dreaming: stationary dreamings based on a site; estate-specific dreamings for travel between sites within an estate; regional dreamings for travel between adjacent estates in a region that begin and end with the same kin owner; and continental dreamings linking different owners across the continent. The importance of travel in each of these categories is crucial: the transmission of dreaming knowledge is performative and communicated through movement across space, or rather, between well defined cultural places.

558 'Country' is a term in modern Aboriginal English, used without the definite article, that might be best translated as 'home': it refers to a person's home landscape, the country where their family and ancestors come from, and where their cultural knowledge can be read in the features and stories of the landscape.

major features such as rivers and mountains. The Yolŋu, like many Aboriginal peoples, use cardinal directions rather than relative directions such as 'left' and 'right', not only for navigation but in determining location and direction in activities of daily life.⁵⁵⁹ The Warlpiri conception of coordinates demonstrates the extent to which a conscious knowledge of geometrical of space is embedded in general living, not only travel, in Aboriginal cultures. As Norris and Harney report, 'north corresponds to "law", south to "ceremony", west to "language" and east to "skin"'. Warlpiri country lies at the meeting point of these directions.⁵⁶⁰

An important difference between European maps and Aboriginal icon-maps is that the latter need no textual labels to define features of the image. The names of geographical features of the icon-map are recognized by those authorized to know them. For the Gumatj clan, each part of the *bäru dhulanj* has a name. Classical Aboriginal cultures typically recognize both 'inside' and 'outside' names. 'Inside names' are known only to a limited few who possess such knowledge; 'outside names' are those accessible to a wider audience.⁵⁶¹ A place on a European map, even if shown with a conventional symbol signifying a town, for example, would mean little without a place name label. If the reader of the *bäru dhulanj* knows the stories attached to the places, the names can be expressed in performance through the recall and retelling of the relevant stories, ensuring the ongoing life and memory of the knowledge and events attached to the icon-map. Telling the stories and knowledge of one name attached to a place does not negate the existence of other names and their related stories and knowledge; these remain inherent in the *dhulanj* and can be told or performed on other occasions.

Fred Myers investigated the meaning of place and place names among the Pintupi people. Descriptive names such as *Wanaritjarra-nya* ('mulga-tree-having-place') refers

559 Felicity Meakins and Rachel Nordlinger, *A Grammar of Bilinarra: An Australian Aboriginal Language of the Northern Territory*, Pacific Linguistics: 640 (Boston: de Gruyter Mouton, 2013).

560 Norris and Harney, p. 142. 'Skin' refers to a category of social relationships.

561 On inside and outside knowledge in Yolŋu culture, see Howard Morphy, *Ancestral Connections: Art and an Aboriginal System of Knowledge* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), pp. 75–99.

to a place with a waterhole surrounded by mulga trees. Other places and sites can have multiple names. They are not labels or proper names, but common nouns. A Pintupi salt lake is called variously *Ngunarrmanya* or *Pinarinya*, both from associated songs, or *Nyaru*, which refers to a fire in the Dreaming that left a large burnt-out area.⁵⁶² The reason is that the *place* itself always comes first in Pintupi culture. Such names do not confer exclusive ownership or use of the named site. Two different songs can be connected to the same geographical feature, making it possible for belonging to place to be shared. Sometimes the names are changed or suppressed as a result of the imposition of a taboo, for example, because of the death of someone with a similar name. This is called *kunmarnutjarranya* ('with name avoided').

The differences between an Aboriginal icon-map and a European map are revealing. Although it is not to scale, the *dhularj* accurately shows the distribution and location of landscape features in space, which can be read for its navigational, social, religious, and legal meaning by someone with an understanding of the conventions of icon-maps and the story of particular examples such as the *bäru djalkiri*. Icon-maps combine the function of a detailed chorography and a cosmographic image of the universe, because they relate local landscape features to history, religious knowledge, and individuals. A *dhularj* is a kind of landscape, in Edward Casey's sense, giving a bounded image of a local area with the location of its topographical features marked in relative space. Its function is closer to European chorography or landscape painting than geography because it conveys the essence of country by identifying important topographical features within a circumambience of place. However, a European chorographic map makes a more universal claim, as it is assumed to be a section of a wider geography.⁵⁶³ However, many seventeenth century maps combine aspects of chorography and landscape art with geography, by inserting illustrations in the 'blank spaces'.

562 Fred R. Myers, *Pintupi Country, Pintupi Self: Sentiment, Place, and Politics among Western Desert Aborigines* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 57–9.

563 See the definitions of chrography and landscape in Edward S. Casey, *Representing Place: Landscape Painting and Maps* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), pp. 347–356.

Classical Aboriginal peoples probably had no single, authoritative map of Bandaiyan like Mowaljarlai's, because responsibility for Aboriginal knowledge is shared among members of local communities. A universal Aboriginal map could only be produced by combining the *djalkiri* of all people across the continent in some way. Nevertheless, a complete knowledge existed collectively in the minds and performance of many. By contrast, European map make a claim to universal knowledge based on a highly selective reduction.

Pilots and Hydrography

The metropolitan maps examined in this chapter owe their production to the political and historical circumstances in which the VOC was formed, which made map-making critical to its commercial and exploratory activities in Asia in the seventeenth century. The centre of gravity in European cartography shifted from Antwerp to Amsterdam at the end of the sixteenth century. Following the Dutch revolt against Spanish Habsburg rule, which began in 1568, the southern Netherlands fell into protracted warfare, while the northern provinces joined the Union of Utrecht (founded in 1579), gradually gaining freedom from Spanish domination following the Act of Abdication (1581). When Felipe II of Spain became king of Portugal in 1580, following the disappearance of King Sebastião I without heir in the Battle of Alcácer Quibir (1578), the Dutch spice trade with Portugal was suspended.⁵⁶⁴ This incentivized the Dutch to expand their commercial activities in the East.

Trade with Asia grew rapidly after the the Republic's government, the States General, forced six trading entities in Amsterdam, Zeeland, Delft, Rotterdam, Hoorn, and Enkhuizen to unite as one company in 1602.⁵⁶⁵ The VOC was granted a trading monopoly (*octrooigebied*) from the Cape of Good Hope to Japan, and established a network of forts and factories, many gained through brutal conquest. The VOC's first

⁵⁶⁴ Andrew Sharp, *The Discovery of Australia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), *The Discovery of Australia*, p. 16.

⁵⁶⁵ Femme S. Gaastra, 'The Dutch East India Company: A Reluctant Discoverer', *The Great Circle*, 19.2 (1997), 109–23 (p. 110).

Asian base was established at Bantam in 1603. In 1619, the governor general in Asia, Jan Pieterszoon Coen, besieged and destroyed the city of Jayakarta in Java. A fort was built on its ruins using slave labour, and it became the VOC's headquarters thereafter. It was named Batavia after the *Batavi*, the Roman name for the people of the lower Rhine from whom the Dutch Republic claimed descent.⁵⁶⁶

The VOC's profitability and power owed a great deal to its rigorous control of the collection, recording, and dissemination of geographical information. At first, its navigation in Asia was based on the acquisition of maps and geographical knowledge from external suppliers, including Portuguese sources. As voyages to Asia increased, the VOC took greater control of producing geographical knowledge. It established a rigorous system for collecting, charting, copying, and disseminating hydrographic and geographic information from pilots' charts and logs that entailed a remarkable organization of literate technologies and responsible personnel across half the world.

Jan Pieterszoon Coen and Hendrick Brouwer organized the collection of pilots' charts and log books for copying and map making under an internal VOC hydrographic office in the second decade of the VOC's existence. Their aim was to ensure that accurate records were kept, and that the VOC controlled the information gathered and constructed. The first commercial mapmaker to head this operation was Hessel Gerritszoon, who was appointed in 1617.⁵⁶⁷ Gerritszoon played a critical role in establishing practices for the translation of pilots' charts of East Asia and the Pacific into manuscript maps suitable for navigation, and for printing. His 1622 manuscript charts of the Pacific and Indian Oceans are the oldest extant maps to show parts of

566 The idea that Dutch republicanism and liberty had an ancient lineage that could be traced to the *Batavi* proved useful propaganda in the war with Spain. Hugo Grotius developed the idea in *De antiquitate reipublicae Batavicae* (Leiden, 1610). See Martin van Gelderen, 'From Domingo de Soto to Hugo Grotius: Theories of Monarchy and Civil Power in Spanish and Dutch Political Thought 1555–1609', in *The Origins and Development of the Dutch Revolt*, ed. by Graham Darby (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 151–170 (p. 157).

567 Kees Zandvliet, *Mapping for Money: Maps, Plans and Topographic Paintings and Their Role in Dutch Overseas Expansion during the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Amsterdam: Batavian Lion International, 1998), pp. 86–89.

Bandaiyan charted by VOC pilots. Gerritszoon inscribed two place names on these charts, *Duijfienslandt* ('Little Dove's land') and *tlandt van d Eendracht* ('the land of the Concord'), which inaugurated the practice of naming interior spaces of the continent after the ships whose pilots charted the coastline (the *Duyfken* of Willem Janszoon's 1606 voyage and the *Eendracht* of Dirck Hartog's 1616 voyage).⁵⁶⁸

The role of chief map-maker to the VOC was taken over by Willem Blaeu in 1633 following Gerritszoon's death. On Willem's death in 1638, his son Joan Blaeu (1598–1673) was appointed to the role.⁵⁶⁹ Joan was ambitious and became one of the most renowned cartographic publishers in the seventeenth century. As VOC chief cartographer from 1638 to 1673, he earned enormous sums for supplying manuscript charts for VOC ships.⁵⁷⁰ This enabled him to embark on signature publishing projects such as his multivolume *Atlas Maior* and super-sized luxury atlases for princes. These required huge investments of money, labour, paper, and ink.

Blaeu's achievements owed much to his position at the centre of a complex worldwide network of people involved in geographical knowledge construction. His role as chief cartographer to the VOC required a careful balance between commercial and company demands. He swore an oath of secrecy and loyalty to the VOC, but he was not prevented from turning new hydrographic knowledge into commercial publications.⁵⁷¹ The location of his publishing house in Damrak, close to the Amsterdam Town Hall and en route between the port and the VOC's headquarters in Kloveniersburgwal, put Blaeu in a central position to acquire and use new cartographic knowledge gained from

568 Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*, pp. 300–3 (maps 29 and 30). The first name did not last.

569 Zandvliet, pp. 118–120.

570 For a review of Joan Blaeu's career and contribution to cartography, see chapter 7 of Zandvliet, pp. 118–30.

571 On the question of the effectiveness of the VOC's demand for information secrecy, see Zandvliet, pp. 128–30. See also Kees Zandvliet, 'Mapping the Dutch World Overseas in the Seventeenth Century', in *Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed. by David Woodward, *The History of Cartography*, 6 vols (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), III, 1433–1462.

the VOC's commercial and exploratory activities, and disseminate it to other publishers who also had their offices nearby.⁵⁷²

Blaeu's Model of *Hollandia Nova*

Blaeu was the main conduit for information that VOC pilots had collected along the coasts of Bandaiyan. In 1645 or 1646, he revised the copperplate of his father's world map, *Nova et Accurata Totius Terrarum Orbis Tabula* (New and Accurate Chart of All the Lands of the World), first printed in 1619. Joan beat out the long coastline that stretched across the southern part of the eastern and western hemispheres representing *Terra Australis Incognita* (Figure 4.04). He left on the copperplate two of the cartouches at the foot of the eastern and western hemispheres and the words 'AUSTRALIA INCOGNITA'. He removed 'TERRA' only, probably because with the coastline removed, this label now appeared to be located in open ocean.⁵⁷³ With this act, he left open the possibility of other lands closer to the south pole, but retired Mercator's conjectural *Terra Australis* as a designator of land. These changes in the southern hemisphere must have surprised readers used to seeing Mercator's *Terra Australis Incognita* prominently at the foot of world maps.

In the space where Mercator's north-projecting promontory of *Beach* had been, on the eastern hemisphere, Blaeu inscribed coastlines that had been charted by VOC pilots, including the northern, western, and southern coastlines of Bandaiyan. The continental space between them, with a large gap on the eastern side was labelled '*Hollandia Nova, detecta 1644*'. This is the first extant map to show the name *Hollandia Nova*.⁵⁷⁴ A

572 It is not always possible to know whether Blaeu shared manuscript charts with other publishers or they obtained information from other sources. Returning pilots sometimes ignored the VOC's rules and sold manuscript charts for personal gain.

573 Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*, pp. 364–7 (maps 61 and 62). See also Rodney Walter Shirley, *The Mapping of the World: Early Printed World Maps 1472-1700* (Riverside, CT: Early World Press, 2001), pp. 388-90 (plate 277). The map is preserved in a copy in the Maritime Museum, Rotterdam. Joan also removed the dedicatory cartouche, creating a new dedication at the top of the map. See Shirley, map 300, pp. 325–6 (plate 232) for Willem Blaeu's original 1619 map.

574 Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*, pp. 364–7 (maps 61 and 62) observes that 'New Holland' might have appeared earlier on a prototype of the Eugene map, which has been lost.

description of the southern coast of 'Anthoni van Diemens landt' (Lutruwita, now Tasmania) was also included. On the western hemisphere, Blaeu inscribed the outline of part of the western coast of Aotearoa, giving it the label *Zeelandia Nova*.⁵⁷⁵

The knowledge Blaeu used to describe the coastlines of these lands was based on the charts of François Jacobszoon Visscher, who was the senior pilot on Tasman's first voyage.⁵⁷⁶ Visscher used a Mercator projection which included the coastline sections previously mapped by VOC agents to which he added the charting made during Tasman's first voyage. A number of Visscher's smaller charts (of *Anthoni van Diemens Landt* and *Zeelandia Nova*) are extant, but the evidence for his general chart is the so-called 'Eugene' map, which shows the entire route of Tasman's 1642–43 voyage from Mauritius (*Figure 4.05*).⁵⁷⁷

Joan's first revision of his father's world map was probably not widely circulated, although one copy was gifted to the Prince of Macassar in 1648.⁵⁷⁸ Joan might have intended it to be a trial run for a new world map which he eventually published in 1648 from new copperplates. The detail of *Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis Tabula* (*Figure 4.06*) is not qualitatively different from the revised 1645–46 map, except that its

Reproductions of the 1645–46 map are generally poor, owing to the poor state of the extant copy. The best is in William Eisler, *The Furthest Shore: Images of Terra Australis from the Middle Ages to Captain Cook* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 94–95. See also Shirley, pp. 388–90 (plate 277).

575 Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*, pp. 368–9 (map 63). These were the most obvious changes made to Willem's map. Other changes to the geographical description included altering some islands of Japan and (incorrectly) transforming California from a peninsula into an island.

576 Visscher had been responsible for drawing up the plan for the first voyage. See Alfons van der Kraan, 'Anthony van Diemen: Patron of Discovery and Exploration, 1636–45 Part II', *The Great Circle*, 27.1 (2005), 3–33. A number of Visscher's charts survive, and there are copies of others made by Johannes Vingboons and the staff of the VOC hydrographic office in the 1660s; see Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*, pp. 348–57 (maps 52, 53, 55, 57).

577 *The Atlas Blaeu-van Der Hem of the Austrian National Library, Vol. V: Africa, Asia and America, Including the 'Secret' Atlas of the Dutch East India Company (VOC)*, ed. by Peter van der Krogt and Erlend de Groot (Houten: HES & De Graaf, 2005), pp. 410–12 (map 41.30). Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*, pp. 356–7 (map 57). The Eugene map includes the names *Hollandia Nova* and *Zeelandia Nova*, but it cannot be assumed that they necessarily appeared on Visscher's original as the extant map was copied c. 1670 by VOC hydrographer Vingboons or his staff.

578 Shirley, pp. 389–90 (map 366).

style has been brought up to date.⁵⁷⁹ Among the stylistic changes, the words 'AUSTRALIA INCOGNITA' were inscribed around the line of seventy degrees southern latitude, reinforcing the idea suggested on the 1645–46 revision that there might only be sea rather than more land further south.

The changes Blaeu made to the southern hemisphere must have surprised readers familiar with his father's map, and used to seeing Mercator's *Terra Australis Incognita* at the foot of world maps. Stallard summarizes the standard view of these changes:

[The] implications [of Blaeu's changes were] enormous. In one fell swoop any prospective promontory of Terra Australis south of Java and New Guinea was excised. ... Tasman's discoveries necessitated a comprehensive remodelling, as cartographers had little choice but to amputate the equivalent of at least ten million square kilometres from the archetypical Mercatorian continent.⁵⁸⁰

Although Blaeu's changes look significant in terms of difference between the old and revised hydrography, it is easy to exaggerate the importance of the changes on one map which fortunately survives to reveal what Joan did. The new shapes took time to be disseminated and accepted by other publishers, and not all maps of Willem's contemporaries showed *Terra Australis Incognita*. The record of extant seventeenth-century maps from outside Blaeu's publishing house urge caution before generalizing Joan's excision of *Terra Australis Incognita* from one map to the reception of this change in wider geographical discourse. Before considering 'post-Tasman' mapping, it is important to question whether the perceived significance of the 'Baeuvian' description of the southern hemisphere has been enhanced by Blaeu's commercial position and by later scholars.

579 Shirley, pp. 389–90 (map 366).

580 Avan Judd Stallard, *Antipodes: In Search of the Southern Continent* (Clayton, Vic: Monash University Publishing, 2016), p. 167.

Pre-Blaevian Remodelling of *Terra Australis*

Blaeu was not the first to remove Mercator's form of *Terra Australis Incognita* from the world map. Jodocus Hondius Junior (1594–1629) printed the earliest map with Mercator's *Terra Australis Incognita* entirely removed. Schilder dates his *Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis Geographica ac Hydrographica Tabula* to 1622–29 (Figure 4.07).⁵⁸¹ It includes a part of the west coast of Bandaiyan with five place names, including 'T Lant van Eendracht'. Jodocus derived this information from a 1622 manuscript map of the Indian Ocean by VOC hydrographer Hessel Gerritszoon.⁵⁸² In 1622, parts of western Cape York had also been charted, but these lay too far east to appear on Gerritszoon's Indian Ocean map, which might be why Jodocus omitted them. While the expanse of *Terra Australis Incognita* was a challenge to complete knowledge of the southern world, its replacement with a tiny disembodied strip of western coastline in a vast ocean was perhaps an equally eloquent signal.⁵⁸³

Practices of transferring such data to printed maps varied. Working in the same publishing house, Jodocus' brother Henricus Hondius adopted a more conservative approach for his world map, *Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis Geographica ac Hydrographica Tabula*, published in 1630 (Figure 4.08). Henricus showed much of Mercator's *Terra Australis Incognita* with a shadowy coastline truncated south of the *Carpentaria* coastline of Gerritszoon. Henricus preserved the shape and name of *Beach prov[incia]* in the space where his brother showed 'T Lant van Eendracht'.⁵⁸⁴ Jodocus obtained the 'missing' data later, updating a world map published in 1630 for the pocket edition of the Mercator atlas, the *Atlas Minor*. This map shows both 't Land van Eendracht and a short section of

581 Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*, pp. 306–7 (map 32). Schilder suggests a *terminus ante quem* of 1625, because of the omission of the charting of Carstenzoon, but that does not explain why the *Duijcken* charting that appears on Gerritszoon's Pacific Ocean map of 1622 does not appear, unless Hondius only had access to Gerritszoon's Indian Ocean chart and not his Pacific Ocean chart.

582 Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*, pp. 300–1 (map 29).

583 Jodocus' cartography made an impact. Petrus Montanus praised him as an outstanding *Wereltbeschrijver* ('world-describer') in the preface to the 1634 Mercator-Hondius Atlas; see Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), p. 256; n. 2.

584 Robert Clancy, *The Mapping of Terra Australis* (Macquarie Park, NSW: Universal Press Pty Ltd, 1995), p. 74. See also Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*, pp. 320–1 (map 39).

the west coast of Cape York. Like his 1622–29 map, it has no trace of *Terra Australis Incognita* (Figure 4.09).⁵⁸⁵

Such inconsistencies in the selection and translation of geographical data to printed maps within a short period and within the same publishing house are not easy to explain, and narratives focused on progressive knowledge development pay little attention to them. ‘Authoritative’ VOC manuscript charts by Gerritszoon were updated over time as new information became available.⁵⁸⁶ Copyists might have had access to either Gerritszoon’s Indian Ocean map (showing *tlandt van d Eendracht*) or his Pacific Ocean map (showing *Carpentaria*), but not both at the same time.⁵⁸⁷ Circulating copies could therefore quickly acquire differences. The copies that ‘leaked’ to publishers probably also came from different hands adopting different standards of attention, or possibly even choosing to ignore some elements to satisfy the VOC’s desire to protect its knowledge. That would have left mapmakers having to make judgements about which version was more likely to be more up to date. Perhaps the Hondius brothers took a decision to cover all possibilities. Readers’ expectations would also have been considered. Mercator’s *Terra Australis Incognita* had dominated map viewers’ notion of the southern hemisphere for two generations on Ortelius’ *Typus* and similar visualizations. Removing it, as Jodocus Junior did, was a radical act that would almost certainly have attracted complaint.

Jodocus died in 1629, and his brother’s more conservative geography was disseminated more widely in larger maps. Henricus’ 1630 world map was copied by several other Dutch map printers, including Cloppenburg (a different map of 1630), Boiseau (1636), Visscher (1638), Mercan (1641), and Cluver (1641).⁵⁸⁸ The portraits of Julius Caesar, Ptolemy, Mercator, and Jodocus Hondius in the four corners of this world map also made it a suitable statement to open editions of the *Mercator Atlas*, published by the

585 Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*, pp. 308–9 (map 33).

586 Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*, p. 304.

587 Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*, p. 300.

588 Clancy, p. 74 (map 6.2).

house of Hondius between 1633 and 1658. Henricus' map helped disseminate Mercator's *Terra Australis Incognita* well into the second half of the seventeenth century, long after the results of Tasman's charts were published. The *Mercator Atlas* used Henricus's world map unchanged until after 1658.

A globe by Arnold Florent van Langren published in 1625 has a remodelled *Terra Australis*, labelling a large illustrated area beneath New Guinea as *Terra Australis Incognita quae nonnullis Magellanica dicitur* (Figure 4.10).⁵⁸⁹ It is illustrated with trees, rocky coastlines, and wild animals. To the west, 't *Land van Eendracht* is shown with the caption:

The *Land van Eendracht*, that is, the District of Concord, so called by the Dutch who first discovered the same in the name of the order of the United Provinces of the Netherlands.⁵⁹⁰

Almost two decades before Tasman's expedition, VOC pilots' charts of Bandaiyan's coast were entering the public realm following translation in the hydrographic offices of Batavia and Amsterdam. Commercial geographers were already using those data to remodel their mapping of the spaces south of Java. Jodocus Hondius, whose company inherited Mercator's copperplates, anticipated Joan Blaeu's complete removal of Mercator's conjectural *Terra Australis Incognita* by two decades.

The maps created in other parts of Europe adopted other interpretations of the available geography. A Portuguese version of the lands to the south of Java published before Tasman's voyages remodelled the area based on a combination of conjectural and empirical information. The map of the Indian Ocean and East Asia in João

589 See a close-up image in Günter Schilder, 'New Holland: The Dutch Discoveries', in *Terra Australis to Australia*, ed. by Glyndwr Williams and Alan Frost (Melbourne: Oxford University Press in association with Australian Academy of the Humanities, 1988), pp. 83–115. Note that the figure is 3.5, but the caption is incorrect, having been switched with Figure 3.4. The globe is in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, which dates it 1630.

590 Het Landt van Eendracht id est Concordiae Regio Sic dicta ab Hollandis qui eandem nomine Ordinum confoederatorum Inferioris Germanie primum detexerunt.

Teixeira's manuscript atlas, *Taboas Gerães de Toda a Navegação* (*General Tables of All Navigation*) (1630), shows the five toponyms also found on Jodocus Hondius Junior's and van Langren's cartography of the west coast of Bandaiyan, including the caption: 'Land discovered by the Dutch, which they called Eendracht, or Concordia'.⁵⁹¹ Schilder suggests that this is evidence that Teixeira had access to a poor copy of Gerritszoon's 1622 manuscript map of the Indian Ocean discussed above.⁵⁹² If so, Teixeira did not limit himself to copying Gerritszoon's geography, but combined it with theoretical geography of Lusophone origin. To the north, on a separate length of coastline south of Java is labelled *Nuca Antara*, a place name derived from the conjectural cartography of the Luso-Macassan, Manuel Godinho de Erédia. The caption notes that it was 'descuberta por Monoel Godinho de Eredia Ano. 1601' ('discovered by Manuel Godinho de Erédia in the year 1601'). There are no dates marking the Dutch 'discoveries' (all later than 1601). There are also illustrations of gentle hills dotted with trees within a new conjectural coastline that projects vastness. The whole space is given a large label, *Terra Incognita Austral* (Figure 4.11).⁵⁹³ This combination of Portuguese conjectural and Dutch empirical geography with illustration is also found on two versions of a terrestrial globe, both by Arnold Florent van Langren, made c. 1630.⁵⁹⁴

These works show how national sentiment as well as access to different networks of knowledge transmission in different parts of Europe could produce radically different representations of a landmass with a basis in empirical observation. Teixeira's geography describes the shape of an idea, the illustrations evoking a vast space of rolling hills reminiscent of Le Testu. Like Coronelli's asterisk of the antipodes of Venice, the insertion of Erédia's toponyms and 'discovery' challenge the Dutch claim to

591 'Terra descuberta pelos Holandezes. Aq. chamarão Eendracht, ou co[n]cordia'.

592 *Australia Unveiled*, p. 312. Schilder reproduces Hessel Gerritszoon's 1622 map of the Indian Ocean on pp. 300–301 (map 29).

593 Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*, pp. 312–13 (map 35).

594 The first is in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, which dates it to 1630, although Schilder dated it c. 1625 (*Australia Unveiled*, pp. 334–5; map 46). Schilder notes that the draftsman knew no Dutch and garbled the Dutch toponyms in a strange mixture of Dutch, Latin, and Portuguese. The other is in the Maritime Museum in Rotterdam, and is discussed by Schilder, 'New Holland: The Dutch Discoveries', p. 86.

the continent, declaring that the Portuguese arrived first. Teixeira might have used the Latin *Terra Australis* as a 'neutral' name for a continent which he imagined to be claimed by Portugal as well as the United Provinces. After Matthew Flinders used this political strategy in the nineteenth century, the continent's name became fixed as Australia. Teixeira's map shows that the data described by Dutch hydrographers spread early beyond the offices of the VOC, and was respected sufficiently to be copied or adapted, but geographers showed a continuing attachment to Mercator's *Terra Australis Incognita* as a means to attest national interests.

Mercator's *Terra Australis Incognita* did not disappear from all maps 'in one fell swoop' in 1645–46 with Blaeu's creation of *Hollandia Nova* and adjacent coastlines. Its Mercatorian shape was already breaking down and it was gaining new uses. It also survived in part or full long after Blaeu's changes. When Philipp Ekebrecht reprinted a striking world map with explicit claims to scientific novelty around 1658, he left Mercator's *Terra Australis Incognita* dominant in the central hemisphere (Figure 4.12).⁵⁹⁵ Others, including Blaeu, found uses for the retention of the name of *Terra Australis* where they removed its form. These differences reflected a combination of inconsistencies in the dissemination of new data, considerations about the impact of radical changes on readers, as well as national sentiment and the staking of national claims to Bandaiyan. Cost considerations were also involved. The 'remodelling' of the spaces south of Java varied from geographer to geographer, even within the same publishing house, and more recent versions continued in circulation beside more conservative ones for many decades. Variations in these effects show the important role of discourses 'outside' the map, its codes of extrasignification, in determining the selection and meaning of the signs presented on the map itself.

As chief cartographer to the VOC, Blaeu was the gatekeeper to the geographical data the company had gathered. Although it had reservations about releasing them,

595 Clancy, p. 76. Entitled *Noua Orbis Terrarum Delineatio Singulari Ratione Accommodat Meridiano Tabb. Rudolphi Astronomicarum* ('New Map of the World Adapted to the Unique Meridian Calculations of the Rudolphine Astronomical Tables'), it claims to be the first map to show longitude by differences in time.

publication was necessary to gain wider recognition of Dutch claims to the lands that their pilots had charted. *Hollandia Nova*, as the name declares without ambiguity, was claimed as Dutch space. The success of Blaeu's attempt to wrest the idea of a southern continent from its association with *Terra Australis* rested with others. The morphology of Blaeu's *Hollandia Nova* was gradually disseminated, but had to compete with the familiar shape of Mercator's *Terra Australis Incognita*, which had been in circulation for a century. The persistence of *Terra Australis Incognita* was also promoted by the concomitant that so little textual information about the recently mapped lands was available to support their cartographic description.

Blaeu's 1659 Archipelago Map as Encomium

Blaeu's *Hollandia Nova* formed the basis for many kinds of maps printed for sale for different audiences and use in a variety of contexts. Perhaps one of the most unique and underappreciated versions was his 1659 wall map, *Archiepelagus Orientalis sive Asiaticus*, which was first presented in the Introduction to this thesis beside Mowaljarlai's Bandaiyan (*Figure 4.13*). A further exploration of some of its political and cultural references can shed light on the poetic geography that the VOC pilots' hydrography of Bandaiyan gradually accrued during the seventeenth century. Blaeu took the marginal text in Latin, Dutch, and French from Jodocus Hondius Junior,⁵⁹⁶ adding his postscript to the Dutch and Latin versions, which is presented here in full:

Papas landt or Nova Guinea, Nova Hollandia [New Holland], discovered in the year 1644, Nova Zeelandia or New Zealand reached in 1642, Antoni van Diemens land found in the same year, Carpentaria, thus named after general Carpentier, and still other lands, partly discovered, are also shown on this map. But of all these and of the above-mentioned islands we cannot speak more fully because of the want of space; nor has there yet been published anything, or but little, concerning these last named; wherefor the reader and spectator must rest content with this map, until I. Blaeu shall publish concerning these and all the aforesaid a large book [the *Atlas Maior*], full of maps and descriptions, which is at present being prepared.⁵⁹⁷

596 Egon Klemp, *Kommentar zum Atlas des Großen Kurfürsten* (Berlin: Belser Verlag, 1971), pp. 53, 67.

597 Translation in Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*, p. 402. 'Papos lant oft Nova Guinea, Nova Hollandia oft Nieu Hollant in 't jaer 1644 ontdeckt Nova Zeelandia oft Nieu-Zeelant in 't jaer 1642 beseylt Antoni van Diemens lant in 't selve jaer 1642 gevonden Carpentaria na de

This text has received minimal attention from historical geographers.⁵⁹⁸ The reason for its writing remains unclear, although it suggests some intriguing possibilities. Blaeu's claim that 'but little' information had been published is somewhat disingenuous, however. As chief mapmaker to the VOC, he was also a gatekeeper to the publication of the VOC's geographical information. If anyone was privy to more information about VOC mariners' recorded observations, it was Blaeu. Most obviously, the postscript shows Blaeu's commercial priorities. He took the opportunity to advertise to readers with an interest in this part of the world his planned new volume of the *Atlas Maior*. It was never to be published, however, probably owing to a lack of funds and resistance from the VOC, which might have felt its claims to the vast territories were stronger the less information was published about them.

A lack of available information recorded about the peoples living in the lands south of Java was probably also a factor. Because metropolitan visitors to Bandaiyan and adjacent places were unable to communicate with the inhabitants, they gathered almost no knowledge about the culture, history, and politics of the inhabitants, which was necessary to construct the kind of text Blaeu needed for an additional volume of the *Atlas Maior*, based on the principles of the *ars apodemica*.⁵⁹⁹ As a result, Blaeu admits

Generael Carpentier du noemt en meer andere ten deel ontdeekt worden mede in dese Kaert verthoont. Maer van alle dese en de voorbeschreven Eylanden konnen wy om de kleynheyt deser plaetse niet breeder spreken; oock is van de laetstgenoemde noch niets oft seer weynigh in 't licht gekomen: dies gelieve sich den Leser en Aenschouwer hier mede te vernoen tot dat daer van en van allede voorseyde door I. Blaeu een groot boek vol Kaerten en Beschrijvingen 't welck onderhanden is sal uytgegeven worden.' The Dutch text is reproduced by Klemp, p. 201.

598 Schilder (*Australia Unveiled*, p. 402) observes that the map had received little attention in 1976. The discovery of a 1663 state in a warehouse of the Swedish antiquarian bookseller, Thulins Antikvariat in 2010 threw a spotlight on the map. This copy was purchased by the National Library of Australia and, following conservation works at the University of Melbourne, it was exhibited to the public in 2013. See Martin Woods, 'A Birth Certificate of Australia', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 November 2013 <<https://www.smh.com.au/entertainment/art-and-design/a-birth-certificate-of-australia-20131114-2xjnp.html>> [accessed 1 March 2018]. However, no further scholarship has been undertaken on it to my knowledge.

599 On the history of the *ars apodemica* in the context of the formalization of methods of travel, see Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel, 1550–1800* (London: Routledge,

that these lands are little more than *terrae incognitae*. In this vacuum of knowledge, contemporary geographers resorted to poetry to amplify the significance of the hydrography to their compatriots.

The framing of Southeast Asian geography on the 1659 map is new and unique. Perhaps making a new map was another way to cover up for a lack of knowledge. Schilder describes it as ‘possibly the best general map of Dutch sea power in South-East Asia executed in the seventeenth century’.⁶⁰⁰ Compared with the standard presentation of Southeast Asia on Willem Blaeu’s 1635 map (*Figure 4.14*), northern Asia has been cropped above the Philippines and south of Surat, with the frame expanded southeast to include all of the coastlines south of Java charted by the VOC between 1606 and 1644 in their Asian context.⁶⁰¹ Other publishers presented new arrangements of some but not all of Tasman’s hydrography in the early 1660s, but only Blaeu’s shows all of them in the context of Southeast Asia.⁶⁰² Blaeu probably intended this map to open his never-to-be-published volume of the *Atlas Maior*. In the meantime, he also included it in three superatlases published for princes.⁶⁰³

1995). Albrecht Meyer’s *Certaine Briefe, and Speciall Instructions for Gentlemen, Merchants, Students, Souldiers, Marriners, &c. Employed in Seruices Abrode, or Anie Way Occasioned to Conuerse in the Kingdomes, and Gouvernementes of Forren Princes*, trans. by Philip Jones (London, 1589) lists the topics necessary to the kind of description Blaeu would need to produce: cosmography, astronomy, geography, chorography, topography, husbandry, navigation, the political, the ecclesiastical, literature, histories, chronicles; see David McInnis, *Mind-Travelling and Voyage Drama in Early Modern England* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 20–3.

600 Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*, pp. 402–3 (map 80).

601 It is therefore not a map of the VOC’s charter area, the *octrooigebied*, which would include northern Asia too, as on Isaak de Graaf’s manuscript chart from the early eighteenth century; see *Atlas Isaak de Graaf = Atlas Amsterdam*, ed. by Günter Schilder and others, *Grote Atlas van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie = Comprehensive Atlas of the Dutch United East India Company*, 7 vols (Voorburg: Atlas Maior, in collaboration with Koninklijk Nederlands Aardrijkskundig Genootschap, Nationaal Archief, Explokart, Fac. Geowetenschappen, Utrecht University, 2006), I, p. 41.

602 Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*, pp. 200–3. Schilder notes the first sea atlases published at this time, and the lost 1659 edition of Hendrick Doncker’s *De Zee-Atlas Ofte Water-Wareld*. This raises the question whether Blaeu might have intended his map with its large Pacific coverage for inclusion in these atlases.

603 Until recently, the only extant copies of the 1659 appeared in these luxury atlases. The first was the so-called *Klencke Atlas*, presented to Charles II by a group of merchants led by Johannes Klencke as part of the ‘Dutch Gift’, in a ceremony at the Banqueting House,

The 1659 map was published at a time of heightened interest in Bandaiyan. Just three years earlier, the *Vergulde Draeck* had been wrecked off the western coast, leaving sixty-eight people marooned on the shore and spurring rescue missions by seven ships over the following two years. These all failed to find survivors and led to additional maroonings and deaths.⁶⁰⁴ These events gained wide notoriety. The wreck was ‘well known in and outside’ the VOC,⁶⁰⁵ and as the VOC’s chief mapmaker, Blaeu must have had some knowledge of the pilots’ logs of their experiences on the rescue missions and the charts they produced. The 1659 map might even have arisen from new efforts to supply the rescue ships with manuscript charts.⁶⁰⁶ Alternatively, Blaeu might have anticipated a demand for an updated hydrography of this part of the coast from the charts made by the rescue ships’ pilots, but it is unknown why he decided not to

Whitehall, in November 1660, to mark the Restoration (and solicit trading privileges). Charles kept it in his cabinet of curiosity, and it is now in the British Library. It also appeared in the *Atlas des großen Kurfürsten* (Atlas of the Great Elector), a gift of Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen to Friedrich Wilhelm, Elector of Brandenburg (now in the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin); and in the Rostock Atlas presented to Duke Christian I of Mecklenburg (in the Universitätsbibliothek Rostock). The *Klencke Atlas* was the largest atlas ever published until Millennium House Australia printed the slightly larger *Earth: Platinum* in 2012. Blaeu also included Allard’s illustrated c. 1652 map in all three atlases. For a discussion of all three superatlases and the relationships between them, see Klemp, *Kommentar zum Atlas des Großen Kurfürsten*. Two standalone copies of the map have been identified this century: the 1663 state now in the National Library of Australia; and another copy, assumed to be printed in 1659, found in Italy, and sold to a private collector by Sotheby’s in 2017; see <<http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2017/travel-atlases-maps-natural-history-117401/lot.93.html>> [accessed 20 July 2020]

604 The *Goede Hoep* and *Witte Valck* were sent from Batavia in 1656. The *Vincq* was diverted from the Cape of Good Hope in 1657. The *Elburg* visited in 1658, followed by the *Waeckende Boey* and the *Emeloort* the same year. A seventh ship, the *Immenhorn* also visited in 1659. For an accessible account of these events based on detailed research, see James A. Henderson, *Marooned: The Wreck of the Vergulde Draeck and the Abandonment and Escape from the Southland of Abraham Leeman in 1658* (Perth, WA: St. George Books, 1982). See also my discussion in Chapter 3.

605 Lous Zuiderbaan, ‘Part One: The Historical Background, in The Loss of the Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie Jacht Vergulde Draeck, Western Australia 1656: An Historical Background and Excavation Report with an Appendix on Similar Loss of the Fluit Lastdrager, by Jeremy N. Green with Contributions from Lous Zuiderbaan, Robert Sténuit, S. J. Wilson, Mike Owens’, *British Archaeological Reports, Supplementary Series*, 36(i) (1977), 1–60 (p. 51).

606 Henderson (*Marooned*, p. 56) notes that a change of VOC policy in 1655 required all ships to the East Indies to carry both a large-scale and small-scale map.

include on his new printed map the latest hydrographical evidence; it simply reproduces the geography first published in 1645–46 (*Figure 4.13a*). The VOC might have asked him not to release new information to the public, concerned that others might search for the missing passengers or cargo of the *Vergulde Draeck*.⁶⁰⁷ Or Blaeu might have decided that the pilots' multiple charts of the coast were too difficult to reconcile.

The reproduction within a new frame of the existing geography suggests that the 1659 map was created for 'self-fashioning' or promotional, rather than epistemological, reasons. A clue to the motivation might lie in the postscript. Blaeu mentions a number of place names, but explains the origin of only one: that *Carpentaria* was named after 'general Carpentier'. No one seems to have asked why Blaeu singled out Pieter de Carpentier for mention in a such a brief text in which he was short of space. On a map that maintains its focus on Tasman's hydrography, it would be more appropriate to mention Antoni van Diemen beside the place named after him. Both men had been VOC governors-general, but it was van Diemen who was responsible for Tasman's expedition. Aside from Blaeu himself, Carpentier is the only person named in the postscript. After Carpentier's stint as governor-general in Batavia from 1623 to 1627, he returned to Amsterdam for the rest of his life, serving as a VOC administrator until his death on 5th September 1659. Carpentier was held in such high regard that his praises were still being sung three generations later. François Valentyn described him in poetry as the 'pilot' of the Indies:

The princely coach of the East India Company,
The golden bridle of that fearsome wagon,
Partly made by him, who was worthy to drive
That name; and also was Carpentier commended as
Pilot of the horses in the Bay of Ley of the Indies.
He made, and signified them, and embraced the Poles.⁶⁰⁸

⁶⁰⁷ It has been suggested that the VOC might have deliberately published the wrong location of the wreck; see David Fausett, *Writing the New World: Imaginary Voyages and Utopias of the Great Southern Land* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1993), p. 98.

Valentyn's encomium recognizes Carpentier as one of the founders of the VOC's Eastern empire, someone whose power was so vast that he 'embraced the Poles' ('meide bei de Polen'). Perhaps Blaeu's map was made to meet VOC requests for a map that would serve as a fitting valedictory to Carpentier. Possibly the commemoration of Carpentier was an opportunity to distract public attention from the recent *Vergulde Draeck* disaster. Another clue in Blaeu's framing of the geography also alludes to the VOC's power base in Asia. Although the map might appear to place *Hollandia Nova* at its centre, Batavia, the base from which Carpentier and other VOC governors-general exercised their 'fearsome' rule, is located at the map's top left power point, according to the rule of thirds. Blaeu might have thought it a fitting tribute to Carpentier, who not only had an interest in maps, but discussed the exploration of *Terra Australis* earlier in the century with Brouwer.⁶⁰⁹

The prominence of *Hollandia Nova* on the map might in itself, through its reference to Holland, have been a sign of imperial Dutch pride and a reason for the map's making. The imperial pride and ambition that the Dutch mercantile elite probably gained from Blaeu's suggestive image of a vast continental *Hollandia Nova* was perhaps nowhere so boldly proclaimed as in the new Amsterdam Town Hall, designed by Jacob van Campen. The project began after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 and the building was opened on 29th July 1655. On the building's east and west façades, Peace and Atlas stand above the Maid of Amsterdam receiving the riches of the sea and the four continents, while Trade rests on Atlas's globe. Together they proclaim Amsterdam as the centre of a global empire based on peace and trade.⁶¹⁰ In Joost van den Vondel's

608 My translation. Quoted in 'Carpentier (Pieter de) de Jonge', in *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden*, ed. by A.J. van der Aa, K.J.R. van Harderwijk, and G.D.J. Schotel, 20 vols (Haarlem: J. J. van Brederode, 1868), III, 200–2: 'De vorstelijke koets der Ooster-Maatschappy, | De gulde toom van die bekommerlyke wagen, | Ten deel door hem gemaakt, die waardig was te dragen | Die naam, en ook 't bestier de rossen in de Ley | Van Indiën, wierd aan de Carpentier bevolen. | Hij maakte, en mende die, en meide bei de Polen' (my translation). The text is from Volume IV of Valentyn's *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indiën (The Old and New East Indies) (Beschryving van Groot Djava...)* (Amsterdam, 1726), p. 277.

609 Zandvliet, p. 119.

610 Arthur Weststeijn, 'Imperial Republics: Roman Imagery in Italian and Dutch Town Halls, c. 1300-1700', in *Renovatio, Inventio, Absentia Imperii. From the Roman Empire to Contemporary Imperialism*, ed. by Wouter Bracke, Jan de Maeyer, and Jan Nelis (Leuven: Brepols, 2018), pp.

panegyric composed to mark the building's inauguration, Amsterdam is 'Empress of the World'.⁶¹¹

The exterior iconography was recapitulated inside, in the 'Citizens' Hall' (*Burgerzaal*). The decorative scheme was intended to give the visitor the feeling of being at the fulcrum of the world, to project the Citizens' Hall as more than the centre of administrative power in Amsterdam, as a microcosm of Dutch power over the whole universe. The visitor standing in the centre of the hall would have the northern stars beneath their feet, the southern sky in the ceiling above, and the western and eastern hemispheres of the earth, inlaid in marble, coloured stones, copper, and brass on either side of the northern skies. However, van Campen's original design was never completed.⁶¹² The southern skies now appear in the globe held by Atlas on the western wall. Only a drawing by Jacob Vennekool survives of the original map,⁶¹³ which was reported in the mid-eighteenth century to have been badly worn from the tread of feet.⁶¹⁴ It probably followed the design of Blaeu's 1648 world map, which superseded

93–116 (p. 109). See also Renske Cohen Tervaert and others, *Hidden Stories: Wise Lessons in the Decorations of Amsterdam's Former Town Hall* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam Royal Palace Foundation, 2015), p. 13.

611 'Keizerin der weereit' ('Empress of the World') is at line 903, Joost van den Vondel, 'Inwydinge van 't stadthuis t' Amsterdam' ('Inauguration of the Amsterdam Town Hall'). The panegyric has almost fourteen hundred lines. See the discussion by Eddy Grootes, 'Vondel and Amsterdam', in *Joost van den Vondel: Dutch Playwright in the Golden Age*, ed. by Jan Bloemendal and Frans-Willem Korsten, *Drama and Theatre in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 101–114 (pp. 110–11).

612 Jasper Hillegers, 'Hidden Stories Revealed', in *Hidden Stories: Wise Lessons in the Decorations of Amsterdam's Former Town Hall*, ed. by Renske Cohen Tervaert and others (Amsterdam: Amsterdam Royal Palace Foundation, 2015), pp. 29–89 (p. 32).

613 Jacob Vennekool, *Afbeelding van 't Stadt huys van Amsterdam: in dartigh coopere plaaten, geodineert door Jacob van Campen en geteekent door Iacob Vennekool* (Amsterdam: 1661). The map in the floor of the Citizens' Hall in what is now the Royal Palace has been replaced by one based on the mid-eighteenth century French speculative shape of the Bandaiyan, seen on the map by Robert de Vaugondy, 'Carte Réduite de l'Australasie, pour servir à la lecture de l'Histoire des Terres Australes' (Paris: Chez Durand, 1756), British Library. By uniting the disappointing 'New Holland' with Queirós's *Australia del Espiritu Santo*, this map maintains an imperial hope to find the paradisaal *Terra Australis Incognita*; see Eisler, *The Furthest Shore*, p. 143–4.

614 Jan Wagenaar's description of the damage to the floor when he saw it before or in the year 1765 is translated into English by Abel Jansz. *Tasman's Journal of His Discovery of Van Diemen's Land & New Zealand in 1642, with Documents Relating to His Exploration of Australia in 1644*, ed. by J. E. Heeres and C. E. Coote, Project Gutenberg Australia eBook by Colin Choat and

the corrected map of 1645–46.⁶¹⁵ It is not possible to say how many toponyms were included. Vennekool's sketch suggests that at least two appeared: *Hollandia Nova* and *Anthoni van Diemens Land*.⁶¹⁶

The Citizens' Hall was memorialized in poetry by Constantijn Huygens:

Whosoever marks this floor and these gorgeous vaultings must think within himself:
Verily, this corporation is in all its branches made up of exceedingly ingenious
persons; they teach us in reason to trample upon the world, and to look up aloft.⁶¹⁷

Perhaps the merchants of Amsterdam took such delight in trampling on the world they imagined to possess that the map soon wore out and had to be replaced. Huygens' verses highlight the richness of poetic meaning inherent in seventeenth-century 'empirical' geographies. Although, this has often been recognized by historians of art and architecture, representations of the geography of *Hollandia Nova* are rarely examined for their poetics. Instead, they are typically set beside Renaissance elaborations of *Terra Australis Incognita* and admired for their 'scientific' or 'empirical' contribution to extending geographical knowledge for its own sake. The works of van Campen, Huygens, Vondel, and other compatriots of Blaeu's indicate that contemporaries interpreted a rich discourse of poetic imagery of Dutch imperium in the uncluttered 'empirical' lines and place names of geographies of *Hollandia Nova*.

Maps such as Blaeu's are often praised for their contribution to geographical knowledge, but Blaeu could have filled the frame of his 1659 map with a more up-to-date description of the western coastline of Bandaiyan than he did. What is often missed is the importance that Blaeu and his readers placed on a more poetic geography, invested in mythologizing the commercial activities of the United Provinces and the VOC in Asia, and the leading individuals in that imperial enterprise.

Bob Forsyth (Amsterdam: F. Muller & Co, 1898), p. 78.

⁶¹⁵ Zandvliet, p. 210.

⁶¹⁶ Vennekool's sketch is reproduced in Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*, pp. 374–5 (map 66).

⁶¹⁷ Translation from Heeres and Coote, p. 78 n. 4.

Toponymy: Naming and Claiming

One of the most critical strategies in geography's rhetorical armoury is the toponym. Toponyms are poetic texts that can be subjected to discursive analysis. For Denis Wood, texts on maps have an 'iconic license, generating a field of linguistic signs best likened to concrete poetry'.⁶¹⁸ Jacob observed that where toponyms are marked on the map, discourse begins and the mimetic aspect of cartography ends.⁶¹⁹ Although the visual and geometrical dominates a modern viewer's perception of a map, it is through text that Euclidean geography specifies location, possession, and belonging; unlike Aboriginal icon-maps, which rely for interpretation on the knowledge that viewers hold in their minds and its shared performance.

Paul Carter explores the spatial history of the colonial naming of Australia in *The Road to Botany Bay*. For Carter, spatial history begins not with a time or in a place but with an act of naming. It is with this act, he argues, that space is transformed into a place with a history, and the namer inscribes their place in that history.⁶²⁰ According to Casey's place-first paradigm adopted in this thesis, the transformation of space into place should be considered an imperial conceit—but Carter is interested in names created by the 'oriented and limited' gaze of the imperial traveller whose focus is the 'road and the horizon'. They preconceive the continent as a *terra nullius*, a 'map-made emptiness', so that it can be 'written over' with their names.⁶²¹ Carter's analysis highlights why

618 Denis Wood, *Rethinking the Power of Maps*; with John Fels and John Krygier (New York: Guilford Press, 2010), p. 91.

619 Jacob, p. 206: 'The mimetic process stops where writing begins, and toponymy is only one step in the direction of other forms of commentary and of discursive intrusions'. I have used the term 'discourse' in this thesis more broadly to refer to the construction of geographical meaning through an intercourse between text, cartography, and illustration produced in the signs of the map and outside it in its reception, as well as in geographical descriptions in other kinds of texts and illustrations, which I argue also produce 'maps' or ideas of spaces or places in the reader's or viewer's mind. Jacob's point is important because it highlights what is essential to each form: the mimetic functions of image and cartography (which is also geometrical), and the textually discursive form of text.

620 Paul Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay: An Exploration of Landscape and History* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), p. xxiv.

621 Carter, p. xx.

even geomorphological entities such as bays, capes, rivers, and continents are abstractions of an imperial geographical discourse, and subject to change over time. What the modern Australian sees standing on the shore of 'Botany Bay' is a particular (colonial) geographical and historical imaginary.⁶²² The Gweagal people who lived near its shores at the time of the Invasions understood the places they inhabited in the vicinity differently. They might not have seen a singular, map-like conception of the bay.

The Dutch toponyms of *Hollandia Nova* can also be read as imperial conceits of historical beginnings. Unlike the more 'fanciful' names of Cook discussed by Carter, such as 'Repulse Bay' and 'Cape Flattery' most of the Dutch names are more abstract. They also refer to events associated with the act of naming but usually with the 'plain style' of the log rather than with Cook's hint of a narrative.

Some of the VOC's toponyms were created without a foot being placed in the places they purported to name. The interior of 1,482 km of coastline belonging to the Bibbulman, Minang, Goreng, Wudjari, Ngatjumay, Mirning, and Wirangu peoples⁶²³ appears on Blaeuvian maps as '*t Landt van Pieter Nuyts* ('the land of Pieter Nuyts'). It was named in honour of the most senior VOC official on board '*t Gulden Zeepaert*, whose pilots charted it by sailing adjacent to the shore. The territorial extent of the 'land' is defined vaguely by the position of the toponymic inscription inland of the coastline. Can such toponyms be considered *place* names at all, according to Casey's definition of place as 'an already plenary presence permeated with culturally constituted institutions and practices'?⁶²⁴ Such names rather mark the beginning of an effort to define space; they reach forward to a desired place in the future, when 'the

622 Carter, p. xiv.

623 David R. Horton, 'The AIATSIS Map of Indigenous Australia' (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press and AIATSIS, 1996) <<https://aiatsis.gov.au/explore/articles/aiatsis-map-indigenous-australia>> [accessed 21 March 2019].

624 Edward S. Casey, 'How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time: Phenomenological Prolegomena', in *Senses of Place*, ed. by Steven Feld and Keith H. Basso (Santa Fe: School of American Research, 1996), pp. 13–52 (p. 46).

land of Pieter Nuyts' will become a 'flourishing kingdom', in Burton's words, inhabited by Dutch merchants.

Bronwen Douglas has identified four main toponymic practices of European explorers in Southeast Asia and the Pacific: names derived from 'qualities of place, indigenous demeanour, vernacular terminology, [and] eponymy'.⁶²⁵ Among the fifty-three toponyms of *Hollandia Nova* on Blaeu's 1659 Asian archipelago map, thirty-two (60%) are eponymous, named in honour of individuals. These include *Schouten Ey[land]t*, *Tasmans Eylandt*, and *Fredrick Hendricks bay* in *Anthoni van Diemen's Land*, *C[ape] Maria* in *Arnhem Land*, and *Rivier Coen* in *Carpentaria*. Another eleven (21%) are named either after ships (six) or places elsewhere (five). Of the nine 'regions' given names, six are eponymous: *G. F. de Wits Landt*, *I. de Edols Landt*, *'t Landt van P. Nuyts*, *Anthoni van Diemens Landt*, *Carpentaria*, and *Van Diemens Landt*. Three are named after VOC ships (*'t Landt d'Eendragt*, *'t Landt van de Leeuwin*, and *Arnhems Landt*). Tasman was so keen to pay respect to Anthoni van Diemen, who as the VOC's Governor General in Batavia from 1635 to 1645 was instrumental in planning the voyages, that he named two regions after him.⁶²⁶ The reliance on eponyms created much repetition. In addition to van Diemen's two 'lands', he had a river and a cape named after him. Tasman named an island and a river after himself. Joan Maetsuyker, who became governor of Ceylon in 1646, had his name appended to a group of islands and a river;⁶²⁷ Nuyts' to an island as well a land.⁶²⁸

625 Bronwen Douglas, 'Naming Places: Voyagers, Toponyms, and Local Presence in the Fifth Part of the World, 1500-1700', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 45 (2014), 12-24.

626 *Van Diemens Landt*, created on the second voyage of 1644, names a peninsula on the north coast opposite Timor, which Tasman did not recognize as the Tiwi Islands (near present-day Darwin). Since van Diemen's ambition for the voyage was the finding of Torres Strait and charting of the east coast of Bandaiyan as far as the first (*Anthoni*) *Van Diemens Landt*, a task Tasman failed to achieve, it might be speculated that Tasman named the second land as a consolation or apology.

627 The *Maetsuykers Eylanden* off *Anthoni van Diemens Landt* appears on the chart made by Isaac Gilsemans on board Tasman's ship in 1642 (see Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*, p. 336), indicating Maetsuyker's status within the VOC before he became governor of Ceylon in 1646. He was later governor general of the Dutch East Indies from 1653 to 1678.

628 Curiously, the name of the island is technically named after Saint Peter. The neighbouring island *I. S. François* was also named 'St Francis' after François Thijssen, the captain of the *Gulden Zeepaard*, the ship of which Nuyts was the commander. Both names survive in

Tent and Slatyer explain the practice of honouring influential people in this way as ‘a very convenient way of establishing a national identity in a far-flung land, and gaining favour with influential people back home’.⁶²⁹ Since the namers would have had little illusion that their names would have any impact on the inhabitants of the lands they were discursively colonizing, the effort would have been mainly directed to career prospects within the VOC. The names of de Carpentier, van Diemen, and Maetsuyker would also have been known to European rivals of the VOC, and so their presence on maps was another signal of a Dutch claim to these spaces. Repetition might then have had an advantage. The reliance on eponymy also suggests that the namers also regarded the toponyms as claims, like the inscribed pewter plate or the description of planting the Prince-Flag by Tasman’s carpenter, rather than as places per se.

A lack of interest in the qualities of place in Dutch toponymy is shown by the mere six toponyms (11%) that describe a physical characteristic of a site. Three of them are *water plaets* (‘water place’), testifying to sailors’ dire need to identify sources of fresh water, although it might be questioned how likely it was that such a site could be located from Blaeu’s map by later sailors. *Pedra Branca* (‘white rock’) and *’t Hoge Landt* (‘the high land’) are exceptional. The most inventive name is *Stompe Toorn* (‘stumpy tower’), a stack today called Eddystone Rock.⁶³⁰ There was also a *Crocodils Eyland*, a *Storm Bay*, a *Zuyd Caep* (‘south cape’), and a description rather than a name, *’t Landt by de Zeehaen eerst gesien* (‘the land first seen by the Zeehaen’).

There are no names recording indigenous demeanour, as a result of the limited interaction between the Dutch and Aboriginal people, unlike *Moordenaers Baij* (Golden Bay) in Aotearoa, although Tasman adopted indigenous names along the northern

islands of the Nuyts archipelago off the coast of Ceduna, South Australia.

629 Jan Tent and Helen Slatyer, ‘Naming Places on the “Southland”: European Place-Naming Practices from 1606 to 1803’, *Australian Historical Studies*, 40.1 (2009), 5–31 (p. 26).

630 Its presence on the map was apparently so incongruous that it found its way into fiction, as we shall see in the next chapter.

coast of New Guinea.⁶³¹ Douglas argues that the vernacular names were intentionally shared with Tasman's party by the peoples of New Guinea, but the Palawa peoples of Lutruwita refrained from contact with Tasman's landing parties and Tasman likewise was too cautious to attempt any engagement with them. Hence, the Dutch toponymic description of *Anthoni van Diemens Land* has no trace of Indigenous presence.

Spanish place naming practices followed a Roman Catholic hierarchy of naming places after God, the Virgin Mary, the King, the Queen, and the Prince.⁶³² Dutch place naming practice was hierarchical according to a different scheme. Dutch provinces were at the top of the Dutch naming hierarchy. Since Holland was the largest province, its name was applied to what appeared to be the largest extent of land in the region. After provinces came VOC governors general—Coen and van Diemen had several features named after them—and then ships and captains. A distinction of language was also observed. Large islands or continents received a Latin name, while the vernacular was used for more limited spaces, or sites within the larger areas. Hence, *Hollandia Nova* is intended as a collective toponym for all the part spaces, or 'lands', that had been named by pilots and sailors on previous navigations around parts of the coastline today recognized as Australia's.⁶³³ This suggests that Blaeu thought *Anthoni van Diemen's Landt* was part of continental *Hollandia Nova*, rather than an island. The use of *Zeelandia Nova* and *Nova Guinea* would seem to imply that those landmasses were considered separate entities from *Hollandia Nova*, although the separate status of *Hollandia Nova*, *Carpentaria*, and *Nova Guinea* was an unresolved question of Dutch geography in the seventeenth century. The dominance of eponymous names contributes to the invention of continental space as *tabula rasa*. This practice represents what Christian Jacob refers to as a 'rhetoric of toponymy, whose motivation is found in a relationship of resemblance, in a metonymical or metaphorical link to the place it

631 Douglas, 'Naming Places', p. 22. Some of these survived on maps for up to 300 years.

632 This observation is by Tzvetan Todorov, *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other* (1984, p. 27), cited by Jacob, p. 205.

633 Although *Hollandia Nova* appears regularly on printed maps, it was not always used in other texts or manuscript maps, where the vernacular *Zuydland* or 't land d'Eendracht (referring to the western coast) are more common.

denominates'.⁶³⁴ Names such as *Hollandia Nova* and *Tasmans Eylandt* have a relation to lived and experienced place; but the connection is not to the place they claim to describe but rather to another place, on the other side of the world, that their namers, and those honoured in the names call home. They are disembodied labels imposed on an abstract construction of space according to a colonial poetics, whereby the name—and by extension, the place—belongs to the foreign namer. Without an embodied presence, the toponyms of *Hollandia Nova* remain largely figures of geographical discourse, with little more relation to the place they claim to indicate than the antipodes or *Terra Australis*, or the satirical place names of Joseph Hall's *Mundus alter et idem*.

This poetic geographical toponymics of *Hollandia Nova* represents what Jacob calls an 'astonishing example' of the detachment of the original toponym from its place. It represents 'a symbolic taking possession ... before the actual event', both a nostalgia for the home country and a colonial projection.⁶³⁵ *Hollandia Nova* is distinct from the American examples mentioned by Jacob, such as New Spain, New England, New France, or the New Netherlands, however, because these places were all subjected to colonization, whereas the VOC did not colonize or establish factors in *Hollandia Nova*.

As Seed recognizes, Dutch maps had a critical role to play in the competition between European powers for possession of land across the world. Seed wrote that 'Dutch names on the landscape' as recorded on maps signified 'the growing transformation of far-flung reaches of the world into Dutch possessions by showing them bearing Dutch names'.⁶³⁶

Many of the names that appear on Blaeu's geography of *Hollandia Nova* do not stand alone but are appended with dates and other explanations. This is so even for the name

634 Jacob, p. 205.

635 Jacob, p. 205.

636 Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 165.

of the main landmass: 'HOLLANDIA NOVA; detecta 1644' (*Hollandia Nova*, discovered 1644'). The toponym's function reflects not only the geographer's, merchant's, or VOC director's claim to know and control space, but also the VOC accountant's desire to track when particular stretches of coastline were charted. The year 1644 refers not to the first landing on the continent—either 1606 or 1616, depending on whether *Carpentaria* were considered separate or a part of *Hollandia Nova*—but rather to Tasman's second voyage in which the north coast was recharted.

The inscription for the land named for Pieter Nuyts, discussed above, is even more precise about the date: 'the land of P[ieter] Nuyts, grasped by the *Golden Seahorse* of Middelburgh, 26th January 1627'.⁶³⁷ Aside from Tasman's charting, this is the longest stretch of coastline charted by one VOC ship. The length of the inscription probably also reflects the space available on the map. This inscription approaches narrative. The reader learns the name of the captain, the ship, and the ship's place of origin. Ironically, the 26th January has become infamous as marking the beginning of the British Invasions 161 years later. The date is less precise than it appears, however, as almost 1,500 km of coastline was not charted in one day. The inscription reduces an enterprise involving many people and a variety of activities over many days to a singular monumental event, recordable in written history.

Other similar inscriptions ring the coastline of *Hollandia Nova* and *Anthoni van Diemens Landt* with a series of 'discovery' events. Each name contains a lie, because it 'empties' the inhabited continent to create the *tabula rasa* on which to write the new names. The presence of the Indigenous inhabitants and the knowledge of their place names are

637 't Landt van P. Nuyts, opgedaen met het Gulden Zeepaerd van Middelburgh | 26. January An^o 1627'. The word *opgedaen* has a wide range of meanings, including 'gained', 'acquired' or 'annexed'. 'Grasped' combines the sense of gain knowledge of, perhaps at some distance, as well as a more acquisitive sense. See *Historische woordenboeken Nederlands en Fries*, q.v. *opdoen* (II, A, 2): 'De wijze waarop zich iets voordoet, het voorkomen, de uiterlijke gedaante van iets dat men uit de verte waarneemt. Inzonderheid van de kust, zooals zich die op zee vertoont' ('The way in which something occurs, the appearance, the external appearance of something that one perceives from afar. In particular, from the coast, as it manifests itself at sea').

denied by this imperial toponymy. As Arthur notes, the idea of 'naming' is itself a lie. In truth, these are acts of re-naming.⁶³⁸

Blaeuvisian toponymy appears to serve a quasi-legal purpose, although its power is largely rhetorical. The VOC would have recognized that to assert a claim to possession of land required the ongoing presence of its agents. Hugo Grotius stated that possession is gained by people's actions or real effect: 'right of property is acquired without visible signs'.⁶³⁹ To communicate that rhetorical claim, the spaces of land, so far as they can be determined to exist by metropolitans with limited knowledge of the space that is the subject of contestation, are described on the map with as many labels and associations to Dutch power as possible. Each name in fact, by appending the date of 'discovery' and the ship that conveyed the discoverers, reasserts the Dutch imperium, reinvokes the VOC's power to navigate previously unsailed stretches of the oceans. The chart also makes manifest Dutch expertise in geography, the technology for making the claim.

The VOC was unable or unwilling to mount an invasion or colonial mission, and the Dutch state did not assert its claim to the land in later centuries. As British mapping of the continent was pursued in the wake of the Invasions that began in 1788, a majority of the Dutch place names fell out of use. Tent and Slatyer estimated that of 153 toponyms created by the Dutch for locations on Bandaiyan, about eighty per cent disappeared, owing to 'uncertainty of location' or to being 'forgotten or supplanted'.⁶⁴⁰ A living place name, as opposed to a toponym on a map, must be used either by people living in the space so named or by a state with the power to assert its vision of space. That a few names have survived—for example, Cape Leeuwin, Dirk Hartog

638 J. M. Arthur, *The Default Country: A Lexical Cartography of Twentieth-Century Australia* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2003), p. 73.

639 Quoted in Seed, p. 166, n. 88. See also Christoph A. Stumpf, *The Grotian Theology of International Law: Hugo Grotius and the Moral Foundations of International Relations, Religion and Society*, v. 44 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2006), pp. 163–99.

640 Tent and Slatyer, p. 9.

Island, the Nuyts Archipelago, and Arnhem Land—is testament to the power of maps to enshrine toponyms as literary and discursive artefacts.

The name of *Hollandia Nova* and the appearance of other Dutch names that dotted the coastlines at the southeastern antipodes of Europe were intended to persuade viewers of the Blaeuvian map of Southeast Asia, as well as the merchant or citizen passing through Amsterdam's Town Hall, that the whole world was at Amsterdam's feet and had a Dutch future.⁶⁴¹ The significance of the name *Hollandia Nova* had little to do with the land or space it purported to name. The substantial extent of its continental space was like a giant billboard in the southeast of every world map proclaiming Dutch mercantile power. The influence and reputation of Dutch cartography in the seventeenth century was enough to proclaim Dutch imperium in Asia without the need for physical occupation of the lands which the geography purported to show.

Historical Authority in Naming: Coronelli's Globe Gores

Once invented, toponyms can have a remarkable resilience, even when, as in the case of *Terra Australis*, they are attached to no soil, or as in a few Blaeuvian toponyms applied to Bandaiyan, they have survived into the present day despite no Dutch occupation of the continent. Mercator's *Terra Australis Incognita* survived in seventeenth-century geography not only in the geographical imagination; geographers continued to reinvoke Mercator's geography of *Beach* and associate it explicitly with Blaeu's *Hollandia Nova*. Coronelli, for example, labelled *Hollandia Nova* on his globes not only with Blaeu's mid-century Dutch toponyms and their Italian translations, but also with toponyms Mercator derived from the Venetian traveller Marco Polo (1254–1324). In a legend above 'HET NIEW HOLLANDT | NUOVA HOLLANDA' is written (*Figure 4.15*):

Some believe the land of Locach was discovered in this place by Marco Polo, who, advancing 500 miles, might have found the Island of Pentan [Bantam] and the

641 Compare Pieter Isaacszoon's *Amsterdam as the Centre of World Trade* (c. 1604–1607), an oil painting on the lid of a harpsicord in the Rijksmuseum (SK-A-4947), showing Amsterdam personified with a map of the world at her feet. *Terra Australis* is obscured by clouds on the distant southern horizon.

Kingdom of Maletur [Malaya], about which, not having greater knowledge of this, beyond the descriptions ... gathered by Ramusio in the second volume, many Moderns have neglected these in their maps; actually, Abbot Baudrand numbered them among the fictitious lands, to which Padre Don Vitale Terrarossa was opposed.⁶⁴²

Hiatt has explained the background to this text in the controversy that arose following the publication of Michel-Antoine Baudrand's *Geographia ordine litterarum disposita* (1682). The aim of this early encyclopaedic work was the assembly of all the place names of the world in alphabetical order. Baudrand appended a list of place names considered fictional, including *Beach* and *Java Minor* (but notably not *Terra Australis*).⁶⁴³ Baudrand's work was received with indignation in Venice, where the Benedictine prior, Vitale Terrarossa, attacked him for denying Marco Polo's role in the discovery of this part of *Terra Australis*. Hiatt argues that in Terrarossa's conception of geography, a map should include both ancient and new names, to present a concordance between them.⁶⁴⁴ Terrarossa's thinking followed Mercator's, who sought a harmony between ancient and contemporary geographical knowledge, and Ortelius's, who stated that geography is 'the eye of history' and included in his atlas a map of the ancient *oikoumene* on a Euclidean projection with the 'unknown' parts of the world blank. Blaeu too showed an interest in historical geography, and included a small version of Ortelius's *oikoumene* map in the lower interhemispherical space of his 1648 world map (*Figure 4.06a*). The old Ptolemaic and new Copernican systems appear on either side. It was considered the geographer's role to disseminate both old and new conceptions of the earth and cosmos.

642 My translation. 'Credono alcuni scoperto in questo luogo da M. Polo il Paese | di Lochac, e ch'auanzandosi 500 miglia, trouasse l'Is. Pentā, | et il Regno di Malaiur, dei quali non hauendosene contezza | maggiore, oltre le relazioni del med^o l.2. c. 8. e 9. raccolte da Ramusio nel 2. Vol. molti de Moderni gli hanno trascurati nelle | sue Tauole; anzi l'Abb. Baudrand gli numerò trà i Paesi fitti- | tij, a cui s'opponne il P.D. Vitale Terra Rossa. Also on his 1688 and 1699 globe gores.' See Vincenzo Coronelli, *Libro dei globi, Venice 1693 (1701)*, ed. by Helen Wallis, *Theatrum orbis terrarum: Ser. 4, 5* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1969).

643 Michel-Antoine Baudrand, *Geographia ordine litterarum disposita, Tomus primus* (Paris: Apud Stephanum Michalet, 1682).

644 Alfred Hiatt, *Terra Incognita: Mapping the Antipodes before 1600* (London: British Library, 2008), *Mapping the Antipodes*, pp. 260–2.

The desire to preserve ancient knowledge was combined with what Hiatt refers to as ‘a geography of patriotism’.⁶⁴⁵ After Baudrand, Italian geographers made a point of ensuring that Marco Polo’s ‘historic role in discoveries’ (as presented by Mercator’s *Beach*) was not ‘erased’ from the map. The map entitled *Isole dell’India* by Giacomo Cantelli da Vignola shows the three main toponyms of Mercator’s *Terra Australis*—*Beach Prov.*, *Regno di Maletur*, and *Regno di Lucach*—on the northwest of *Hollandia Nova* among Italian translations of the Dutch names: *Paese di Concordia*, *Paese d’Arnhem*, *Paese di Diemenes*, and *Nuova Olanda* (Figure 4.16).⁶⁴⁶ This approach of Coronelli and Cantelli da Vignola might be regarded as a ‘Venetian cultural strategy’, which Liz Horodowich has found was begun by Ramusio ‘of inserting itself into the age of discovery and exploration in which it had played no formal, active role’.⁶⁴⁷

These explanatory texts restoring Marco Polo’s place names to geography might also be seen as attempts to initiate historical discourse on a space conceived as blank. For Cosgrove, the meaning of Coronelli’s explanatory texts ‘lies as much in their presence and location as in their narratives’, implying that ‘nothing of greater significance than the word occurs at that point’.⁶⁴⁸ If Eisler’s observation is correct that ‘the Southland had already secured a place in the western consciousness’ by the early eighteenth century, these examples from Venetian geography suggest that whatever meaning it had in that consciousness was neither particular to Bandaiyan, nor singular, but refracted through the lenses of national sentiment, language, and the specific interests

645 Hiatt, *Mapping the Antipodes*, pp. 262.

646 It was included in G. Giacomo de Rossi’s atlas, *Mercurio Geografico overo Guida geografica in tutte le parti del mondo*. The first Rome edition cited by Hiatt (*Mapping the Antipodes*, p. 263) has no date, but the second edition was published in 1692, making the first edition likely after the 1686 controversy broke out and before 1692.

647 Liz Horodowich, ‘Armchair Travelers and the Venetian Discovery of the New World’, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 36.4 (2005), 1039–62 (p. 1062). For Horodowich, Ramusio ‘suggests that recording and publishing the acts of discovery are as significant as discovery itself since all his readers became explorers themselves through his texts’ (p. 1048). Horodowich’s research focuses on the (discursive) Venetian role in the exploration of the Americas; see also Elizabeth Horodowich, *The Venetian Discovery of America: Geographic Imagination in the Age of Encounters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

648 Denis E. Cosgrove, *Apollo’s Eye: A Cartographic Genealogy of the Earth in the Western Imagination* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), p. 14.

of readers.⁶⁴⁹ The variety of 'historical' and newly coined, vernacular, and Latin toponyms, as well as their translations in various languages, shows a complex picture. Moreover, since one of the terms in common use, *Terra Australis*, is derived from a conception of nescience, and in Blaeu's words, 'nor has there yet been published anything, or but little' about *Hollandia Nova* and adjacent lands, it seems unlikely that this Southland amounted to much more than a *terra incognita* in European consciousness, a *tabula rasa* site for future inscription and colonization. Geographers' temptation to attach *Terra Australis* to the Blaeuvian *Hollandia Nova*, as Coronelli and Cantelli da Vignola 'restored' Marco Polo's names helped add a sense of permanence and comprehensibility to the geography of *Hollandia Nova*, which remained little more than a nescience. They suggest that for most seventeenth-century map viewers, the continent remained an abstract space whose inhabitation they could only imagine.

Strategies of Preterition in Illustration of *Hollandia Nova*

Illustrations on early modern maps, like toponyms, provide important evidence to understand the meaning, rhetoric, and ideological structures of an artefact of poetic geography such as an early modern map. Figurative drawings comprise one form of the graphic ornamentation on maps. Their complexity, and the frequent use of models from other map and non-map sources, make it challenging to determine the meaning of specific spaces on a map, such as *Hollandia Nova*, but much can be learned from the map-maker's selection and combination of elements and their context.

Let us return to Hugo Allard's illustrated map of Southeast Asia, *India quae orientalis dicitur et Insulae adiacentes* (c. 1652) (Figure 4.02). If Allard's map appears to deemphasize Tasman's charted coastlines, as was noted earlier, then the focus of the map's meaning is perhaps not on conveying new geographical knowledge but elsewhere. So what is its focus and from where does it derive authority? What claims does it make about the nature of southern space, and to what extent do they reassert the poetic geography of *Terra Australis Incognita*?

649 Eisler, *The Furthest Shore*, p. 139.

There are three main fields of illustrative ornamentation on Allard's map: the cartouches that authorize the map with its title, scale, authorship, and dedication; the figurative illustrations that fill the broken coastline of *Hollandia Nova*; and the images that decorate the seas. The following discussion draws on Christian Jacob's approach to the interpretation of the map iconography.

The first field is monumentalizing and authoritative. Conventional images such as the garland, curtain, shield, and plinth are used to frame texts that provide the reader with points of entry to the map: its title, dedicatees, and publisher's attribution. These conventional images are deictic, working as Marin's 'figures of ostentation' to draw the viewer's eye to texts and frames that ascribe authority to the map.⁶⁵⁰ More significant is the cartouche in the bottom right corner (*Figure 4.02a*). Here human figures pose, talk, and gesture. Putti crowd around talking, and pointing deictically at the coats of arms of Amsterdam; naked women wearing headdresses, hats, and wreaths engage in dialogue; and two 'savage' youths discuss the twin-hemisphere inset map of the world, one pointing to the map of Africa. A crocodile, whose presentation, it has been argued, was deployed in early modern texts to 'mitigate disruptive strangeness' suggests both the otherworldly monstrousness of *Terra Australis* and its domestication.⁶⁵¹ The dedication plaque to the burgomasters of Amsterdam in the bottom left breasts the ocean waves with parrots and cockatoos, and a cornucopia of foliage and fruit, which testify to the supposed fertility and abundance of natural resources in this part of the world, and the burgomasters' heroic role in bringing it all back to Amsterdam, the capital of world commerce (*Figure 4.02b*). These illustrations present a dynamic impression of movement, fecundity, and possibility: the promise of the East, as though, in Armusia's words, 'The bowels of the earth swell with the births | Of thousand unknown gems and thousand riches'.⁶⁵² They are arranged like theatrical props on the

650 Jacob, p. 109.

651 Spencer J. Weinreich, 'Thinking with Crocodiles: An Iconic Animal at the Intersection of Early-Modern Religion and Natural Philosophy', *Early Science and Medicine*, 20.3 (2015), 209–40.

652 Fletcher, *The Island Princess*, I. iii. 29–30.

stage of the two cartouches, emblemizing the diversity of exotic objects in God's creation, a commonplace of early modern European cosmography and collecting culture. Like theatre props, they have been selected by the mapmaker from the repertoire of such tropes and images used in maps, cartographers' pattern books, and other illustrated publications such as emblem books.⁶⁵³

The second field of illustration consists of two separate landscapes covering the space of *Hollandia Nova*, which is labelled only on the small inset map, not on the main map. The fauna includes deer and an elephant ridden by warriors. The flora includes coconut trees, banana plants, a banyan tree, and jack-fruit (or breadfruit) trees. These trees are typical of Southeast Asia. Such plants among others were identified by Queirós as demonstrating the presence in *Terra Australis* of a cornucopia of fruits and spices with potential for commercial exploitation. None are typical of the flora of Bandaiyan.

In the midst of the upper landscape, men, dressed in loin cloths and carrying spears and shields, appear out of the forest, one riding an elephant. Another group of figures, difficult to make out in the middle ground of the lower landscape, sit or stand on a rise above the bend of a river, perhaps with children or animals. Behind them is an open shed, a little like the ones pictured by Vallard but not elevated from the ground on stilts. On the river, two figures are navigating a small raft. In the foreground of the lower landscape three naked human figures (emblemizing 'savages') are engaged in cooking beneath jackfruit trees, a deer behind them. The landscapes present an impression of depth and diversity of human and animal life. The river, mountains, and forest suggest the hinterland of a vast continent of forests, rivers, and mountains, with minimal evidence of human occupation.

653 On images of ships on maps, see Richard W. Unger, *Ships on Maps: Pictures of Power in Renaissance Europe* (Houndsmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010). Unger (p. 150) discusses cartographers' practice of borrowing images from pattern books and other maps, and habit of redrawing the same ship image from different perspectives across the same map.

These illustrations are an outstanding feature of Allard's map, and were probably drawn by the engraver and illustrator Pieter Nolpe.⁶⁵⁴ These illustrations betray an apparent incongruity in the representation of Bandaiyan, which demonstrates its contingency even as an empirical description of the morphology of the continental landscape. The map combines the empirical geography of the coastline of this land to which Blaeu assigned the name *Hollandia Nova* on his 1645–46 map, with illustrations of 'natives', elephants, fruit trees, and other details that are not characteristic of the people, fauna, and flora mariners sailing with the VOC found on the continent. Rather, they are stereotypes of non-Eurasian peoples, fauna, and flora that were used to illustrate 'wild' or 'waste' spaces on maps of Asia, America, and Africa, and often found on sixteenth-century maps of *Terra Australis Incognita*. Elements such as the elephant are consistent with Marco Polo's description of Lucach, which appeared on Mercator's promontory of *Terra Australis Incognita*.

In the lower right of the map, two separate fields of illustration—the framing and authorizing cartouche, and the landscapes—merge. This occurs even within each field of illustration in the spaces where different objects meet. For example, the two youths in discussion, the right one pointing to the map of Africa, function to direct the reader's attention to the inset world map; their pointing sets the main map in its context. They also serve the practical purpose of covering the lower spandrel between the two hemispheres of the world map. Hence, they simultaneously attract the viewer's attention to themselves and direct it away again from where they stand. These figures

654 Klemp, p. 65, credited Allard as both engraver and publisher. However, Schilder states that the engraver was Pieter Nolpe in *Australia Unveiled*, p. 392. Schilder probably relied on Heeres and Coote, *Abel Jansz. Tasman's Journal*, p. 75, n. 5. Heeres and Coote drew their information from C. M. Dozy, 'Pieter Nolpe 1613/14–1652/53', *Oud-Holland*, 15 (1897), 24–50, who describes the map and some details of Nolpe's life, many of which are uncertain. Dozy states, remarkably, that Nolpe completed his first mature landscape at three years of age, and concludes that Nolpe died in either 1652 or 1653, although he notes that others say he lived until 1670. According to the dictionary of Dutch biography, Nolpe was born in The Hague in 1601 and died in 1671; see 'Nolpe (Pieter)', in *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden*, ed. by A.J. van der Aa, K.J.R. van Harderwijk, and G.D.J. Schotel, 20 vols (Haarlem: J. J. van Brederode, 1868), XIII, 280–282. Nolpe is not known to have engraved other maps. He is known for making copperplate prints of paintings, including Rubens' *Adoration of the Magi*, several landscapes, and images of political importance, such as *An Emblematical Print on the Marriage of the Prince of Orange with the Princess Mary of England*.

of ostentation function through the trope of preterition, just as the cartouches explaining the Septentrional regions deflect attention from the southern *terra incognita* on Mercator's 1569 world map.

Away from the edges in the more central space of the continental 'interior', the large elephant also has a preteritive function to elide the transition between the landscapes and the cartouche. The use of elephants to fill the 'unknown' spaces of maps was famously satirized by Jonathan Swift in *On Poetry; a Rhapsody* (1733):

So geographers, in Afric maps,
With savage pictures fill their gaps,
And o'er unhabitable downs
Place elephants for want of towns.⁶⁵⁵

Aside from Swift's easy cynicism, 'the want of towns' was supposed to be a characteristic of Bandaiyan. But as we have seen, although Dampier swore to have seen 'noe houses nor any thing like a house', the *Emeloort's* sailors saw three houses and nearby crops, indicating the likelihood of a larger population. Likewise, de Vlamingh's party came across so many houses along the Derbarl Yerrigan (Swan River), that it is possible to infer a substantial population in the area of today's Perth. British explorers later observed large towns in many parts of the continent, sometimes of one thousand inhabitants.⁶⁵⁶ Allard's map promotes the 'want of towns' trope as a given characteristic of the geography of *Hollandia Nova*, using a common practice of the cartography of *Terra Australis Incognita* to assign an illusory representation of knowledge to the interior of a continent about which the map-maker had no knowledge.

655 Jonathan Swift, 'On Poetry: A Rhapsody', in *The Works of Dr. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin. Accurately Revised In Twelve Volumes. Adorned with Copper-Plates; with Some Account of the Author's Life, and Notes Historical and Explanatory*, ed. by John Hawkesworth, 12 vols (London: printed for C. Bathurst, T. Osborne, W. Bowyer, J. Hinton, W. Strahan, B. Collins, J. Rivington, R. Baldwin, L. Davis, C. Reymers, and J. Dodsley, 1765), VII, 206–223 (p. 212).

656 Bruce Pascoe, *Dark Emu, Black Seeds: Agriculture or Accident?* (Broome: Magabala Books Aboriginal Corporation, 2014) [iBooks edn], Chapter 3.

The illustrations appear to adorn the 'interior' of *Hollandia Nova*, but in fact, only the western and northern coastlines are shown. The drawings are framed on two sides by the frame of the map itself. This positioning suggests that the illustrations serve a preteritive function to distract the viewer's attention from the lacking knowledge of *Hollandia Nova*'s coastline and interior, as Schilder argued. However, this graphic approach reduces the geographic importance of the representation of *Hollandia Nova* on the map. They confuse the space to the east, with a deliberate ambiguity, making it unclear where each illustration or cartouche begins and ends. The southern coast is elided completely by the map frame, just as the frame in the Ptolemy map () cut off the southern extent of the southern *terra incognita*. The eastern side merges into the complex cartouche containing the inset map with its decorated borders and arms of Amsterdam, the scale, and the attribution to Allard. This elision of the transition between the authorizing and figurative fields of ornamentation on Allard's map is presents a complex and ornamental trope of preterition; the unnamed *Hollandia Nova* becomes less a geographical entity in its own right and more of an elaborate frame for the better known geography of Asia to the north.

The third field of illustration is the sea space. About fifty ships are shown across the map as a whole, rendered in detail. Several varieties of Dutch merchant ship are shown flying the tricolour of the Republic, crossing the Indian Ocean to the Spice Islands, and beyond to China and Japan. Some engage in battle with rival navies. Other ships include East Asian junks, Malayan praus, and Indian Ocean dhows. These provide signs of the variety of different cultures encountered and traded with by merchants and agents of the VOC.⁶⁵⁷ On the inset map, the sea space at the south pole is labelled '*Australia Incognita*'.

As Ryan observed, the elaborate decorative rhetoric on maps such as Allard's is not harmless, and comprises a presentational practice that, whether intentionally or not,

⁶⁵⁷ Unger, *Ships on Maps*, restricts his study to the sixteenth century. He found that ships were used to fill space, illustrate 'emerging technology', reflect artistic traditions, add beauty, and show the conquest of the sea (p. 176).

erases indigenous details of human attachment and occupation in the spaces depicted.⁶⁵⁸ Allard's presentation of *Hollandia Nova* shuns the particular character of Bandaiyan and its peoples. A generic image is presented of a fertile, Asian *Terra Australis* with elephants and men with spears wearing loin cloths. The continental representation is reduced to an ornamental frame for the lands of commercial 'promise' to the north.

Gap filling might appear to be a simplistic explanation for the trouble that cartographic engravers went to in works such as this, but the practice is more complex than simply sticking pictures in blank space. To begin with, the gaps and blank spaces were created by the cartographer's own choices. As can be appreciated by comparing Allard's with other examples of East Asian maps, the cartography has not been framed at random. Allard could have chosen to cut off the bottom of the map between *Hollandia Nova* and Timor, at the Tropic of Capricorn (as in Willem Blaeu's 1635 map, *India quae orientalis dicitur, et Insulae adiacentes*) (Figure 4.14), or below the south coast of *Hollandia Nova*. However, the map's focus is the places around the Indian and North Pacific Oceans (called here *Mar de India* and *Oceanus Chinensis*), to demonstrate the reach of Dutch mercantile power across the seas of Asia. Allard decided to include a substantial portion of the recently mapped *Hollandia Nova* as a space for an illustrative scheme. He could have avoided having to do this if he had wanted to. Instead, the revealed coastlines of *Hollandia Nova* provide a space for illustration of the map's overall subject, the East Indies. In this way, *Hollandia Nova* is used by Allard a site of supplementation, in a similar way to the use of *Terra Australis Incognita* described by Hiatt.⁶⁵⁹ Allard's *Hollandia Nova* provides a decorative base to frame and comment on the cartography above, merging the illustration with a variety of pieces of meta-data: the scale, the publisher's details, the arms of Amsterdam, and the inset world map, balancing in the bottom right the shield dedicating the map to the burgermasters of Amsterdam (with a second image of the city's arms) on the bottom left. This practice constructs *Terra*

658 Simon Ryan, *The Cartographic Eye: How Explorers Saw Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 117.

659 Hiatt, pp. 184–223.

Australis (and *Hollandia Nova*) not as places defined by their particularities, but rather as ambiguous placeholders: through preterition, the space that registers missing knowledge is superimposed with a host of signs that attract attention for their unambiguous authoritative status.

Schilder explained away the illustrations because he was interested in Allard's map as a record of the 'discovery' of Australia. The argument and title of his book, *Australia Unveiled: The Share of the Dutch Navigators in the Discovery of Australia*, exemplifies the colonial fiction, examined by Arthur, that the notion of Australia's so-called European 'discovery' must be established with the proposition of a beginning of unknowing, an *a-priori* act of erasing Indigenous knowledge:

It is as though there has been a kind of declaration of a *terra nullius* of knowledge which says that whatever is, is lost until it is known to the colonist. Knowledge begins with the colonist.⁶⁶⁰

In fact, this process of erasure or ignorance did not begin with British colonization, as these seventeenth century maps show. It was already a characteristic, perhaps partially unconscious, of early modern geographic practice. Schilder wrote that 'the Dutch era in the discovery of Australia was the first half of the seventeenth century, but the *history proper* of the continent only started with James Cook and his successors' (my italics).⁶⁶¹ This ironic statement (perhaps also the trope of an historian's humility) would appear to undermine the premise of his book to show the Dutch contribution to the knowledge of 'Australia'. It is a tacit admission, like Blaeu's, that despite the evidence of coastlines, there was a lack of knowledge of the continent's particularities. On the other hand, the means of survey and charting that the VOC used to inscribe the continent into metropolitan geography were the same ones the British later used in colonization to inscribe it into 'proper' history. The more serious implication of this statement is that colonial invasion was required for 'proper' history to begin, making 'history' dependent on a violent, colonial form of human endeavour, and on the use of a

660 Arthur, p. 57.

661 Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*, p. 209.

particular method of describing geomorphology that emerged in early modern Europe. That ignores all human history that had been ongoing in Bandaiyan for at least sixty-five millennia and all other ways of describing events, place, and belonging. It also misrepresents and minimizes the Dutch interest in *Hollandia Nova*, limiting it to thirty-eight years in the first half of the seventeenth century. VOC ships continued to visit Bandaiyan for another century, whether by accident or on expeditions organized by the VOC. They produced maps and documents after Tasman, even if the geography of the coastline as disseminated in the 1640s was not updated in printed maps, atlases, and globes before the arrival of Cook. Discourse about the geography of *Hollandia Nova* continued to be a focus of activity in the United Provinces, albeit largely at the margins of the VOC's enterprise in Asia, for another century.

Much of the space of Allard's map is devoted to regions other than Bandaiyan so that the map's primary purpose is a presentation of the reach of Dutch commercial power throughout East Asia. It covers an extensive space of the world, far beyond Bandaiyan. It shows much of the *octrooigebied*—the region within which the VOC was licensed to operate as a trade monopoly. No contemporary of Blaeu's would have been likely to recognize Allard's map as a representation 'of Australia'; rather, they would have regarded it not only geographically speaking as a map of the East Indies and adjacent islands (just as in the title) but more personally as a map of the VOC's operating area, the lands and sea routes dominated by the power and influence of the organization of which they were personally affiliated or knew.

It is reductive to study Allard's map for the recording of geographical knowledge alone. A highly illustrated map of this nature had a range of reasons for investment in its highly complex and detailed design and execution. The preceding discussion suggests that its hydrography, borrowed from Blaeu, played an incidental role in its meaning and intended use. Instead, it furnishes a template for a complex artefact of visual art and propaganda. Examined as a 'thick text', in its historical context, Allard's map emblemizes the imperial vision of the Dutch Republic. As part of that vision, *Hollandia Nova* remained peripheral, a claim on space for the realization of future

projects. Allard's map has much to reveal about the uses of poetic geography in the early modern period.

A world map of Allard's has simpler illustrations than his archipelago map, but because they occur across the map, it is possible to compare *Hollandia Nova* with other continents to discern what specific characteristics, if any, the illustrations confer on it. *Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis Tabula* was also published in Amsterdam, c. 1652. The space of *Hollandia Nova* is taken up with a number of illustrations of wild animals and 'savages' (Figure 4.17). In the main image, four naked men run beside two large lions. The two central men have clubs raised over their heads, the clubs highlighted in red on this edition. The man on the left is drawing a bow (also outlined in red) ready to shoot an arrow. On the right another man, facing the scene with his back to the viewer, seems to hold a noose over his shoulder, ready to cast it. The illustration is given a circumambience of place with some patterns to mark the ground and three trees: a palm in the centre, a low bush left of the image, and a tree on the right whose trunk bends upward from the ground while most of the foliage pivots left. The copperplate image is simpler than the painted images of the Dieppe school, but its notion of hunters and 'savages' stems from the same tradition. Four other animals are depicted: a rhinoceros, an elephant, a dog, and a unicorn. The elephant, the lion, and the unicorn are symbols of wild nature, untamed by human action, left free to wander at will. Europe is the only continental space on the map without such illustrations. The implication is that *Hollandia Nova* is a wild place like Tartary, Africa, or Brazil, which also have images of hunters and animals. There is no reference to the particular character of the peoples or fauna of Bandaiyan; *Hollandia Nova* is a *terra nullius* of hunters chasing lions across boundless space. These 'stock' images are preteritive, because they acknowledge ignorance of indigeneity while redirecting it to a fantasy about untamed space.

Coronelli's invocation of *Terra Australis Incognita* was not limited to Mercator's use of the place names of Marco Polo. Like Allard, he also illustrated his maps and globes with images that recalled the Dieppe school. On one version of Vincenzo Coronelli's

globe gores, which he published in the *Libro dei globi* (Venice, 1693) the space of *Nuova Hollanda* is decorated with imagery that follows the style of Allard, and participates in the sixteenth-century practice of illustrating the vast spaces of *Terra Australia Incognita* (Figure 4.18). Like Allard's map, the trees are not characteristic of the island continent but of the tropical and semi-tropical fruit trees of Asia, although it is an image that might equally well be applied to a map of America or Africa. The elephant surrounded by 'natives' with spears is also seen on Allard's map, as is the shelter without walls.⁶⁶² Coronelli also includes a deer being pursued by hunters. Despite differences in Allard's and Coronelli's arrangement of the images, both evoke an imagination of space that is ideal and suggestive of untamed natural abundance, in the style of the Dieppe maps of *Jave la Grande*.

Coronelli was not so attached to his Venetian inception of *Nuova Hollanda* that he could not adapt his designs for a client. The pair of enormous globes he made for Louis XIV (1681–83) can be seen (incompletely given their four-metre diameter) in the public galleries of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. The terrestrial globe has some important differences in illustration and design from his standard globe gores. Landmasses are shown in white on pale blue seas, with a dark blue line for charted coastlines. *La Terre Australe Inconnue* appears at the south pole, and the Blaeuvian lands southeast of Java are completed with conjectural easterly extensions of the white shading without a sharp edge (Figure 4.19). There are no inscriptions invoking Marco Polo, nor is the antipodes of Venice marked. The continent is named in Dutch and French: 'HET NIEUW HOLLANT ou NOUVELLE HOLLANDE, decouverte l'an 1644'.

The illustration of *Hollandia Nova* on the Louis XIV globe has important differences from Allard's and from Coronelli's standard globe gores. Different images and models have been used. Small, pale sketches of trees and landscapes are scattered across the

⁶⁶² Other geographers who used these same images or the same source include Justus Danckerts, in his illustrated map of Southeast Asia, *India quae Orientalis dicitur et insulae adiacentes* (Amsterdam), in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Département Cartes et plans, GE AF PF-195 (4881 A-D)). It is of uncertain date but probably published in the last third of the seventeenth century.

space of *Nouvelle Hollande* forming a background (*Figure 4.19a*). Aside from some palms, most of the trees are spindly, low, and sparsely distributed across open country without mountains. There are no elephants, deer, nor dogs, no shelters, no obvious jack-fruit trees. There are two human figures: one man sits under a tree that would appear to give little shade; another stands in a pose as though ready to run or throw a weapon. One large figurative image dominates the space. Seven naked black men, two with spears, are fleeing. Two or three appear to be tripping over in their attempt to run. Four of these figures are more roughly drawn silhouettes. The two more upright figures on the left holding spears have well drawn musculature of their bodies and limbs. Behind them to the left, three fully clothed Europeans in hats are in pursuit. One holds a rifle.

Marica Milanesi dismisses these figures as ‘naked people with sticks and stones who sometimes walk on all fours’. She overlooks the European figures and describes Coronelli as ill-informed, although she suggests that he might have drawn on a description by Pelsaert.⁶⁶³ Pelsaert reported two sightings of Aboriginal people during his voyage in a pinnace to Batavia to seek help to rescue those marooned by the wreck. On 15th June, as he approached a group of men, they ‘sprang to their feet, and ran off in full career ... They were black men, stark naked’. The next day, he saw eight men, each carrying a stick. Pelsaert wrote, ‘when we went up to them, they ran off, and we could not get them to stop’.⁶⁶⁴ Pelsaert’s account was probably transmitted to Coronelli via Melchisédec Thévenot’s abridged translation of Pelsaert’s journal into French, first published in 1663.⁶⁶⁵ Although no one came to physical harm in these incidents, Aboriginal fear of the European intruder is evident in Pelsaert’s account, and this has been transmitted in Coronelli’s illustration on the globe.

663 Milanesi, p. 113.

664 *The Part Borne by the Dutch in the Discovery of Australia 1606–1765*, ed. by J. E. Heeres, Project Gutenberg Australia eBook by Colin Choat (Leiden and London: Royal Dutch Geographical Society, 1899), p. 57.

665 Melchisédec Thévenot, *Relations de divers voyages curieux, qui n’ont point esté publiées, ou qui ont esté traduites d’Hacluyt, de Purchas, & d’autres Voyageurs Anglois, hollandois, portugais, allemands, espagnols, et de quelques persans, arabes & autres auteurs orientaux, enrichies de figures de plantes non décrites, d’animaux inconnus à l’Europe, & de cartes géographiques de pays dont on n’a point encore donné de cartes. Première Partie* (Paris: Jacques Langlois, 1663), pp. 50–56.

This image deserves greater attention than it has received. It is one of the earliest attempts to capture an encounter between Europeans and inhabitants of Bandaiyan, rather than filling the spaces of *Hollandia Nova* with the stock images of hunting 'natives' and exotic animals, as in Allard's maps and Coronelli's standard globe gores. No other seventeenth-century metropolitan illustration presents such a realistic image of the inhabitants of Bandaiyan and the kind of interactions with European intruders reported in the logs of visiting mariners. It should be compared with the later copperplate image (dated 1698) of the watercarrying episode in the Dutch edition of Dampier's *New Voyage Round the World*, found in the Hamilton Library at Honolulu University.⁶⁶⁶ The gestures of the Aboriginal men in the Dampier image are European. Coronelli's illustration, particularly of the two men with spears, is more appropriate to men of Bandaiyan. The two with spears, although fleeing, look strong, and able easily to outpace the Europeans encumbered by their long coats. However, Coronelli's is a vision of invasion, and disturbingly prescient of what would occur a century later. The viewer admiring the gold and vibrant colours of the illustrations, calligraphy, and cartouches of this enormous globe was invited to speculate on the possibilities for crossing the world and entering a strange land with European weapons. Allard's native hunters of deer and lions have been replaced by European hunters of Aboriginal people. The naive figurations of *Terra Australis* have become more sinister.

That Coronelli's Louis XIV globe was made earlier than his more generic globe gores is an example of why geographic artefacts cannot be understood simply within a framework of chronological growth of knowledge. It has already been shown that *Terra Australis Incognita* was removed by some geographers before Tasman, and that others maintained it after Blaeu's inauguration of the 'Tasmanian' form of *Hollandia Nova*. Likewise, Coronelli could illustrate a globe in the 1680s (before Dampier and de Vlamingh brought back to Europe their negative perceptions of Aboriginal peoples

666 Liz Conor, 'Found: The Earliest European Image of Aboriginal Australians', *The Conversation* <<http://theconversation.com/found-the-earliest-european-image-of-aboriginal-australians-106176>> [accessed 6 November 2018]. Discussed in Chapter 4.

fleeing from their incursions) and still publish more idealized representations of *Hollandia Nova* as *Terra Australis* at the end of the century. The objective was not only, or even mainly, about knowledge but about audience. It is necessary to ask whether the idealistic naivety of the illustrations on the maps by Allard and in Coronelli's *Libri dei globi* might be intended for a general public, and therefore a better guide to how the commercial elite liked to perceive themselves, and be perceived by their compatriots, rather than a record of knowledge. What they knew was that colonial and imperial expansion involved some brutal, inhumane realities. The latter appears to have been given rare expression on this globe that Coronelli made for the king who aspired to be the greatest autocrat of his day.

Although Coronelli's illustration is more realistic, it remains poetic in its evocation of spaces open to future imperial conquest, suitable to the desires and ambitions of Louis XIV. The distinction between the imaginative geography of *Terra Australis Incognita* and the 'empirical' geography of *Hollandia Nova* has been overstated. The illustration with which this empirical geography was adorned by Allard is remarkably similar to, if less elaborate than, sixteenth-century illustrations of *Terra Australis Incognita*. The coastline of one might be based on empirical observation and its spatial extent much reduced, but the perception of the continent which is conveyed is much the same. Like the mapmakers of *Terra Australis Incognita*, seventeenth-century geographers took the opportunity of ignorance to paint their fancies.

Hollandia Nova, Part of Terra Australis

The reception of the Blaeuvian *Hollandia Nova* in the second half of the seventeenth century led to a reassertion of the name and tropes of *Terra Australis Incognita* in the century after Tasman's voyage in Dutch, French, Venetian, and English geography. Despite the attempt of Blaeu and others after Tasman to impose an exclusively Dutch representation of Bandaiyan, other geographers found it useful to reinvoke tropes associated with *Terra Australis Incognita*, as it offered them a means to declare national patriotism, pay homage to heroes from national history, or maintain the hope that their explorers would find the paradisaal land described by Queirós. This reinvocation of

Terra Australis Incognita was achieved through toponymy, illustration, textual supplementation, or a combination of all three.

The second half of the seventeenth century saw the advent of sea-atlases. In 1666, Pieter Goos published *De Zee-Atlas ofte Water-Weereld*, translated into English in 1668 as *The Sea-Atlas or the Watter-World, Wherein are Described all the Sea Coasts of the Knowne World. Very Usefull and necessary for all Shipmasters, Pilots and Seamen, As allso for Marchants and Others*. Goos was clear about his understanding of the name:

Some are wont to cal for a fifth part of the world Terra Australis or Magellanica, the countreys in the South of the Straat Magellanes, but sith the shipping by the Hollanders to those parts, but some few jears hence it known, that Tierra del Fuego, by Magellanes called, is nothing than a haep of Ilands, and no firm land there about, which may beare the name of the 5th. part of the world, I thinke it sufficient that I have touched it with these few words, except, twee will call Terra Australis, those Countreys in the South of Nova Guinea, whether the Hollanders most zayled in the year 1644 and in these our Maps are called Hollandia Nova and Nova Zelandia. Notwithstanding sith the Coasts are but partly discovered, and that we have no knowledge of the inward Countreys, wee shall as yet let them rest under Asia, til further discovery; and commend such a division to our Posterity, if wee by our life gaine no more knowledg.⁶⁶⁷

Goos made it clear that in the absence of evidence of a southpolar continent, the lands south of Java should be called collectively *Terra Australis*. Since these coasts were ‘but partly discovered, and that we have no knowledge of the inward Countreys’, the application of the name implies a significant degree of *incognita*.

Melchisédec Thévenot (c. 1620–1692) was a traveller, cartographer, and natural philosopher, whom Louis XIV of France appointed as Keeper of the Royal Library in 1684. Thévenot had been collecting evidence of voyages and cartography from other nations since 1655, when he set up his own academy at his house in Issy. His focus was on Dutch maps and accounts, and his compilations informed the expansion of French

667 Pieter Goos, *The Sea-Atlas or the Watter-World, Wherein Are Described All the Sea Coasts of the Knowne World. Very Usefull and Necessary for All Shipmasters, Pilots and Seamen, As Allso for Marchants and Others* (Amsterdam, 1668), EEBO.

commerce, exploration, and imperial activities internationally into the eighteenth century. In 1663 he published his influential *Relations de divers voyages curieux* (*Accounts of various curious voyages*), a collection of voyage accounts gathered through a vast network of correspondents.⁶⁶⁸ Although published after Tasman's voyages, the first edition included no information about Tasman's findings except a map (Figure 4.20). It was the first French map to include the record of the coastlines charted by Tasman. It was not until the 1696 edition of the *Relations* that some details from the accounts of Tasman's voyages were included in Thévenot's compilation.⁶⁶⁹

The importance of Thévenot's map has less to do with its cartographic originality as its prominent place in this popular compendium of voyage literature. It also includes some small but significant innovations to Blaeuvian geography. The map is a faithful copy of the southern part of Blaeu's 1659 archipelago map. It focuses only on the lands south of Java; that is, on the lands about which Blaeu observes in the text of his 1659 archipelago map, 'nor has there yet been published anything, or but little'. The form and language of Blaeu's toponyms are carried over with minimal changes. Three things are original about Thévenot's map. First, the framing is unique. It is probably the first map devoted solely to the lands south of Java: *Nova Guinea, Hollandia Nova, Carpentaria, Anthony van Diemens Landt, Zeelandia Nova*. Second, the geometric base of the map: Thévenot has added a latitude scale down the middle of the map, kept one line of latitude, the Tropic of Capricorn (the Equator forms the northern frame of the map), and introduced a set of rhumb lines focused on a compass point (without a compass rose) in what is now the Tasman Sea, half way between the west coast of *Zeelandia Nova* and *Anthony van Diemens Landt*. Third, directly above the central point of the rhumb lines appears the one additional toponym in the blank spaces to the east of *Hollandia Nova*: the prominent display of *Terre Australe découverte l'an 1644*, opposite *Hollandia Nova* on the left side of the map. It is an important addition: it rejects Blaeu's removal of *Terra Australis* to the south pole, and like Goos, gives it a prominent role in describing

668 Thévenot, *Relations de divers voyages*. For an analysis of Thévenot's methods, see Nicholas Dew, 'Reading Travels in the Culture of Curiosity: Thévenot's Collection of Voyages', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 10.1–2 (2006), 39–59.

669 Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*, p. 412 (map 85).

all the lands southeast of Java. Its French form is also reminiscent of Coronelli's asterisk of the antipodes of Venice: a challenge to Dutch claims in the region.

Thévenot claimed that he had copied his map from the one in the floor of the Citizens' Hall of Amsterdam Town Hall.⁶⁷⁰ He probably did not sketch the map while standing in the hall, but copied it from Blaeu's 1659 map. He might have been one 'reader and viewer' to be disappointed by the limited information on Blaeu's map. He might also have wanted to make a point about the VOC's policy to guard its geographical information by highlighting the irony of the very public Town Hall map. Thévenot's map provides an example of how Dutch geographical knowledge was received with a mix of trust, suspicion, and envy when it crossed national and linguistic borders. Along with many French compatriots, Thévenot did not trust the VOC to share all they knew.⁶⁷¹ However, Thévenot generally accepted the Blaeuvian description, reviving the concept of *Terra Australis* to complete the gaps and visualize a future of French exploitation and colonization in the region. Thévenot's map helped motivate many French voyages of exploration to Bandaiyan in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Other French geographers such as Pierre du Val refrained from removing the outline of Mercator's conjectural continent from their maps, truncating its coastline to the west of *Hollandia Nova* before reaching the line of Tasman's navigation from Mauritius to

670 Thévenot explained this in the preface to the reader of the *Relations de divers voyages*: 'Quoy qu'il en soit, presque toutes les costes de ce Pays-là ont esté découuertes, & la Carte que l'on en a mise icy, tire sa premiere origine de celle que l'on a fait tailler de pieces rapportées, sur le pavé de la nouvelle Maison-de-Ville d'Amsterdam' ('Whatever it be, almost all the coasts of this Land have been discovered, and the Map which is found here draws its origin from the one made from stones inlaid in the floor of the new Town Hall of Amsterdam') (my translation).

671 The Abbot Jean Paulmier, for example, made an exhaustive study of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century cartography of southern geography, downplaying the Blaeuvian forms by maintaining them on an equal evidentiary footing with Mercator's *Terra Australis Incognita*. He used this evidence as part of his argument for a mission to convert the heathens of *Terra Australis* to Christianity. See Jean Paulmier, *Mémoires touchant l'établissement d'une mission chrestienne dans le troisième monde: autrement appelé, la terre australe, méridionale, antartique & inconnuë*, ed. by Margaret Sankey (Paris: H. Champion, 2006).

Lutruwita (Figure 4.21). Like Goos and Thévenot, du Val also associated *Terra Australis* with *Hollandia Nova*. On his map of the Indian Ocean of 1665, he labelled the description of the continent *Nouvelle Holande, Partie de La Terre Australe*.⁶⁷²

One of the most important maps to disseminate information about Bandaiyan in England was a map published by Emanuel Bowen in 1744. Entitled *A Complete Map of the Southern Continent Survey'd by Capt. Abel Tasman & depicted by Order of the East Indian Company in Holland In The Stadt House at Amsterdam*, it is a copy of Thévenot's map (Figure 4.22). Bowen added the two legends which do not appear on either Blaeu's original nor Thévenot's. He referred explicitly to the 'white Space' without a bounding coastline to the east of *Hollandia Nova*, which, like Thévenot, he named *Terra Australis*. He took this toponymic attempt to grasp and define the 'white Space' a step further on a later edition of map of 1774, using the graphic means of shading the area white, using the same method that Coronelli used on his globe for Louis XIV. Bowen's conjectural shading is more ambitious, extending *Terra Australis* from the west coast of *Hollandia Nova* all the way east to to *Zeelandia Nova* and north to New Guinea.

Bowen added the two explanatory legends to the map which had not appeared on either Blaeu's or Thévenot's versions. In the upper legend, Bowen states:

This map is very exactly Copied from the Original and therefore the Dutch Names have been preferred that if hereafter any Discoveries should ever be Attempted all the places mentioned may be readily found in the Dutch Charts which must be procured for such a Voyage. The Reader is desired to observe that nothing is marked here but what has been Actually discovered which is the reason of the white Space between New Holland and New Zealand and again between New Zealand and New Guinea which make the South and East sides of Terra Australis; ...⁶⁷³

672 Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*, pp. 414–15 (map 86).

673 Emanuel Bowen, 'A Complete Map of the Southern Continent Survey'd by Capt. Abel Tasman & Depicted by Order of the East Indian Company in Holland In The Stadt House at Amsterdam' (London, 1744), Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antique Maps Inc. <<https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/48023/australia-a-complete-map-of-the-southern-continent-surveyd-by-capt-abel-tasman-depicted-by-order-of-the-east-indian-company-in-holland-in-the-stadt-house-at-amsterdam-bowen>> [accessed 16 February 2018].

The accurate copying did not prevent some imaginative licence in shading on the 1774 edition. In expressing the mention of future voyages of exploration rhetorically in the negative conditional, as though they might not be attempted, Bowen waved a red flag explicitly at the pride of those who might attempt such voyages. His encouragement of exploration is also to be seen in other modifications he made to Thévenot's version of the map. Ryan regards Bowen's map as a rare example of an 'explicit inscription of [colonial] desire' on a map.⁶⁷⁴

Bowen's map represents in microcosm the way in which geographical knowledge was transferred across national and linguistic boundaries. The geography—or properly, the hydrography—of the delineated coastlines of the *Hollandia Nova* and *Zeelandia Nova* are identical to Blaeu's 1659 map. It is clear that even in 1744, the work of de Graaf and others within the confines of the VOC to copy post-Tasman charts of voyages made over the century after Tasman had not led to the release of any of this geographical information or the production of any new synthesis or update to Blaeu's mid-seventeenth century description of the lands south of Java.⁶⁷⁵ Nevertheless the way in which the Dutch, French, and English versions of this map were read was different.

Clancy's claim that '[t]he Australian map had not changed for over one hundred years' cannot do justice to the variety of ways in which seventeenth-century map and globe makers interpreted the Blaeuvian geography of *Hollandia Nova*. Scholars place too much stress on the meaning of the shape of a coastline, which provides a prop to support a claim to vast stretches of space which had never been sighted or experienced by geographers or metropolitan explorers alike. The Blaeuvian description of the coastline might have changed little, but in the more important poetics of these maps and globes—more important, that is, because it is the means by which the geography is invested with meaning—the differences are critical in invoking the national sentiment

674 Ryan, p. 116.

675 Aotearoa and Lutruwita had not been visited since, but there had been a number of further voyages that visited parts of the northern and western coastlines of Bandaiyan.

and priorities of a target group of readers, and a colonial imagination of southern space as an antipodes of Europe awaiting colonial invasion.

Brome's Doctor Hughball declared that, at the antipodes of England, there were people resembling the English 'in outward feature', but 'in manners' and 'condition of life, | Extremely contrary'.⁶⁷⁶ Poetic geographies of *Terra Australis* in the second half of the seventeenth-century continued this antipodes imaginary with a future twist. In the hands of different geographers, Bandaiyan was represented as a Dutch *Hollandia Nova* and *Landt van Eendracht* (Blaeu); a Portuguese *Nuca Antara* and *Terra Concordia* (Teixeira); a Venetian *Nuova Hollanda* and *Terra di Concordia*, alongside Marco Polo's *Lucach*, *Beach*, and *Giava Minore* (Coronelli and Cantelli da Vignola); a French *Terre Australe* and *Nouvelle Holande* (Thévenot), or *Partie de la Terre Australe* (du Val); or an English *Southern Continent* (Bowen). Each geographer created their own imagination of a place supposed to exist within the spatial limits of an incompletely charted coastline, with a distinctive Dutch, Portuguese, French, Venetian, or English accent. Each was a discursively asserted claim to a future national interest and control over a territory that belonged and was controlled by others (and none of them). The description of *Hollandia Nova* in metropolitan geography was less about capturing the particularities of Bandaiyan itself, and more about imperial claims.

Landscapes of *Hollandia Nova* in Manuscript Sources

The poetic geographies of *Hollandia Nova* in printed maps and globes discussed so far were informed by their makers' need to meet the demands of the mercantile and noble elite who purchased wall maps and luxury globes for display and self-fashioning. These works betray an imperial gaze that invokes ideas of national sentiment and state ambition. They show minimal interest in the VOC mariners' observations of the particularities of Bandaiyan and its inhabitants; their continental hydrography furnishes a platform for elaborating imperial claims and dreams of future 'flourishing kingdoms'. To fully understand European perceptions of Bandaiyan it is necessary also

⁶⁷⁶ *The Antipodes* I. iii. 105–12.

to take account of cartographic sources in manuscript, drawn by the pilots themselves, or by hydrographers copying the pilots' charts. Although these agents were also conscious of the VOC's commercial and imperial priorities, they were much more attentive to the conditions in Bandaiyan. Some had witnessed them, and many were reproducing observations to inform practical decisions by VOC directors and others about sailing to Bandaiyan or exploring its coasts. The gaze of the diversity of manuscript charts produced by the VOC for internal use is more practical and more attentive to place. They comprise important evidence of the practices that hydrographers used to attempt to grasp a coherent geographical comprehension of an unfamiliar sea- and landscape, and also reveal important insights into the perception of Bandaiyan and the shaping of new myths about *Hollandia Nova*.

The charting of the coastlines of Bandaiyan by VOC pilots and hydrographers continued in the second half of the seventeenth century, but these works circulated mostly within the VOC and had almost no impact on printed maps. They do not therefore fit easily into a progressive framework of historical geography because they cannot be shown to have added to a canon of geographical knowledge in printed maps. The restriction of their distribution to the VOC in no way diminishes their value as evidence of the impact of Bandaiyan on seventeenth-century metropolitan consciousness. To the contrary, the audience of the VOC—its mariners, pilots, captains, surgeons, hydrographers, illustrators, geographers, merchants, accountants, directors, and other employees of the largest corporation of the seventeenth century, whose interests spanned half the globe—comprises a representative sample of people from northern Europe most interested in travel and geography at that time.

For the rest of this chapter, I focus on three sets of manuscript charts made as a result of three later seventeenth-century voyages that visited the same stretch of the western coastline of Bandaiyan, north of today's Perth, between about 29°30'S and 32°S, that is, the Noongar lands belonging to the Whadjuk, Yued, and Amangu peoples, north of the

estuary of Derbarl Yerrigan (now called the Swan River).⁶⁷⁷ They all attempted to apprehend in a variety of cartographic forms a stretch of the western coastline that had been left as a gap in the standard Blaeuvian geography (*Figure 4.23*). This coastline and its northerly extension was also, probably not coincidentally, the site of a number of shipwrecks.⁶⁷⁸

The first two sets of charts were drawn by Johan Nessel c. 1658 in the hydrographic office in Batavia after the return of two ships sent in search of the wreck of the *Vergulde Draeck*: the *Emeloort*, captained by Aucke Pieter Jonck, and the *Waeckende Boey*, captained by Samuel Vockertszoon.⁶⁷⁹ These can be compared with a chart and accompanying coastal profiles, which include the same coastline, drawn by Victor Victorszoon on the voyage of Willem de Vlamingh in 1696–97.

Although all three sets of charts include representations of the same stretch of coastline, they were made independently. The originals of the charts from the *Emeloort* and *Waeckende Boey*, which have been lost, were made on those ships by the captain or pilot in 1658. Jonck's and Volckertszoon's ships became separated for much of the time they spent scanning the coast for wreckage and survivors of the *Vergulde Draeck*, so there was little opportunity for one to influence the other in recording their observations.⁶⁸⁰ Their charts were copied by Nessel in the hydrographic office in Batavia after the ships' return.

677 Volckertszoon charted from about 29°S to 32°S; Jonck from about 20°30'S to 33°30'S, and de Vlamingh a longer stretch from about 22°30'S to 32°30'S. See the discussion in Chapter 3.

678 Aside from the *Batavia* (1629) and *Vergulde Draeck* (1656), two more wrecks occurred in the eighteenth century, the *Zuijtdorp* (1712) and the *Zeewijk* (1727).

679 For the latest printed edition of these maps, see Arend de Roever and Bea Brommer, *Indische Archipel En Oceanië = Malay Archipelago and Oceania*, ed. by Günter Schilder and others, *Grote Atlas van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie = Comprehensive Atlas of the Dutch United East India Company*, 7 vols (Voorburg: Atlas Maior, in collaboration with Koninklijk Nederlands Aardrijkskundig Genootschap, Nationaal Archief, Explokart, Fac. Geowetenschappen, Utrecht University, 2006), III.

680 Sharp, *Discovery of Australia*, p. 94.

Since the originals do not survive, it is impossible to know how closely Nessel copied them or what changes or adaptations he might have made. Nessel applied his own style—in colour, lettering, and shading technique. The compass roses, the scales for latitude and German miles, the tints of green and yellow in the landscapes, the rhumb lines and coordinate grid, and the script are all similar on both chart pairs—two by Jonck (VEL 503 and VEL 504) (*Figure 4.24* and *Figure 4.25*), and two by Volckertszoon (VEL 506 and VEL 507) (*Figure 4.26*). In other respects, the two pairs are distinctive. Nessel preserved Jonck's and Volckertszoon's different method of representing trees or forest, and it would appear from the differences between them, the shape, shadings, and markings rendering land- and seascapes.

Volckertszoon's two charts differ in the extent of space covered. VEL 506 runs from from 21°50'S to 34°S, but the most detailed section is from 29° to 32°15'. VEL 507 shows the section from 29°S to 32°15'S in more detail at a larger scale, so my discussion focuses on its representation (*Figure 4.26*).

Volckertszoon's chart is a coastal profile that combines cartography of a geometrically located coastline, hydrography of the sea close to the shore (the neritic space),⁶⁸¹ and topographical description of a coastal landscape as seen from the sea. The line of the coast is charted in space according to its coordinate locations, but the line of the coast itself is embellished with a profile of the view of the shore and hinterland as it appears from sea. Shoals and offshore rocks and islands are carefully marked, as are sea depths taken from soundings, marked with numbers (in fathoms). Places where the *Waeckende Boey* lay at anchor are marked with an anchor symbol. Volckertszoon's chart has eleven textual labels identifying particular features.

The sketch profile of the coast has a number of prominent features. Sand dunes appear along much of the shore, with green hills behind them. A unique symbol of five or six sticks topped with palm-like fronds (or perhaps three joined symbols of a tree,

681 *Oxford English Dictionary*, *q.v.* 'neritic': the shallow sea near a coast that lies above the continental shelf.

depending on interpretation) indicate wooded areas. The island later named Rottnest by de Vlamingh is shown unnamed in a bay (today Cockburn Sound). The estuary of the Derbarl Yerrigan (Swan River) was not noticed, and so was unmarked (*Figure 4.27*).

Jonck describes the neritic space like Volckertszoon, with shoals, rocks, islands, depths, and anchorage points all marked in a similar fashion. However, Jonck made an effort to separate the coastal profile from the cartographic description. He drew his coastal profile on a horizontal baseline as though at sea level (*Figure 4.25*), following the practice of Isaac Gilsemans, the artist on Tasman's voyage (*Figure 4.28*).⁶⁸² By contrast, the line of Volckertszoon's coast follows its geometrical position in Euclidean coordinates (*Figure 4.27*). Jonck adopted some methods not used by Gilsemans to enable the viewer to match locations on the coastal profile with their position in latitude. On chart VEL 503, he drew a geographical map of the coastline separately, directly underneath the coastal profile, with a coordinate scale directly underneath, marked for every 10 minutes of latitude (*Figure 4.24*). On a separate chart (VEL 504) drawn at a larger scale, he omitted the cartography but included a scale with the degrees and minutes of latitude below the profile (*Figure 4.25*).

Victor Victorszoon was the cartographer and illustrator on de Vlamingh's voyage.⁶⁸³ He drew both a general cartographic chart of the coastline, watercolour profiles of fifteen separate sections of that coast, and a landscape painting of the entrance to the estuary of Derbarl Yerrigan.⁶⁸⁴ Victorszoon adopted the same method as Volckertszoon, in

682 Gilseman's hydrography was translated into print by Blaeu as the geography of *Hollandia Nova, Anthoni van Diemens Landt*, and *Zeelandia Nova*, but his coastal profiles remained unpublished in print until modern times.

683 As a crew member of the *Geelvinck*, he had an additional role as 'consoler of the sick'; see Günter Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land: Willem de Vlamingh 1696-1697*, trans. by C. de Heer (Sydney: Royal Australian Historical Society in association with the Australian Bank, 1985), p. 13.

684 A copy of the cartographic chart Victorszoon drew in the hydrographic office by survives. De Vlamingh also records in the *Geelvinck* journal that he made his own chart of the coast while on board (in addition to Victorszoon's), but this has been lost. See Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, p. 89. The coastal profiles and painting became separated from the main chart and were only identified by Schilder in 1970, in the Prins Hendrik Maritime Museum in Rotterdam. Colour reproductions are included in Schilder, *Voyage to the Great*

providing both a map of the coastline laid out on Euclidean coordinates, with the line of the coast embellished in sections with sketches of the coastal profile, 'inland' of the shoreline (*Figure 4.29*). The description of the coastal landscape, however, has less detail than Jonck's and Volckertszoon's charts, because it was part of his illustrative plan to provide separate more detailed coastal profiles of sections of the coast. Mainly only the sections of the coast that have profiles are provided with a simplified profile sketch on the chart. Other parts of the coast are shown with a line only, or in some parts a dotted line. There is no consistent attempt to distinguish sand dunes from hills. The hydrography, a vertical description of the neritic zone, has been recorded in greater detail (as in Jonck's and Volckertszoon's charts) to include depths, coastal islands, rocks, shoals, reefs, and places where the *Geelvinck* anchored, using similar but not identical symbols to those used by Jonck and Volckertszoon. Numbers along the coast of the main cartographic chart refer to the fifteen separate coastal profiles. Each profile has a brief description written in text above it describing its position, the number which relates it to the main chart, and other key features.

Three features are important to notice for what they reveal about features of the coast between about 29°30'S and 32°S that was charted independently by Jonck, Volckertszoon, and Victorszoon. A table-shaped mountain described as '*Een Kenlijck Geberghte, ofte Een Tafel Bergh*' ('a prominent hill, or a table mountain') is shown on Volckertszoon's chart at 30°6'S. Today this is known as Mount Lesueur (30°11'S), a circular tableland about 21 km inland from Jurien Bay. On Jonck's chart, it appears less flat-topped and more rounded, slightly further south at 30°15'. It is difficult to be certain whether de Vlamingh identified the same feature. It might be the most prominent hill of coastal profile No 3, shown on both the chart and the separate profile, but it appears too close to the shore, rather than inland, behind sand dunes, as in Jonck's and Volckertszoon's charts (*Figure 4.30*).

South Land, plates 21–26.

Two triangular peaks rise from the hinterland hills, near where the shoals part giving access to the shore at 30°25'S on Volckertszoon's chart. They are the North and South Hummocks, today located in Nambung National Park, south of the limestone formations known as the Pinnacles.⁶⁸⁵ The Hummocks are marked more prominently on Jonck's charts but appear further south at 30°55' S. Jonck also bestowed them with a name, *Emeloorts Uijtkijck* ('Emeloort's lookout'). On de Vlamingh's chart they are further south still, at about 31°S. They are drawn in more detail on profile 2 (*Figure 4.31*). It is unlikely that any of the crews visited them, as they are located three to four kilometres inland from the shore.

Volckertszoon's more cartographic method presented him with a problem in the description of the island of Rottnest. For this feature, he has represented the shape of the island cartographically, although its interior, like that of the mainland, has largely been seen only from the coast. He draws its whole coastline like a map with a small 'ring' of coastal hills and dunes around it. A separate line runs across the island from its northeast to southwest points providing a 'horizontal' for the drawing of a profile of the hills inland as seen from the north (*Figure 4.27*). Volckertszoon's more abstract presentation enables the island's position relative to the mainland and the shoals of Cockburn Sound to be described in clear geometrical detail, but is unsatisfactory as a presentation of the profile of its shores.

Jonck's chart omits Rottnest Island entirely, apparently because he did not recognize it as an island. His chart presents the view only from the western side of the island looking towards the mainland. Probably, Jonck's narrow peninsula at 31°55'S labelled *Den hoogen hoeck* (the high cape) represents his view of the island from further out at sea than Volckertszoon sailed. This might explain why Jonck left part of the coastal profile here without colour, because of its greater distance from the ship compared with the rest of the coast. He labelled it *Den Grooten Inbocht* ('the great bight') (*Figure 4.32*).

⁶⁸⁵ Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, p. 87. Their modern latitude is 30°37'S and 30°38'S.

De Vlamingh went a step further than Volckertszoon in his representation of the island. The island was not only known to de Vlamingh before setting out, but was identified in his instructions as the arrival point on the western coastline.⁶⁸⁶ On Victorszoon's chart, it gains its own inset at a larger scale than the rest of the coast. The neritic space is described in detail. Unlike Volckertszoon, however, who described one landscape profile across the centre of the island and another right around the coasts, Victorszoon left the shore as a single line, but drew a coastal profile along the line of the northern coast (*Figure 4.33*). There is also a coastal profile which shows this profile in more detail (No. 1) (*Figure 4.34*). No one seems to have asked why de Vlamingh gave Rottnest Island such exceptional attention. It seems a not unreasonable to speculate that the VOC considered the island as a potential base for a base from which more extensive explorations of Bandaiyan might be made. Alternatively, it might be that a small island was graspable in its entirety in a way that the rest of the vast coastline and its unknown interior was not.

The similarities and differences between Jonck's and Volckertszoon's charts are sufficient to show that they observed some of the same features independently while sailing along the coast. The difference in location on the charts is probably the result of observing them from different directions at sea and estimating their position on land, as latitude was more easily determined at sea than longitude (the charts show latitude only).

The similarities also show both Jonck and Volckertszoon responded to the same prominent characteristics of the landscape, showing an embodied response, although from a distance, at sea. Both were attentive to the landscape that they saw. A comparison of the two charts shows how, with the technology available in the mid-seventeenth century, considerable differences and discrepancies in locating the sites of

⁶⁸⁶ De Vlamingh was instructed to reach the west coast of Bandaiyan at between 32°S and 33°S, and to make a rendezvous of the three ships if they should get separated at 'a certain island lying at about 32 degrees'. See Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, pp. 165–6.

a geographical description could be produced using these methods, even when chartmakers were conducting a survey from similar positions at a distance. A chart of a similar stretch of coastline in the United Provinces would have been produced very differently by surveys undertaken by traversing the locations on land.

Jonck's coastal profile is closer to a landscape than Volckertszoon's. It might therefore be expected that Jonck's chart evokes a sense of place more effectively than Volckertszoon's, which, according to Casey's criteria, ought to emphasize the relative locations in space better than Jonck's chart.

On both Jonck's and Volckertszoon's charts there is a flattening of depth in the rendering of the landforms along the coast, because the view of the land has been described from a distance at sea. A limitation of depth is a characteristic of landscape description, according to Casey.⁶⁸⁷ For Casey, what is important about Dutch landscape painting of the seventeenth century is the way in which it makes a topographic survey of a circumambience of land. It presents a view 'from above' and from a distance. There is 'no fixed viewpoint' — the topography of the landscape can be perused from any number of different locations. It is also 'unframed'. It emphasizes surface and extent over depth.

Alpers defines the multiple viewpoints of the art of describing landscape as set within, or 'inside', the landscape, but this applies neither to Jonck's nor Volckertszoon's charts, perhaps even less to Jonck's, because the perspective is located outside the landscape, at sea. Jonck's coastal profile presents a vertical perspective of the neritic zone just as Volckertszoon does, but his aerial perspective is abruptly abandoned where sea meets land. Jonck's mariners ventured once perhaps three miles inland, but most of the surveying for both sets of charts was done from sea, so the charting had to rely on a description of what was visible from the distant low vantage point of the sea.⁶⁸⁸ Casey

687 Casey, *Representing Place*, pp. 347–56 q.v. 'landscape' and 'landskip'.

688 The exception is the three inhabitants' houses, discussed in Chapter 3.

defines landscapes as lacking depth, as a result of its focus on the topographic surface details. This also applies to the coastal profile. Both charts are more successful as hydrography, showing the neritic seascape and its landward limits, rather than as landscape, which was appropriate to their purpose.

Alpers observed that seventeenth-century Dutch art imitated cartography in the 'pleasure taken in description', that both took a playful and inventive approach to representation through a combination of horizontal and vertical views, a multiplication of viewpoints that none dominates, and the mingling of words and images. For Alpers, the aim of visual description was to collect a great variety of information, presenting it additively.⁶⁸⁹ All three sets of charts participate in this pleasure of description, but what kind of space do they evoke?

A comparison of Volckertszoon's and Jonck's charts show that they used text labels differently to record the information collected. Jonck was more likely to bestow names on features he regarded as important, whereas Volckertszoon's labels were all descriptive. Both captains marked the reef where the *Vergulde Draeck* was wrecked, but characteristically, Jonck named it *Draecken Riff* (*The Draeck's Reef*) while Volckertszoon gave it a descriptive label, *Op dit Riff de Draeck verongeluckt* ('On this reef the *Draeck* [ran] aground').

Volckertszoon's other descriptive labels included *Dese Eijlanden Batavias kerkhof* ('These islands [are] *Batavia's* graveyard'), *Hier veel Teeckens van de Draeck gevonden* ('Here [were] found many signs of the [*Vergulde*] *Draeck*'), and *Hier siet men alsoo danigh 't geboomten* ('Here one sees [it is] thus densely forested').

Both descriptive labels and toponyms appear on Jonck's charts. Five of Jonck's fourteen labels were names. He named the bight (now Cockburn Sound) between Rottneest and the Derbarl Yerrigan (Swan) estuary *Den Grooten Inbocht* ('the great bight'). In the

689 Alpers, pp. 161–2.

tradition of naming parts of the land after the ships that had sailed past it, Jonck also named part of Whadjuk country south of the Derbarl Yerrigan as *'t lant van Emeloort*, a name that did not catch on, and appears nowhere else. He also named a prominent 'lookout' after the *Emeloort*, *Emeloorts Uijtkijck*, as mentioned above. In addition to the reef where the *Vergulde Draeck* was wrecked, he named a second feature after the doomed ship: a headland at 30°44', *Draecken Hoof*t. He also named two small coastal islands at 33°13 *De twee Gebroeders* ('the two brothers').⁶⁹⁰ By being more ready to make names rather than descriptive labels, Jonck participated more fully than Volckertszoon in creating a chart that would stimulate codes of extrasignification in its reception. He went further in personalizing and taking discursive possession of the space the chart purported to represent, and inserting the role of his ship and hence himself into the history of its creation.

Like Jonck's chart, de Vlamingh uses a combination of descriptive labels and names. Many indicate events. *Aan landt weest* ('Went on land') appears eleven times, with *Hier langs heen aan landt geweest* ('Here been on land long hence') also appearing once. None refers to content on either Jonck's or Volckertszoon's charts, which suggests that de Vlamingh and Victorszoon were not concerned to match up their charting with their predecessors', although it would accord with VOC practice that the *Geelvinck* was equipped with copies of Nessel's charts.

Since these views are panoramic, and the painters or sketchers were also trained in landscape painting, it is worth comparing them with Alpers' and Casey's discussions of topographic paintings. For Casey, Smibert's *Vew* [sic] *of Boston* (1738) has four important characteristics (Figure 4.35). It is descriptive, full of topographical information about the scene as it is viewed; it comprises a vista that attempts to take in an entirety of space from a distant viewpoint; it is panoramic; and it includes human

⁶⁹⁰ Jonck's remaining nine labels were descriptive like Volckertszoon's: for example, *Hooge duijnen* (high dunes), *Langh Effen lant beneden voor duijnen* ('long level land below in front of the dunes'), and *Den hoogen hoeck* (the high cape), which he probably mistook for Rottnest Island.

figures on the opposite shore modelling the viewing of the scene that the artist has painted.⁶⁹¹

Landscapes like Smibert's are different from coastal profiles, but they engage some similar practices and features. The maker of a coastal profile must assume a less elevated, more constrained viewpoint, closer to the sea level. The pilot draughtsperson is also largely restricted to gaining information from what can be seen from the ship, unless he receives additional reports from land parties. A landscape artist like Smibert has more freedom to walk around within the scene to make surveys of individual features that comprise part of the whole. Smibert can therefore assume the fiction of a more elevated viewpoint in the sky above the scene. The coastal profile also generally comprises a survey of a much greater extent or length of space than a landscape painting, which might achieve greater depth.

For Alpers, the survey of a landscape is from above, from a distance that gives the viewer privileged access to the land below. It has no fixed viewpoint (unlike the recommendations of Alberti) and is unframed.⁶⁹² This approach emphasizes surface and extent over volume and solidity. Such landscapes deal more in time and space than in place. As a result, Casey remarks, landscapes can bring unexplored *terrae incognitae* 'into the known image', that is, they can make present before the reader's eye (in Ortelius words) the unknown.⁶⁹³ If this is the case, did the pilots use such techniques in their coastal profiles to achieve a representation of the *terrae incognitae* of the western coast of Bandaiyan?

Victorszoon's landscape profiles from de Vlamingh's voyage show greater detail of the littoral landscape than the main chart. These profiles show more depth than Nessel's copy of Jonck's chart. Like Gilsemans, Jonck placed his profiles on a horizontal baseline, at sea level. By contrast, Victorszoon's profiles appear to be drawn from an

691 Casey, *Representing Place*, pp. 9–10.

692 Alpers, p. 161.

693 Casey, *Representing Place*, p. 164 (n. 30).

elevated, multidirectional viewpoint *within* the scene. The image assumes a perspectival grid extending into or towards the scene, which might explain why, in a number of the profiles, such as Nos. 10 and 11 (*Figure 4.36*), the coast bends around an assumed viewpoint, where others have a nearly horizontal baseline. In this way, a greater contrast can be made between headlands closer to the painter's viewpoint and those further away. This construction of the scene also enables a panorama, showing a view of the land from a number of perspectives, pointing in different directions: from the ship, as well as from other parts of the coast. For example, No. 12 shows Turtle Bay (*Figure 4.37*).⁶⁹⁴ To the west (right) is Cape Inscription, marked 'A', with a pin slightly to the east highlighting the point where Dirck Hartog's pewter plate was found by de Vlamingh. To the east (left), what is now known as Cape Levillain is marked 'B'. A needle symbol appears on both the profile and the map to mark the location of the pewter plate. As almost the only permanent Dutch mark on the whole continent, this object was invested with great importance.⁶⁹⁵

The descriptive method of Victorszoon and other pilots might be referred to as an 'antenna' view, to adapt Alpers' translation of a phrase used by Simon van Leeuwen in an appeal to historians to reject the treatment of subject and myth, and represent instead 'the naked truth seen in the clear and bright sun'.⁶⁹⁶ As much as the pilots might have endeavoured to make an isomorphic transfer of surface details they could see, their technique necessarily entailed inventiveness. The 'antenna view' might also describe the desire of artists of coastal profiles to open up more of the surface and hinterland to the sight than it was actually possible to see. Robert Jenkin has suggested

694 Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, p. 89.

695 Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, p. 89. The label on the chart is: 'Dirck Hartooghs Ree Alhier de schootel gevonden' ('Dirck Hartog's roadstead, the [pewter] plate found here'). The label on the profile is: 'Dirck Hartog's roadstead lying at S lat. of 25 deg. 24 min. the land shows thus when you are anchored at the roadstead of same at the depth of 18 to 19 fathoms sandy bottom ½ mile from shore, having the west point letter A to WSW½W and the east point letter B, SE by E of us; the pewter plate found here.'

696 Alpers, pp. 161–2 and n. 46. Van Leeuwen's phrase was *te spriet-oogen* (literally, 'with spriet-eyes'). It appears twice in his *Korte Besgryving van het Lugdunum Batavorum nu Leyden* (*Short Description of Leyden*), published in 1672. This poetic phrase might also evoke pilots' desire to see beyond the bowsprit into the depths beneath the waves and into the land ahead.

that VOC artists exaggerated the height of their coastal profiles as they made more copies of them. Finding that Gilsemans was probably the draughtsman of both the earlier Blok and later State Archives (Nationaal Archief) copy of the Tasman profiles, he juxtaposes these two copies of the profile of *Mordenaers Baij* ('Murderers' Bay', now Golden Bay, Aotearoa/New Zealand) with a modern photograph taken from the position from which Gilsemans probably made the original sketch (*Figure 4.38*).⁶⁹⁷ In both drawings, Gilsemans raised the elevation of the viewpoint, effectively lifting the rear of the land's perspective plane upwards and towards the viewer, although the viewpoint is not raised as high as in Smibert's *View of Boston* where the angle of the perspective plane of the ground approaches 45°. The result is to exaggerate the height of the landscape substantially, giving the drawings greater depth and exaggerating the perception of horizontal space by comparison with the photograph. The shape of headlands, hills, bays, and beaches gain greater definition and can also be better appreciated in relation to each other. The distortion is greater in the later Nationaal Archief copy by comparison with the earlier Blok.

The very nearly horizontal baseline in the photograph in Jenkins's comparison, in which the height of the landscape is much lower relative to the drawings, has most in common with Jonck's profile, and also with the profiles in the Nationaal Archief copy of Tasman's journal edited by Heeres and Coote.⁶⁹⁸ Unlike Victorszoon's profile No. 12 of Turtle Bay, the concave and convex twists of the coastline are difficult to appreciate in Jonck's coastal profile, perhaps why he added the cartographic coastline representation below on VEL 503 (*Figure 4.24*). If Jenkin's theory is correct, it would suggest that Jonck's charts might not represent the first sketch he produced, but a later, more enhanced or exaggerated version. Jonck's vertical exaggeration of the coastal profile is much greater than Volckertszoon's profile, which must follow the Euclidean coordinate line of the coast.

697 Robert Jenkin, 'Was Gilsemans Really Tasman's Primary Draughtsman?', *Abel Tasman 1642*, 2015 <<http://abeltasman.org.nz/was-gilsemans-really-tasmans-draughtsman/>> [accessed 3 May 2019].

698 These are probably also by Gilsemans, but closer to his original sketches. See Heeres and Coote, *Abel Jansz. Tasman's Journal*,, p. 21.

What implications do these characteristics of the coastal profiles have for the representation of place in Bandaiyan? Like landscape paintings, the coastal profiles take a cut of a landscape, and they attempt an isomorphic transposition of the topography of the land to the representation. Isomorphism does not imply replication, however. Like landscapes, the viewpoint of the painter's eye is raised and the height and depth of the landscape's features are exaggerated to provide a more definitive (or more complete) topography than it would be possible to discern with the naked eye. Redrawing is used like microscopy to discern in the scene more than was possible when viewing it from the ship. Despite appearances, the profiles are not photographic; they have been subject to manipulation. The information the coastal profile artist had at their disposal was more limited than might appear. Unlike a landscape artist in Europe, they could not venture far inland to observe and record individual features of a scene in more detail. There were no towers to climb within the landscape, as surveyors did in Europe.⁶⁹⁹ Instead, techniques of drawing have been deployed in an attempt to show as much or perhaps more information about the shape of the land than it was possible to see with the naked eye. Gilsemans and Victorszoon took these techniques furthest. It is difficult to determine how Nessel treated the original sketches by Jonck and Volckertszoon. He might have introduced more exaggeration, although if he did, he does not appear to have left any trace of it in differences between the two surviving copies he made of the charts of each voyage, where the relative vertical proportions appear similar.

Where the coastal profile's viewpoint remains resolutely *outside* the scene, looking on from one side, the rendering of the landscape along the coast presents something of the impervious aspect of a wall to the viewer. This is most marked in Jonck's profiles, which use a horizontal baseline. Where Victorszoon has raised the viewpoint or used an 'antenna eye' to place it within the scene, more depth is apparent. In Jonck's chart, the 'wall-like' coastal profile repels an interpretation of place, making it more difficult to grasp its circumambience. Jonck's profile is more like a city view in the tradition of

⁶⁹⁹ Alpers, p. 148.

Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*; for instance, Vermeer's *View of Delft* (Figure 4.39). Alpers notes that the high sky of Vermeer's painting has the effect of making the town appear an intimate place, closed away from the outside world. Vermeer invites the eye to dwell on the bridge, which crosses the canal, the only way for the outsider, the viewer, to penetrate the town.⁷⁰⁰ The ship berthed at the right points the way in along the canal. Jonck's profiles of the Bandaiyan coast give a similar impression of a world unto itself, not readily sharing its intimacy with those on its coastal fringes peering in.

Victorszoon's one true landscape of de Vlamingh's voyage depicts the estuary of the Derbarl Yerrigan, now called the Swan River, from Cockburn Sound (Figure 4.40). The *Geelvinck* and the *Weseltje* lie at anchor, like the boat moored at the dock in Vermeer's *View of Delft*, pointing the way into the interior, while two smaller boats with sailors enter the river, where several black swans are swimming. The view assumes the perspective from the deck of the third vessel of the voyage, the *Nyptangh*. The brown hills near the sea are bare, some inland have a sparse trees. In the background are the higher hills of the Darling Scarp, which Noongar recognize as the body of the *Waugal*, the creation serpent, who created the landscapes during the creation time of the *Nyitting* or Dreaming.⁷⁰¹ Victorszoon's landscape presents a more idealistic image than the coastal profiles. The entrance of the boats to the river appears simple, but the reef shown on the main chart lying across the entrance to the river has been omitted. It made the entrance to the river perilous.⁷⁰² Instead, there is a benign vista of the river winding into the interior, suggesting possibility.

Victorszoon has elevated the viewpoint much higher than in the coastal profiles. He had some information about about the twisty course of the river at its mouth because

700 Alpers, pp. 152–5.

701 *Waugal* means 'soul', 'spirit', or 'breath'. See 'Spirituality', *Kaartdijin Noongar - Noongar Knowledge* <<https://www.noongarculture.org.au/spirituality/>> [accessed 16 May 2019].

702 Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, p. 126: 'Went into the galliot's pinnace and entered the river, where we found the mouth of the river with very many rocks as also with shallows so that we could not enter without peril.'

the two boats of sailors had rowed about twelve miles upstream. It would not be possible to attain this view from the *Nyptangh* anchored in Cockburn Sound. As a result, the interior of the land has been opened up to the gaze of those on board the *Nyptang* awaiting the return of the boats with news of the interior. The view of the estuary winding inland seems intended to evoke the excitement of finding a way to penetrate more deeply into the *terra incognita* than Europeans had done before.

Perhaps Victorszoon has adapted the deictic ‘gesture of demonstration’ in the Albertian sense, seen in Smibert’s painting in the human figures looking at the scene of Boston from the opposite shore, modelling the audience gaze by gesticulating towards features in the landscape.⁷⁰³ It is also seen in Allard’s map of the Southeast Asian archipelago (c. 1652) in the cherubim pointing at Africa on the globe (*Figure 4.41*). In Victorszoon’s landscape, the ships anchored outside the estuary entrance perform the same function of modelling for the audience the viewing of the painting (*Figure 4.42*). The ships are like the human figures in Smibert or Allard. They stand in metonymically for the crew—specifically, the captain and pilot—surveying the coastal landscape that is new to them, and plotting the topographical features on the map. If so, it suggests the ship as a trope of vision on early modern maps: the vessel that carried the pilots and information collectors around the world.⁷⁰⁴ In Victorszoon’s gestural ships, the antenna view metaphor is returned to the ship. They are the conveyors of antenna-eyes surveying the *terra incognita*.

Given how often de Vlamingh and his sailors went on land to try to meet Noongar they had observed from their boats and ships, and the many Noongar houses and fires they recorded seeing and inspecting in the journals, it is curious that there is not one reference to the land’s inhabitants in Victorszoon’s landscape. The mariners are the

703 Casey, *Representing Place*, pp. 9–10. Jacob points out that the term ‘gesture of demonstration’ is Claude Gandelman’s. Jacob quotes Alberti stating in *Della Pittura* that he likes to see in a painting a figure with a ‘choleric complexion or sparkling eyes’ teaching an ‘ornament or lesson’; see Jacob, pp. 115–16.

704 For Unger, *Ships on Maps*, p. 176, two of the functions of ships on maps was to illustrate ‘emerging technology’ and reflect existing artistic traditions.

only humans in this image of a gateway to an apparently empty continent, aside from some black swans; although the same is true of Vermeer's *View of Delft*: the only human figures are outside the city, on the opposite bank of the river, or in the ship. Perhaps Victorszoon's omission of Aboriginal people shows the land as the explorers would have liked it to be, empty of the greatest danger, the unknown inhabitants he knew were there.

The image is also more dynamic than the coastal profiles. It shows a drama of entry into the unknown continent, the moment the VOC sailors are poised on the brink of discovery. The drama is heightened by the focus on the human activity; the scale of the human figures, ships, boats, and swans is exaggerated with respect to the rest of the landscape, as Gilsemans did in his drawings of the Maori and their boats in *Mordenaers Baij*. At least in those images, the Maori are given equivalent attention to the the Dutch.

The charts by Nessel and Victorszoon are complex documents, which combine cartography, landscape painting, and text. Together, they represent arguably the most persistent attempt (over the best part of a century, if later updates by the van Keulens are included) by agents of the VOC to update the Blaeuvian cartographic description of *Hollandia Nova*. They attempt to apprehend in a variety of cartographic forms a stretch of western coastline of Bandaiyan that had been left as a gap in the standard Blaeuvian geography, as seen most clearly in Joan Blaeu's map *Archipelagus Orientalis sive Asiaticus* (1659). Isaac de Graaf made rough copies of Nessel's and Victorszoon's charts between 1690 and 1700 for a manuscript atlas for the VOC's internal use, the so-called 'Atlas Amsterdam'.⁷⁰⁵ They continued to be copied in the hydrographic offices of the VOC well into the eighteenth century, indicating the VOC's continued interest in Bandaiyan.

⁷⁰⁵ Schilder and others, I. De Graaf seems to have executed his work with limited attention to detail. For example, Schilder notes that when he copied Victorszoon's index chart, he did not bother to copy the landscape profile features along the coastline according to the original, but gave them a 'conventional appearance' (Schilder, *Voyage*, p. 94). He made many small, mostly insignificant, changes to the labels.

Conclusions

In the mid-1640s, Joan Blaeu created a geography of *Hollandia Nova* based on pilots' charts, and removed the form of Mercator's *Terra Australis Incognita* to the south polar margins of his maps. This gradually became a standardized form in printed maps and globes, but under the hand and press of different geographers, in particular, French, Venetian, and English, *Terra Australis* came gradually to be associated with the Blaeuvian geography. The concept of *Terra Australis*, with roots in the classical tradition of Ptolemaic geography and Mercator's Renaissance cosmography supported by Marco Polo's nomenclature, possessed more historical authority and neutrality than the newer *Hollandia Nova*. It could legitimize and justify non-Dutch claims to the spaces designated by Blaeu's more recent geography, which was closely associated with the VOC's interests, whose motives were widely questioned. It could also gloss the incompleteness of *Hollandia Nova*, about which Blaeu's mid-century assessment remained true at the century's end: 'nor has there yet been published anything, or but little'.

The significance of the printed maps lay less in knowledge of the lands shown than in their claims about Dutch imperium in Asia, and the VOC's knowledge and control of access to lands about which it possessed limited knowledge aside from some information about half of its coastline. The toponyms of *Hollandia Nova* supported this impression of Dutch imperium, and functioned as markers to grasp a basic comprehension of a vast, mostly unknown space, and guide future uses or exploration of it. The manuscript charts that circulated mostly within the VOC in the second half of the seventeenth century were not used to update the standard geography of *Hollandia Nova* in print, perhaps because they offered nothing that could improve the successful impression of Dutch imperium that Blaeu had created with *Hollandia Nova*. Despite that, they were useful to inform VOC directors' decisions and the navigation of pilots of subsequent voyages in the seas to the west and north of Bandaiyan. The VOC sent no ships to the waters to the east and south of the continent after Tasman's voyages.

From the point of view of how Bandaiyan and its peoples were understood in seventeenth-century Europe, the manuscript charts provide a more varied and detailed insight than the printed cartography, and show greater attention to the particularities of place. They evince a curiosity about difference and desire to see into the continent, a reaching for an 'antenna' view. Although these representations largely circulated within the VOC only, they offer important evidence of how metropolitans and agents of the VOC perceived Bandaiyan and its peoples at the time, through the framework of contemporary practices of the visual arts. The impression of Bandaiyan's coastline in the coastal profiles of Jonck and others as a 'wall' to be overcome suggests a poetic geographical response to a place and peoples perceived to be self-sufficient and complete, without a need to engage with the world beyond, and a determination to shun attempts to know and appropriate them.

Chapter 5: Projection of Utopian Landscapes in *Terra Australis*

As soon as they were landed they carefully viewed the Country from the top of a rising ground not far from the shore, but saw neither Houses, nor Inhabitants, nor any signs of either, the Country being but a Sandy barren Land, where grew nothing but bushes and little shrubs wild and savage. They could see neither River nor Brook in the parts they had discovered; and not having time to make a farther search that day, nor counting it prudence to venture any farther into so unknown a place, they came back to the Ship three hours after their landing.

This description of landscape at the beginning of Denis Vairasse's utopia, *The History of the Sevarites or Sevarambi* is among the first impressions that Dutch mariner Captain Siden has of *Terra Australis*, after his ship the *Golden Dragon* has run aground off the coast.⁷⁰⁶ This 'Sandy, barren' landscape, without houses or inhabitants, is reminiscent of mariners' descriptions of the western coast of Bandaiyan, but is not what the reader expects of a utopia. The vegetation is 'wild and savage', and perhaps even lacking in water, and there is no sign of a utopian civilization. In fact, more than half of Part I of *Sevarambians*, first published in English in 1675, is set in this wilderness landscape. It is not until page 33 that Siden's deputy Maurice returns from exploring the country with the news that he has met the Sevarambians, although only those who live on the periphery in the city reserved for 'deformed' people. The reader must wait until Part II, which was not published until 1677 (in French, rather than English), to learn about the utopian capital of Sevarinde itself.

Aubrey Rosenberg was critical of another utopia set in *Terra Australis*, Hendrik Smeeks' *Description of the Mighty Kingdom of Krinke Kesmes* (1708), for allegedly devoting only

706 Denis Veiras, *The History of the Sevarambians: A Utopian Novel*, ed. by John Christian Laursen and Cyrus Masroori (Albany NY: State University of New York Press, 2006), p. 14. Vairasse is known in the critical literature variously as Veiras, Vairasse, or (Denis Vairasse) d'Allais. I use Vairasse (preferred by the Bibliothèque nationale de France), as it is the form he stated his preference for, and makes a full anagram for his utopian founder Sevarias. Like many utopias, the work has been published under a variety of titles. I abbreviate the title in the discussion to *Sevarambians*.

about one third of the text to a description of the utopia. Rosenberg complains that ‘the first three [chapters are] taken up with events prior to or only marginally related to the discovery of the Southland’.⁷⁰⁷ Its landscapes likewise vary between a sandy wilderness inhabited by barbarians and the more typical rationally organized utopian city. The reader of Gabriel de Foigny’s *La terre australe connue* (1676) must also wait until Chapter 4 to learn anything about the utopia, once the narrator has taken a detour to the Congo and a long ordeal at sea. Its landscape spreads across the whole of the south-polar continent. An earlier work, set on an island of *Terra Australis*, Henry Neville’s *The Isle of Pines* (1668), is arguably not a utopia at all. Probably an inspiration for Vairasse, it lacks so many of the typical elements of the rationally organized society that it might be better described as a republican arcadia.⁷⁰⁸ What might account for the differences in these utopias’ landscape descriptions by comparison with the classical utopian model, and why do they delay (indefinitely, arguably, in two cases) the arrival in the utopian city?

In the case of *Sevarambians*, the reader has been primed for a utopian fiction from the outset. In the preface to the reader, the publisher ‘D.V.’ (Denis Vairasse) begins by citing Plato’s *Republic*, More’s *Utopia*, and Bacon’s *New Atlantis*. He then claims that this work will be quite unlike those ‘Ideas and ingenious fancies’. Following a review of the state of geographical knowledge of ‘remote Countries’, D.V. observes that geographers provide only ‘some small and imperfect descriptions’ of ‘the third Continent, commonly called, *Terra Australis*’. He then announces his purpose: ‘This History will supply that defect, in a great measure, if it be true, as I have reason to believe’. Hence, having suggested that his work will not be in the mode of Plato, More, and Bacon, Vairasse winks at the reader to expect exactly the kind of intellectual play with the boundaries of truth and fiction that is typical of the utopian genre.⁷⁰⁹ Yet, there is one

707 Aubrey Rosenberg, ‘“The Mighty Kingdom of Krinke Kesmes”: Terra Australis Incognita Revisited’, *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 57.3 (1988), 376–88 (p. 378).

708 Peter G. Stillman, ‘Monarchy, Disorder, and Politics in The Isle of Pines’, *Utopian Studies*, 17.1 (2006), 147–75 (p. 156), highlights its combination of arcadian, utopian, and dystopian elements.

709 Vairasse uses the same rhetorical sleight of hand as More to assert his work’s truth by setting the start and end of the voyage to utopia in a web of facts and references to real

obvious difference from the authorities D.V. cites. Unlike most earlier utopias which are typically set on islands, Vairasse has located his fiction on a continent. D.V. also indicates that a focus of attention will be a description of the geography of *Terra Australis*, as much as a history of a utopian society.

Another difference from utopian models becomes clear as the *Sevarambians* begins. The narrative structure and style do not follow the typical pattern of the three classical works. There is no philosophical dialogue as in Plato's *Republic*. Nor are the visitors greeted as soon as they arrive, as in Bacon's *New Atlantis*, by an official responsible for watching for alien arrivals and ensuring their safe confinement in quarantine. Neither are we introduced rapidly to a methodical omniscient description of the utopian geography in the manner of More's *Utopia*, in which Raphael Hythloday reports the exact dimensions and shape of the island of Utopia in the first few lines of Book II:

The Island of the Utopians is two hundred miles across in the middle part, where it is widest, and nowhere much narrower than this except towards the two ends, where it gradually tapers. These ends, curved round as if completing a circle five hundred miles in circumference, make the island crescent-shaped, like a new moon.⁷¹⁰

This sets up the reader's expectation for the coming explication of Utopia's religion, social customs, laws, government, wars, and so on, in the style of the *ars apodemica*. By contrast, Vairasse's 'true History' opens with a descriptive narrative of Siden and his companions wandering at will in a kind of wilderness. We follow them as they split up into three teams to explore and survey the landscape. Where Hythloday reports, as though from a celestial height, that Utopia is shaped like a crescent, Siden shows the reader experientially around the places he passes through, apparently as ignorant of his location and its geomorphology as the reader. Unlike Hythloday, he has no inkling

people in the author's society. Vita Fortunati has noted the skill with which More combined fiction and reality in *Utopia* to create an 'atmosphere of sceptical ambiguity' (*atmosphère d'incrédible ambiguïté*) which defines the utopian genre; see Vita Fortunati, 'Utopia', in *Histoire transnationale de l'utopie littéraire et de l'utopisme*, ed. by Vita Fortunati, Raymond Trousson, and Paola Spinuzzi (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2008), pp. 81–96 (p. 82).

710 Thomas More, *Utopia*, ed. by George M. Logan, trans. by Robert M. Adams, Revised edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 41.

of a map view of the land where he finds himself. Yet over the course of *Sevarambians*, the reader learns so many chorographic details of the landscape and encounters so many stories of individual Sevarambians that it is possible to imagine a much more vivid, embodied map of Vairasse's *Terra Australis* than of More's Utopia.

Scholars have often observed how the early modern utopia exploits the travel account as part of its narrative strategy, but there is a difference in the use of the travel narrative in utopias set in *Terra Australis* compared with earlier models.⁷¹¹ In the works by More, Campanella, and Bacon, the voyage is a conceit to explain how the narrator reached the previously unknown utopian realm despite its distance from the author's and reader's world. The barest facts of the voyage are stated in a few lines. Hythloday explains in Book I how he passed through the Torrid Zone to reach Utopia:

the whole region is desolate and squalid, grim and uncultivated, inhabited by wild beasts and serpents, and by men no less wild and dangerous ... But as you go on, everything gradually grows milder.⁷¹²

Once the reader reaches Book II, Hythloday is already in Utopia and reports omnisciently about its spatial characteristics. By contrast, in the later utopias set in *Terra Australis*, the passage through the Torrid Zone is transferred to the sea coasts of the southern continent. Its neritic and coastal margin becomes a wild periphery through which the travellers must pass in an extended narrative of trial (or 'travail'), by sea or land.⁷¹³ The utopian city is located, not on the coast, but in the hinterland. Hence, arrival there is deferred. The reader learns details about the utopia slowly through the narration of multiple land voyages by a cast of characters, rather than by one narrator.

711 For a number of contributions to the way in which the travel account and the utopia were mutually indebted, see *New Worlds Reflected: Travel and Utopia in the Early Modern Period*, ed. by Chloë Houston (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

712 *Utopia*, trans. by Adams, p. 11.

713 On the notion of travel as travail in early modern literature, see David McNinnis, *Mind-Travelling and Voyage Drama in Early Modern England* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 28–30. McNinnis observes that even 'mind-travelling' was expected to be effortful.

The utopias set in *Terra Australis* also incorporate details that are reminiscent of the experiences of VOC mariners who arrived on the western and southern coasts of Bandaiyan in the seventeenth century. The landscape bears the hallmarks of metropolitan descriptions of the western coasts, and the absence of a greeting echoes reports of local Aboriginal people staying out of sight but keeping the visitors under observation. Names and events mentioned in D.V.'s preface make direct references to the experience of Bandaiyan reported by agents of the VOC. The *Golden Dragon* is a translation of *Vergulde Draeck*, for example, the ship wrecked in 1656. Also mentioned is the VOC's long-serving chief advocate Pieter van Dam, who wrote a company history which included an account of the *Vergulde Draeck* events.⁷¹⁴

The differences between the landscapes and the journey to the utopian city in these works with respect to their classical models raise a number of important questions. Why did some utopists at the end of the seventeenth century choose the vast *Terra Australis Incognita* as their setting instead of the traditional island? Having done so, why does the landscape differ from the fruitful paradise evoked by Queirós or Mercator's continent? How do these differences shape the utopian geography, and what might be understood as a result about the continuing imagination of *Terra Australis* in the context of geographical knowledge emerging from Bandaiyan?

Many critics equate the *Terra Australis* of these utopias with Australia. However, this use of terminology risks conflating a modern conception of Australia with an early modern utopian geography drawn from a complex mix of myth and theory based on the concept of *Terra Australis Incognita*, the poetic geography of *Hollandia Nova*, and emerging evidence about Bandaiyan. Some scholars have discounted the associations between the utopias set in *Terra Australis* and observations of Bandaiyan found in contemporary geographical literature. Margaret Sankey has argued that French utopias by Vairasse, Foigny, and Simon Tyssot de Patot are associated with the French notion

714 Pieter van Dam, *Beschryvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie*, ed. by Frederik Willem Stapel, 4 vols ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1927), I.1.

of *Terra Australis Incognita* and located south of India or Africa, far to the west of Bandaiyan.⁷¹⁵

Sarath Jakka makes the point that early modern readers were interested in the location of works such as *The Isle of Pines*, which critics also associate with 'Australia'. In Jakka's analysis, the location of Neville's work points to Madagascar. He identifies compelling links in Neville's work to mid-seventeenth-century English colonial designs, which, long before thoughts were entertained in England of colonizing Bandaiyan, were at that time focused on Madagascar.⁷¹⁶ Sankey's and Jakka's research brings to light important sources and contexts for the utopias set in *Terra Australis* that have been overlooked, and also for highlighting the problem of conflating the poetic geographies of these works with 'Australia'.

Authors of fiction have no need to be specific, and may draw on a host of sources and inspirations that best meet their needs, regardless of their geographical location. Moreover, it is a convention of the genre to leave vague and misleading clues about the location of utopia. However, the construction of imaginative geographies were not entirely random; a compelling early modern *ou-topos* relied on geographical references that could be both plausible and deliberately misplaced. An understanding of the meaning of utopian landscapes requires attention to a range of sources. Overlaps and contradictions between them might provide the best clues to understanding a utopist's consciously ambiguous imaginary. Hence this chapter's focus is the complex utopian geographies that were created by combining an imaginary of *Terra Australis Incognita* with an emerging discourse about experiences of Bandaiyan.

715 Margaret Sankey, 'L'Abbé Paulmier méconnu: le mythe et l'histoire des Terres australes en France aux dix-septième et dix-huitième siècles', *Australian Journal of French Studies*, 38.1 (2001), 54–68 (p. 61).

716 Sarath Jakka, 'Fictive Possessions: English Utopian Writing and the Colonial Promotion of Madagascar as the "Greatest Island in the World" (1640–1668)' (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Kent and University of Porto, 2018).

Artur Blaim has contended that ‘there was no major change in the pattern that defined the poetics of utopian fictions before the end of the eighteenth century’.⁷¹⁷ Blaim’s view confirms the general division of utopian literature into pre-Enlightenment spatial (e)utopias of desire and post-Enlightenment temporal (e)uchronias of hope.⁷¹⁸ However true and useful this generalization might be as a guide to the genre’s historical development overall, the understanding of individual works requires such conceptions to be set to one side for a consideration of their particular characteristics. This framework risks misunderstanding the subtleties of works written on the eve of the Enlightenment, such as those under discussion here, particularly since ‘the discovery’ of southern lands is often held to mark the end of geographical enchantment and necessitate the shift to uchronia, on the grounds that the earth had no more unknown spaces in which to locate utopias.⁷¹⁹ However, as was found in the previous chapter, *Hollandia Nova* remained such an unknown geographical entity on the eve of the Enlightenment that the concept of *Terra Australis* was appended to it to make it more comprehensible. Since the utopias’ setting in *Terra Australis Incognita* is also complemented by some of the limited empirical evidence of Bandaiyan that had emerged, these works deserve greater attention for the way in which time and space structures their conception and narration of difference and social change. Changes in the conception and representation of space and place, real or imagined, in the seventeenth century have not been brought to bear sufficiently on these works, which also evince important past and future temporalities that deserve attention.

No comparative analysis of the four works considered here has been attempted since David Fausett’s studies in the 1990s. Fausett proposed one explanation for the presence of details of Bandaiyan in utopias set in *Terra Australis* as part of his study of the role of ‘austral fictions’ in the history of the novel. He argued that a turn to realism in fiction

717 Artur Blaim, *Gazing in Useless Wonder: English Utopian Fictions, 1516-1800* (Oxford: Peter Lang AG, 2013), p. 4.

718 Fátima Vieira, ‘The Concept of Utopia’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Utopian Literature*, ed. by Gregory Claeys (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 3–27 (p. 9).

719 Jason H. Pearl, *Utopian Geographies and the Early English Novel* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2014), pp. 2–3.

in the second half of the seventeenth century responded to readers' preference at that time for accounts of real events. Authors sought to establish the credibility of their fictions with 'techniques of illusion' by including real people and emphasizing first-person eyewitness narration, as well as reports of real experiences of 'austral' lands such as a now lost sailor's report of being marooned by shipwreck off the coast of Bandaiyan. Because these reports were based on experiences that were often sensational and difficult to verify, they both provoked and were reflected in a more realist literary style. Fausett regards these works as examples of a new genre, the 'quasi-documentary', which prefigured Enlightenment thought, and was responsible for the so-called 'crisis of consciousness' supposed to have occurred in Europe around 1680.⁷²⁰ It is not impossible that such eyewitness accounts might have existed, but utopian fiction makes ambiguous evidential ground for such categorical propositions.

Fausett is correct to focus on the significance of the signs of realism in utopias set in *Terra Australis*, but I take a different approach to understanding these characteristics focused on spatial meaning rather than the history of the novel. It is necessary to keep in mind Boesky's reminder of the self-conscious self-referentiality of utopian literature. She points out that utopias draw attention to the text as representation and that a truth claim is always 'a self-conscious and highly crafted literary device'.⁷²¹ Utopias are less representations of *a priori* realities than vivid presentations of an alternative reality. As Boesky pointed out, Sir Philip Sidney explained More's *Utopia* as a 'speaking picture'.⁷²² Utopia is performative, and hence my analysis of the works discussed here is framed by the seventeenth-century understanding of representation in the visual

720 David Fausett, *Writing the New World: Imaginary Voyages and Utopias of the Great Southern Land* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1993), pp. 158–162. He states (p. 169): 'The catalyst for [the realist shift] appears, on textual, chronological, and theoretical grounds, to have been a marooning following the *Vergulde Draeck* disaster. The literary realism of the eighteenth century can be traced to reports that were sensational but unverifiable and so raised what might otherwise have remained a mere sailor's anecdote into a vibrant literary theme.' The theory of the crisis of consciousness was promulgated by Paul Hazard, *The Crisis of the European Mind, 1680-1715*, trans. by J. Lewis May (New York: New York Review Books, 2013).

721 Amy Boesky, *Founding Fictions: Utopias in Early Modern England* (University of Georgia Press, 1996), p. 22.

722 Boesky, p. 180.

arts, analysed by Alpers and others. As Weststeijn has shown, van Hoogstraten regarded painting as a method for the acquisition of empirical knowledge, but at the same time was conscious of its duplicity as a method that can ‘make things appear to be that are not’.⁷²³ Such conceptions of the duplicity of spatial representation have not been brought to bear sufficiently on utopias set in *Terra Australis* despite their authors’ clear interest in dissimulation both as a narrative theme and in the visualization of utopian space.

My method in this chapter is to compare the representation of place and the use of landscape in the narrative of journeys to the utopian city in the four utopias set in *Terra Australis* published between 1668 and 1708. I compare their landscape architecture with each other and with their models in the works by More and Bacon, adopting the idea of Lise Leibacher-Ouvrard that a utopist is a landscape architect, and the ideological structures of a utopia can be observed engraved in the stone of the buildings and landscape of the utopian imaginary, or revealed by the configuration of the places within the utopian space.⁷²⁴ I focus my analysis on the location of the utopia, the evocation of landscape in the narrative of travel to the utopian city, the inclusion of details of European mariners’ experiences in Bandaiyan, and the use of tropes of the antipodes and *Terra Australis Incognita*. This approach can also contribute to a better understanding of how these utopias function as methods for testing ideas of social enhancement and the extent to which they critique of the idea of social improvement.⁷²⁵

723 Thijs Weststeijn, *The Visible World: Samuel van Hoogstraten’s Art Theory and the Legitimation of Painting in the Dutch Golden Age*, trans. by Beverley Jackson and Lynne Richards, Amsterdam Studies in the Dutch Golden Age (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008), pp. 111, 281.

724 Lise Leibacher-Ouvrard, ‘Espaces et Cités’, in *Libertinage et utopies sous le règne de Louis XIV* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1989), pp. 93–125.

725 On utopia as method, see Ruth Levitas, *Utopia as Method: The Imaginary Reconstruction of Society* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013). Gregory Claeys defines social enhancement as a critical aspect of utopia in Gregory Claeys, ‘News from Somewhere: Enhanced Sociability and the Composite Definition of Utopia and Dystopia’, *History*, 98.330 (2013), 145–73 <<https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-229X.12005>>. For Boesky, *Founding Fictions*, p. 9, utopias are ‘representations of the contradictory status of “improvement”.’

Historical Context

The second half of the seventeenth century was not an ideal time for utopianism in northwestern Europe. It has been observed that the failure to achieve the varied political aspirations that informed the civil conflicts in England of the 1640s and 1650s crushed the utopian spirit.⁷²⁶ Across the channel, the optimism of the Dutch Republic's independence from the Habsburgs in 1648 also suffered the crisis of the *Rampjaar* ('year of disaster') of 1672, when the mob brought monarchy back under William III, and the French and English invaded. In France, Louis XIV promoted the 'divine right of kings', and eventually attempted to impose religious uniformity with the expulsion of French Protestants after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685.

Geography was an essential tool in Louis XIV's strategies to rival Dutch commercial and nautical power. Important reforms were undertaken to increase French maritime power and colonial expansion.⁷²⁷ Among these were the founding of the French *Compagnie des Indes orientales* in 1664, and the establishment of an academy to collect, study, and disseminate geographical knowledge under the King's authority. Thévenot's map of *Hollandia Nova* with *la Terre Australe* to the east, published in his popular travel collection, *Relation de divers voyages et curieux* (1663), emblemized French imperial curiosity and desire to rival the Dutch presence in southeast Asia (Figure 5.01). In this context, *Terra Australis* became a common setting for utopia, especially in France.

Models of Utopian Space: More, Campanella, Bacon

The utopists who set their imagined societies in *Terra Australis* after 1660 drew on many tropes and commonplaces from the utopian tradition, and adapted them in a variety of ways to their own purposes. Their sources included utopian and other works from

726 According to Gregory Claeys. See *Restoration and Augustan British Utopias*, ed. by Gregory Claeys (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2000). Claeys observes that there were more utopias published in England between 1610 and 1660 than after 1660, because the failure of the Puritan Commonwealth discouraged conjectures about ideal governments.

727 Jean Paulmier, *Mémoires touchant l'établissement d'une mission chrestienne dans le troisième monde: autrement appelé, la terre australe, méridionale, antartique & inconnuë*, ed. by Margaret Sankey (Paris: H. Champion, 2006), p. 41 ff.

both contemporary and pre-modern authors. A review of the poetic geography of three Renaissance utopias provides a benchmark against which to appreciate how the later utopists adapted their sources to the setting of *Terra Australis*.

The most important source was Thomas More's *Utopia*, published in Latin in 1516.⁷²⁸ The influence of More's *Utopia* is hard to overstate. *Utopia* furnished both a name for a literary and political tradition, and is regarded as a template for the kinds of concerns and rhetorical approach of later utopian literature in general. 'Utopia' is a pun, derived from the Greek *ou-topos* 'no place' and *eu-topos* 'good place'. Anemolius explained this in the poetic paratext:

'No-Place' was once my name, I lay so far;
But now with Plato's state I can compare,
Perhaps outdo her (for what he only drew
In empty words I have made live anew
In men and wealth, as well as splendid laws):
'The Good Place' they should call me, with good cause.⁷²⁹

More's pun is symptomatic of two effects of European maritime expansion in the sixteenth century: the paradox that the rapid growth in European geographical knowledge also produced a consciousness that the world was vastly larger and more unknown than previously thought; and the desire that stimulated maritime exploration to find previously unknown sources of gold and happiness.

Utopia drew on the narrative consequences of the voyages of Columbus, Vespucci, and others, which produced fantastical travel reports, mixing observation with conjecture, exaggeration, and fancy, which made it difficult for readers of published reports to tell truth from fiction. This provided the perfect realm of discursive ambiguity in which the utopian tradition could flourish. Inspired by the letters of Amerigo Vespucci, More's

728 Its full title was *Libellus vere aureus, nec minus salutaris quam festivus, de optimo rei publicae statu deque nova insula Utopia* (*On the Best State of a Commonwealth and on the New Island of Utopia. A Truly Golden Handbook, No Less Beneficial than Entertaining*).

729 *Utopia*, trans. by Adams, p. 117.

reporter from Utopia, Raphael Hythloday, claimed that he had discovered Utopia after parting with Vespucci in South America.

The search for a happy and bountiful El Dorado was motivated in part by the Christian notion that Paradise was a real place on earth.⁷³⁰ Paradise typically appeared on medieval maps at the farthest eastern edge of Asia, or in a remote location 'on an inaccessible mountain peak [or] beyond an impassable ocean'.⁷³¹ So powerful was this idea that early modern navigators such as Columbus expressed the view that they could find or had found Paradise.⁷³² Queirós was unequivocal and voluble in his petitions to Felipe III in describing the paradisaical abundance he claimed to have discovered in *Terra Australis*.⁷³³ The conjunction of the belief in an earthly paradise with the experience of maritime exploration stimulated the particular form that More established for the utopian genre.⁷³⁴ As emblemized in More's pun, the combination of optimistic desire with unverifiable reports of experience fired the metropolitan imagination to believe in the possibility of eutopia.

Utopia might have been a no-place, but the understanding of *Terra Australis* in the European imagination in the later seventeenth century was becoming increasingly empirical. It was a place believed to have existed as the antipodes since classical times; it was considered only a matter of time before more details became available. Why is

730 Bede was responsible for the spread of this notion, see Alessandro Scafi, *Mapping Paradise: A History of Heaven on Earth* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2006), pp. 48–9.

731 Alessandro Scafi, 'Mapping Eden: Cartographies of the Earthly Paradise', in *Mappings*, ed. by Denis Cosgrove (London: Reaktion Books, 1999), pp. 50–70 (p. 52).

732 Claeys, 'News from Somewhere: Enhanced Sociability and the Composite Definition of Utopia and Dystopia', p. 152.

733 See his Eighth Memorial in *The Voyages of Pedro Fernandez de Quiros 1595 to 1606*, ed. & trans. by Clements Markham, 2 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1904), pp. 477–86.

734 As Vita Fortunati has observed, the 'utopian world is a world of possibility' that is paradoxically rooted in myth: 'The utopian genre presents us with texts whose systematically rational constructions ... are, quite paradoxically but quite profoundly, rooted in myth'; see Vita Fortunati, 'Fictional Strategies and Political Message in Utopias', in *Per una definizione dell'utopia: metodologie e discipline a confronto: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Bagni di Lucca 12-14 settembre 1990*, ed. by Nadia Minerva (Ravenna: Longo Editore, 1992), pp. 17–27 (pp. 21, 23).

Terra Australis used increasingly by utopists as a no-place for their utopias as details of a real place become known?

The sources that More drew on for his *Utopia* included the classical philosophical dialogue.⁷³⁵ In *The Republic*, Plato extended the binary spatial logic of a dialogue between two interlocutors to a contrast between two states: the evils of contemporary regimes with a hypothetical Kallipolis, a city-state governed by a philosopher-king, which is a model of social justice. Plato's dialogue was adapted during the early medieval period by St. Augustine of Hippo, who opposed the earthly city of Rome with the city of God in *The City of God against the Pagans*, to emblemize the distinction between good and evil in Christian terms. A spatial contrast between the 'utopian' and real place, or the good and evil one, is fundamental to the structure of these works, but geography is otherwise incidental.

More's achievement in *Utopia* was to make use of the poetic potential of early modern geography at a time of expansion of European knowledge of the earth, to give the dialogical philosophical meditation on the possibility or desirability of a better state a new form with substantial contemporary resonance and power, taking advantage of the Christian belief in the existence of paradise on earth.

The poiesis of early modern geography and the popularity of maps enabled More to go further and use geography as a framework for the discussion of social relations. Unlike his Classical forebears, More furnished his utopian imaginary with a well developed physical topography. Utopia's very foundation is an act of landscape creation. The site of Utopia was a peninsula, originally inhabited by the Abraxans. After the founder Utopus conquered them, he put them to work alongside his soldiers to cut a channel

735 On the dialogue form in the utopian tradition, see Andrea Battistini, 'Synthèse (II.4)', in *Histoire transnationale de l'utopie littéraire et de l'utopisme*, ed. by Vita Fortunati, Raymond Trousson, and Paola Spinozzi (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2008), pp. 269–79 (p. 271). Battistini observes that the dialogue form enables a critique of normality through the presentation of a possible diversity. On some enigmatic features of the dialogue structure in More's *Utopia*, see Fortunati, 'Fictional Strategies', op. cit., pp. 18 and 26–7.

fifteen miles wide across 'waste' ground to separate the new state from the continent.⁷³⁶
Utopia was made an island by human agency.

Utopia's geography of human agency signifies its uniqueness through isolation. The details of its geographical isolation can be analysed as tropes which contribute to the ideological architecture of More's imagined society. The island has a crescent shape with a 'placid and smooth' internal bay, furnishing a safe harbour for trading ships, as well as a convenient means of transport from one end of the island to the other. The bay's entrance is 'perilous', with channels between half-submerged rocks known only to the Utopians. A fortress between the channels also defends the entrance. The capital city, Amaurot, is located 'at the navel of the land' for maximum defensibility.⁷³⁷

Erasmus said that Utopia's defensive shape was inspired by the geography of More's native England: both are roughly two hundred miles in breadth, Utopia's fifty-four cities correspond to the fifty-four counties in England in More's day, and Utopus's

⁷³⁶ More, p. 42. All quotations are from this modern English translation from More's Latin original.

⁷³⁷ *Utopia*, trans. by Adams, pp. 41–3.

channel resembles the English Channel in width.⁷³⁸ There is good evidence for the hypothesis that Utopia's geography was inspired by England's.

The defining geographical feature of Utopia, the channel separating it from the continent, operates on a number of transformative levels. On the practical level of the narrative geography, it comprises an engineering feat with a defensive purpose, that deters future enemies from invading. At first, the works' scale sparked derision from neighbours along the border, but the channel's rapid completion, as a result of a mass

738 Brian R. Goodey, 'Mapping "Utopia": A Comment on the Geography of Sir Thomas More', *The Geographical Review*, 60.1 (1970), 15–30 <<https://doi.org/10.2307/213342>>. However, Goodey regarded Utopia's crescent shape as 'a fantasy' and its five hundred mile circumference as an anomaly. As a result of an analysis of these and other factors, he concluded that 'More presents us with a Utopia, a "Nowhere", that cannot be mapped' (p. 21). Darrell A. Norris, 'Atlas of Utopia: Presentation at the 17th International Conference of the Utopian Studies Society/Europe, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 5–9 July 2016', maintains that Utopia is mappable because scholars who point out that it is impossible for a circle of 500 miles to have a diameter of 200 have been misled by English translations of More's Latin. He uses Bishop Burnet's translation of 1551, in which the great bay and not the island has a circumference of 500 miles, to produce a compelling map of More's island, and charts of the layout of its cities and regions. Most scholars would probably interpret the Latin in the traditional way, as 500 miles seems clearly associated with the description of the island and its shape, before the bay is mentioned: 'Hi velut circunducti circino quingentorum ambitu millium, insulam totam in lunae speciem reascentis effigiant'. On the other hand, Utopia might have more in common with the shape of England as *imagined* by More than attempts to reduce the matter to a calculation of *pi* would suggest. A modern map of England might look nothing like a crescent to those whose imaginary is dominated by London and the southeast, but the route from Land's End in Cornwall to Carlisle via Leicester describes a crescent of just over 500 miles. Moreover, an eleventh-century *mappamundi* in the British Library (MS Cotton Tiberius B. v. fol. 56 v), shows a distinctly crescent-shaped Britain, with Cornwall and Scotland forming either end of the crescent. The Isle of Man and Ireland lie around the western entrance to a bay-like Irish Sea. Map printing did not begin in England until later in the sixteenth century, well after the publication of More's *Utopia*, so maps of the British Isles in its squarer early modern shape would have been limited in England in the early sixteenth century, see Meg Roland, "'After Poyetes and Astronomyers": English Geographical Thought and Early English Print', in *Mapping Medieval Geographies: Geographical Encounters in the Latin West and beyond, 300-1600*, ed. by Keith D. Lilley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 127–151. The Cotton Tiberius *mappamundi* was in the library of Battle Abbey when More wrote *Utopia*, before the monks surrendered to its dissolution on 27th May 1538. An image appears in P. D. A. Harvey, *Medieval Maps* (London: British Library), pp. 25–6. It is even possible More might have seen it or other similar geographies of a crescent-shaped British Isles. Other explanations have been proposed for the shape of Utopia. Some critics have regarded the crescent as a symbol of a regressive desire to return to the womb; see Fortunati, 'L'ambiguo immaginario dell'isola', *op. cit.*, section 3.

mobilization of labour, 'struck [the neighbours] with wonder and terror at its success'.⁷³⁹ The channel therefore achieves the mythic power of the blood rites performed by Greek city-states to deter 'barbarians' from the city with awe-inspiring terror;⁷⁴⁰ but where the blood sacrifices appealed to the gods for protection from enemies, in the channel, the godlike power of myth is translated to the human agency of utopian transformation.⁷⁴¹

Tommaso Campanella's *Città del Sole* (*The City of the Sun*) was published in Italian in 1602.⁷⁴² It is also set on an island. Taprobane was the ancient Greek name for the island of Sri Lanka. It appeared on Ptolemaic maps, but as new knowledge was gathered in European visits to south Asia during the Renaissance, it was also sometimes identified with Sumatra, until it was dropped from maps altogether.⁷⁴³ The reader learns very little about the geography of the island. The narrator, a Genoese captain, tells the Grandmaster of the Knights Hospitallers only that after being compelled to 'go ashore' at Taprobane, he took shelter in a wood from which he emerged onto 'a large plain immediately under the equator'. He was met by local people who took him to the city.

739 *Utopia*, trans. by Adams, p. 42.

740 John Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), *Geography of Difference*, pp. 5–6.

741 More could probably not have imagined that the ancient geological history of England follows that of Utopia. At the end of the last ice age, Britain and Ireland formed a peninsula of Europe until rising sea levels had separated them by about 6000 years ago. Marine archaeologists are now studying the underwater landscapes of Doggerbank beneath the North Sea for evidence of human occupation. See University of Bradford, 'The First Archaeological Artefacts Found during the Search for Lost Prehistoric Settlements in the North Sea', 2019 <<https://www.bradford.ac.uk/news/archive/2019/the-first-archaeological-artefacts-found-during-the-search-for-lost-prehistoric-settlements-in-the-north-sea.php>> [accessed 19 March 2020].

742 Tommaso Campanella, *La Città del Sole* (Trento, 1602), Biblioteca comunale di Trento. Quotations here are from the English translation, Tommaso Campanella, *The City of the Sun*, trans. by Anonymous and David Widger (Project Gutenberg, 2009) <<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/2816/2816-h/2816-h.htm>>. For the Italian edition, see Tommaso Campanella, *La Città del Sole*, ed. by Massimo Baldini (Rome: Newton & Compton, 1995).

743 A small private island off the south coast of Sri Lanka was renamed Taprobane in the twentieth century, attesting to the persistence of romantic notions of paradisaical tropical islands as healthy escapes. See Paul Bowles, 'An Island of My Own', *San Francisco Examiner & Chronicle*, 24 March 1985.

Campanella makes no further use of these brief details, but as will be seen, their implications are elaborated in the later utopias set in *Terra Australis* as part of the geographical and ideological representation.

The ideology of Campanella's utopian society is conveyed through the landscape architecture of the city. The city's form invokes a cosmic analogy, which might have been inspired by Chinese urban models and Beijing's Forbidden City.⁷⁴⁴ It comprises a concentric ring of seven walls, cut through by four streets that exit via a gate at each point of the compass. Its form is thus an ideogram of the cosmos. It also has the practical purpose of making its centre practically impregnable. There are peristyles, galleries, and arcades for promenading. In the centre at the top of a hill is a temple, with no walls only columns. Perhaps inspired by Inca and Aztec architecture, the walls are painted with illustrations of the knowledge of all the arts and sciences, accessible to the view of all citizens. In descent from the top the walls depict (1) the heavens, planets, and stars; (2) mathematical figures; (3) the geography of the world (4) the knowledge of minerals, plants, and animals, (5) the human world (6) the mechanical arts and their inventors, and (7) legislators, Christ and the twelve apostles.

Wisdom has the walls of the temple, its dome, and the interior and exterior of the city's concentric walls adorned with paintings of all forms of knowledge. The stars and planets are shown on the temple and its dome. On the interior of the first wall are mathematical figures. On its exterior is a huge image of the entire earth at one view, and separate views of each country and its customs, laws, and peoples. The alphabets of the world are shown above. As the walls descend, they show geology, meteorology, architecture, fauna and flora, the seas, gods and inventors, Christ and the apostles.

Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis*, written in English between 1614 and 1617, was not published until 1627, after Bacon's death, as an appendix to *Sylva Sylvarum: or a Natural*

⁷⁴⁴ Abraham Akkerman, *Phenomenology of the Winter-City: Myth in the Rise and Decline of Built Environments* (New York: Springer, 2015), p. 130.

History in Ten Centuries.⁷⁴⁵ Like *Utopia* and *The City of the Sun*, *New Atlantis* is set on an island, offering it maximum security from outsiders. Despite Bensalem's remote location in the Pacific, a Bible made its way there miraculously and the people became Christians. The society's central feature is Solomon's House, a scientific institution that sends twelve spies ('merchants of light') to all parts of the world to collect books and information on scientific experiments. They keep their own identity secret.

The geography of Bensalem is treated even more briefly than Campanella's Taprobane, but its island location is significant. Many later utopias adopt the narrative structure of the mariners' arrival in Bensalem. The visitors are greeted by an official whose responsibility is to look out for aliens and welcome them while ensuring that their foreignness does not contaminate the unique social fabric of the utopian society. He takes them into quarantine, where they are given a cautious warm welcome, given food and drink, and medical attention for the sick.⁷⁴⁶ They are also assessed for their

745 Francis Bacon, *The Major Works*, ed. by Brian Vickers, Oxford World's Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 457–90. *New Atlantis* is prefaced with the note, 'A Work Unfinished'. According to William Rawley, Bacon's chaplain, secretary, and executor, Bacon had planned to add a second part to *New Atlantis*, describing 'a frame of Laws, or the best state or mould of a commonwealth', but was distracted by work on the *Sylva Sylvarum*. See *The Major Works*, ed. Vickers, p. 785. The focus of *New Atlantis* on a description of the institutional structure of Salomon's House, with few details about the architectural or geographical topography of Bensalem suggests that if he had added a second part on the laws, it would likewise have had a minimal geographical representational framework.

746 Bacon introduced the concept of quarantine to the utopia. There is little evidence that More considered *Utopia*'s isolation from outsiders as the direct means to protect citizens from infection. Utopians are healthy ('there is hardly a country in the world that needs medicine less'; *Utopia*, trans. by Adams, p. 76) because of their enhanced society, whose customs and ideology must be protected from foreign ideas to maintain the health of the body politic in general. Although the first quarantine was established at Ragusa in 1377, it took centuries for the Galenic model of illness as a result of an internally produced imbalance of the bodily humours to be questioned and overturned. Jonathan Gil Harris has argued that the spread of syphilis and repeated plague outbreaks provoked a shift to the idea that the body imports infection from outside itself during the sixteenth century; see *Foreign Bodies and the Body Politic: Discourses of Social Pathology in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). Vita Fortunati has identified the island concept in utopia as emblematic of enclosure, protection, self-sufficiency, security, peace, and serenity, rooted in traditions of the garden, Eden, and the other, but makes no mention of protection from infection; see Vita Fortunati, 'L'ambiguo immaginario dell'isola nella tradizione letteraria utopica', in *Il fascino inquieto dell'utopia: Percorsi storici e letterari in onore di Marialuisa Bignami*, ed. by Giuliana Iannaccaro, Alessandro Vescovi, and Lidia De Michelis (Milano: Ledizioni, 2014), pp. 51–61 (¶ 2).

Christian attitudes. Before gaining entry to the utopian society, it is necessary to ensure that they are healthy in both body and mind, according to the society's norms. Hence the importance of the island setting in the geographical imagination of utopia.

Paradoxically, the island location of utopias makes them both open and closed to the surrounding world. The island geography makes utopia accessible to being visited and known by the traveller-narrator, as well as a place that can import goods and ideas from the surrounding seas. The islanders are therefore both more easily defended from foreign invasion, but also more fearful of contamination by outside knowledge.⁷⁴⁷

Aside from these aspects of the island location, the ideological architecture of *New Atlantis* is mostly furnished through the institutional structures of Solomon's House. The aim of this scientific college, and model for the Royal Society founded in 1660, was the advancement of the sum of human knowledge, a topic Bacon treated in *The Advancement of Learning* (1605). Solomon's House is located at both the geographical and organizational centre of Bensalem. Bacon's idea of the flow of information across space to Solomon's House might be modelled geographically. It incorporates the early modern ethic of dissembling with the isolated island utopia of Bensalem to restrict the flow of information in one direction, from the rest of the world to the utopia.⁷⁴⁸ This is

747 Fortunati's discussion of utopians' 'fear of contamination' is consistent with a Galenic understanding of humoral balance and not specific to infection: 'the external world represents a threat to utopian order, which can be maintained only by strict regulation' ('il mondo esterno rappresenta una minaccia per l'ordine utopico, che può essere preservato solo attraverso una rigida regolamentazione'); Fortunati, 'L'ambiguo immaginario dell'isola nella tradizione letteraria utopica' (paragraph 7).

748 Bacon was a staunch advocate of dissembling, a conduct considered an important social skill for a gentleman in early modern times. One of the first to discuss the politics of dissembling was Machiavelli in *The Prince*. In the *The Advancement of Learning* Bacon wrote: 'whatsoever want a man hath, he must see that he pretend the virtue that shadoweth it; as if he be dull, he must affect gravity; if a coward, mildness; and so the rest: for the second, a man must frame some probable cause why he should not do his best, and why he should dissemble his abilities; and for that purpose must use to dissemble those abilities which are notorious in him, to give colour that his true wants are but industries and dissimulations.' See Francis Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning, Book II (1605)*, ed. by Hartmut Krech (Bremen: Renaissance Editions, 1998), sec. 32. For a discussion of Bacon's notion of dissembling, see Martin Dzelzainis, 'Bacon's "Of Simulation and Dissimulation"', in *A New Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture*, ed. by Michael Hattaway, 2 vols (Chichester: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2010), I, 329–36. Dissembling also played an important rhetorical role in the arts as part of the figure of *dissimulatio*. It is related to irony,

an imperial or colonial model that puts power over communication in the hands of the utopians, and denies communicative agency to the outsider. This highly abstract model also fosters the notion that ideas can be translated across boundaries of space, time, and culture without change. The extent to which Bacon believed this was possible or simply desired it to be true is impossible to know; however, the problem of the best way in which to disseminate knowledge to promote learning and a healthy society is a trope of More's *Utopia*, for which Bacon proposed Solomon's House as a solution. The highly restricted way in which knowledge dissemination is regulated in Bacon's work speaks to the serious tensions between the advantages of an open or a closed society that developments in early modern Europe such as maritime expansion and the printing press were producing. These tensions are emblemized by the island location of utopia.

Early Fictions Set in *Terra Australis*

Before discussing in detail the utopias that are the main focus of this chapter, it is necessary briefly to consider the use of *Terra Australis* as a setting in earlier seventeenth-century works, as they provide a contrast with the more elaborate use of the geography of this setting by later writers. The first was Joseph Hall's *Mundus alter et idem*, published in Latin in 1605.⁷⁴⁹ Although *Mundus* has sometimes been described as a utopia, Wands argues that it should properly be considered a dystopia in the tradition of Menippean satire.⁷⁵⁰ It uses the trope of the upside-down world to portray the opposite of supposed positive norms of English society. The narrator Mercurius Britannicus travels through a series of lands in *Terra Australis*, including Ivronia (land of drunkeds), Lavernia (land of thieves), Moronia (land of fools), Pamphagonia (land of

and its unmasking (what might now be called estrangement) was important in the embodied reception of painting. See Weststeijn, p. 240.

749 Joseph Hall, *Mundus Alter et Idem Siue Terra Australis Antehac Semperincognita Longis Itineribus Peregrini Academici Nuperrime Lustrata*. Auth. Mercurio Britannico, ed. by William Knight (Frankfurt: Aput hæredes Ascanij de Rinialme, 1605). *Mundus* was translated into English in 1608–9 by John Healey. For the best introduction to the text and English translation, see Joseph Hall, *Another World and yet the Same: Bishop Joseph Hall's Mundus Alter et Idem*, ed. & trans. by John Millar Wands, Yale Studies in English, 190 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981).

750 Hall, *Another World and yet the Same*, ed. by Wands, pp. xxv–xli.

gluttony), Viraginia (land ruled by women), and others, whose characteristics satirize the vices of England. More's work also mobilized satire, but in Hall's it dominates, and there is no serious contemplation of an alternative social structure to Hall's own.

Gregory Claeys' definition of *Mundus* as a 'satire of contemporary manners' is apt.⁷⁵¹

The first French utopia, *Histoire du grand et admirable royaume d'Antangil* (*The History of the Great and Admirable Kingdom of Antangil*), was also the first utopia set in *Terra*

Australis.⁷⁵² It concerns a Protestant society, which was converted to Christianity by

751 Gregory Claeys, *Dystopia: A Natural History: A Study of Modern Despotism, Its Antecedents, and Its Literary Diffractions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), p. 271. Claeys discusses the complex questions entailed in defining 'utopian', 'dystopian', 'anti-utopian', 'critical utopia', and 'science fiction' at greater length, at pp. 273–90. As Claeys makes clear, the determination of these labels is subjective, depending on the reader's own society, social status, and historical context. The dystopia as a novelistic genre or form of utopian literature is not considered to have appeared until the twentieth century, although the word first appeared in English in 1747 (Claeys, *Dystopia*, p. 273). However, that does not preclude the identification of dystopian elements in early modern works. For my purpose here, I adopt a broad definition of utopian fiction in the modern age (i.e. from the publication of More's *Utopia* in 1516 onwards) to include imaginative societies that are presented, not as 'boilerplates' or predominantly as satires, but rather as serious thought experiments. They might be understood by author and/or readers as having eutopian or dystopian elements, or both in the same work. The early modern utopian fictions discussed here present for consideration a combination of eutopian and dystopian elements. In that sense, they might be considered 'critical utopias', although that term was defined with specific reference to literary works that began to appear in the 1970s, see Tom Moylan, 'Beyond Negation: The Critical Utopias of Ursula K. Le Guin and Samuel R. Delany', *Extrapolation: A Journal of Science Fiction and Fantasy*, 256–53, 21 (1980). In my view, any eutopian proposition must comprise a social formation that promotes some form of 'enhanced sociability' as defined by Claeys, 'News from Somewhere: Enhanced Sociability and the Composite Definition of Utopia and Dystopia'. A useful shorthand definition of dystopia might be 'what [socially] ought not to be', in the words of Kenneth Roemer, cited by Claeys, *Dystopia*, p. 286. My definition of utopian literature therefore must exclude such traditions as the Land of Cockaigne and the Christian Paradise, although these clearly are closely related to utopianism, and tropes derived from them often find expression in early modern utopias. A number of examples are discussed below.

752 I. D. M. G. T., *Histoire du grand et admirable royaume d'Antangil incogneu jusques à present à tous Historiens et Cosmographe: composé de six vingts Provinces tres-belles & tres-fertiles. Avec la description d'icelui, & de sa police nonpareille, tant civile que militaire. De l'instruction de la jeunesse. Et de la Religion. Le tout compris en cinq livres* (Saumur: Thomas Portau, 1616). Aside from the unknown the author, there is also an element of mystery about the place of publication of *Antangil*. Depending on the extant copy, it might have been printed by Thomas Portau in Saumur or by Jean le Maire in Leiden. Frédéric Lachèvre's arguments in favour of Thomas Portau are generally accepted; see I. D. M. G. T., *La Première Utopie Française: Le Royaume d'Antangil (inconnu jusqu'à présent), réimprimé sur l'unique édition de Saumur, 1616, avec des éclaircissements de Frédéric Lachèvre*, ed. by René-Louis Doyon (Paris: La

Byrachil, a disciple of St. Thomas.⁷⁵³ It is located in *Jave la Grande*, south of Banda. Its geography is ‘wondrously fertile, pleasant and agreeable’ (‘merveilleusement fertile, plaisant et agréable’), watered by four main rivers (echoing the four rivers of Paradise). The coast has only two ports; the rest is ‘full of banks and rocks’ (‘plein de bancs et rochers’). A great gulf called Pachinquir reaches one hundred leagues into the interior from the midst of the northern coastline. It is ‘sweet and tranquil’ (‘doux et tranquille’) with many ports, protected from the wind. An island at its entrance to the ocean allows only a perilous narrow course either side of it.⁷⁵⁴ These signs of a pleasant harbour protected from outsiders echo More’s *Utopia*.⁷⁵⁵

As in *Utopia*, Antangil’s capital Sangir is located in the centre of the kingdom for optimal defence, but unlike Utopia it is not an island but located on the southern continent. It is bounded to the south ‘by the high Sanché mountains full of snow [which are] inhabited by very barbarous and cruel people’. This phrase echoes the description of peoples in New Guinea and the Australian continent observed by Dutch mariners, although it is unlikely that the author would have read a description of the *Duyfken* voyage. This trope of the presence of barbarians in or over the mountains at the southernmost limits of *Terra Australis* will be repeated and adapted in later utopias set in *Terra Australis*. It signifies an important difference between utopias set on an island and those set on the southern continent: the space could not be reserved for

Connaissance, 1933), pp. 3–7. By 1616, the VOC had already made a number of voyages to Bandaiyan, but no maps or other documents had yet been published concerning them. It is not impossible that the author might have had some information about these voyages, but no evidence has yet been identified to suggest that he did.

753 For a summary of the narrative, see ‘La Première Utopie du XVIIe Siècle (1616): Le Royaume d’Antangil’, in *Les Successeurs de Cyrano de Bergerac*, ed. by Frédéric Lachèvre (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1922), pp. 261–9.

754 I. D. M. G. T., *La Première Utopie Française: Le Royaume d’Antangil*, pp. 29–32. Translations from the French are mine.

755 Fausett proposed that the gulf of Pachinquir might have been suggested by Dutch maps showing many rivers flowing into the Gulf of Carpentaria; see Fausett, *Writing the New World*, p. 64. However, there is no evidence that such maps had been published in 1616. The earliest extant printed map to show some evidence of the 1606 voyage of the *Duyfken* was not published until 1633; see Günter Schilder, *Australia Unveiled: The Share of the Dutch Navigators in the Discovery of Australia*, trans. by Olaf Richter (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1976), p. 290. So the author would have needed good contacts with the Blaeus or the VOC to have access to such information.

utopians alone, so defence from the sea is not enough to protect the utopia from outside contamination. Utopias set in *Terra Australis* generally share the threat of barbarians invading from the southern mountains, which raises the question of why *Terra Australis* was chosen as a setting at all.

Richard Brome's drama *The Antipodes* (1640) is discussed by some scholars in the context of utopianism.⁷⁵⁶ Fausett included Brome's work in his discussion of utopian fictions, but it is not considered here for the same reason as I have excluded Hall's *Mundus*. The description of the antipodean society is predominantly satirical and intended as a reflection on English values. While both have some utopian aspects which have been discussed by scholars, their setting in the antipodes or *Terra Australis* adopts a similar geographical imaginary to that of More, Bacon, and Campanella.

Robert Burton's 'Digression on Air' from *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621–39) is also sometimes considered as a utopia. Certainly, Burton himself framed it as 'an Utopia of mine own'. It does not have the form of a utopia, and might in fact be regarded as an anti-utopia, since Burton admitted he had no patience for discussing ideas of social reform.⁷⁵⁷ He wrote that 'there is no remedy' for humanity's ills, as 'men will cease to be fools only when they cease to be men'.⁷⁵⁸ The Digression is more of a satire that indulges in speculation about uncertainties and contemporary questions of geographical knowledge, its connections with myth, such as the fantastical creatures and places that fascinated Peregrine about Mandeville's *Travels*. Burton refers to 'that great Bird *Rucke* that can carry a man and horse, or an Elephant', which is associated with the sea near Madagascar. The Digression begins with Burton imagining himself flying above the earth like a hawk, dipping to the ground now and again to verify geographical knowledge. He imagines *Terra Australis* like Cicero or Tamburlaine, from

756 I have considered it separately in Chapter 2.

757 Burton's 'Digression on Air' is not included in 'Utopian Literature in English: An Annotated Bibliography from 1516 to the Present', ed. by Lyman Tower Sargent, 2016 <<https://doi.org/10.18113/P8WC77>>.

758 Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. by Holbrook Jackson (New York: New York Review of Books, 2001), Part. II, Sect. II, Memb. 3, Subs. 1, p. 34.

a vast distance, as though on Ortelius's *Typus*. It is a singular notion, without a topography of landscape or place. However, the Digression proffers an imagination of *Terra Australis* as a site of future promise that will one day 'yield some flourishing kingdoms'.⁷⁵⁹ Elsewhere, the more sinister colonial implications of this idea are revealed when Burton observes that, like America and Africa, *Terra Australis Incognita* is 'not yet inhabited as it ought'.⁷⁶⁰ Within just half a century, Burton's colonial notion was brought closer to reality, and given more substantial poetic geographical form in utopias set in *Terra Australis* that arose in the context of an awareness of a continent that Dutch geographers called *Hollandia Nova*.

Four Utopias in *Terra Australis*: Publication History and Authorship

Four utopias set in *Terra Australis* comprise the focus of this chapter. All were written over 150 years after More's *Utopia* and circulated widely in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Europe, with many reprints and translations into other European languages.

The Isle of Pines by Henry Neville was a pamphlet published anonymously in the summer of 1668, with new editions and translations appearing within a few months, creating something of a publishing sensation. Only three weeks after the first English edition, the first French translation was published. Two or three more English editions appeared in 1668, along with translations into Dutch, German, and Italian.⁷⁶¹ The editions of 1668 were issued with a number of changes, omissions, and additions, which added to the mystery of the account, and promoted speculation about the

759 Burton, Part. II, Sect. II, Memb. 3, Subs. 1, p. 34.

760 Burton, Part. III, Sect. II, Memb. 5, Subs. 5, p. 260.

761 The best modern critical edition is the one that appeared in a special issue of *Utopian Studies* in 2006. See Peter G. Stillman, 'Introduction', *Utopian Studies*, 17.1 (2006), 7–9. All quotations here are from Henry Neville, 'The July 27, 1668 English Edition [The Isle of Pines]', *Utopian Studies*, 17.1 (2006), 25–51. For an explanation of its complex publishing history, see Gaby Mahlberg, 'The Publishing History of The Isle of Pines', *Utopian Studies*, 17.1 (2006), 93–98. A more recent edition is Henry Neville, *The Isle of Pines, 1668: Henry Neville's Uncertain Utopia*, ed. by John Scheckter (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011). See the review by Daniel Carey, 'The Isle of Pines, 1668: Henry Neville's Uncertain Utopia (Review)', 23.2 (2012), 546–50. A Danish edition was published in 1710.

location of the 'fourth island of *Terra Australis*' where the events of the account purportedly took place.⁷⁶²

The main political purpose of Neville's pamphlet was to promote republicanism. It also had a ludic purpose, to entertain gentlemen who liked to speculate and debate the latest geographical discoveries and philosophical ideas in clubs.⁷⁶³ As a writer, politician, and political nonconformist, Neville attracted controversy and notoriety. He clashed with both the Interregnum and Restoration authorities, and in October 1663 was sent to the Tower of London suspected of supporting the Yorkshire rising.⁷⁶⁴ He obtained a pardon in 1664 and went into exile, settling in Florence.⁷⁶⁵

Gabriel de Foigny's *La terre australe connue* (*The Southland Known*) was published in Geneva in 1676.⁷⁶⁶ Foigny was born in the village of Foigny, north of Paris, around 1630, and educated by the Franciscan order of the Cordeliers de l'Observance. In February 1666, he fled to Switzerland, where he converted to Calvinism. In 1684, following the death of his wife, he was prosecuted for getting a servant pregnant, and at his trial,

762 See Mahlberg, 'The Publishing History of The Isle of Pines'. For a list of editions, see 'Appendix A: Bibliography of The Isle of Pines Editions', ed. by Peter G. Stillman, *Utopian Studies*, 17.1 (2006), 199–211.

763 Kate Loveman, *Reading Fictions, 1660-1740: Deception in English Literary and Political Culture* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2008), p. 71.

764 Nicholas von Maltzahn, 'Neville, Henry (1620–1694)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19941>>.

765 Gaby Mahlberg, 'Historical and Political Contexts of The Isle of Pines', *Utopian Studies*, 17.1 (2006), 111–29.

766 The best critical edition is Gabriel de Foigny, *La terre australe connue*, ed. by Pierre Ronzeaud (Paris: Société des Textes Français Modernes, 1990). See also Pierre Ronzeaud, *L'utopie hermaphrodite: La Terre australe connue de Gabriel de Foigny (1676)* (Marseille: C.M.R. 17, 1982). English translations here are from Gabriel de Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known*, trans. by David Fausett (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1993). Although Part I of *Sevarambians* was published the year before, Foigny's work is discussed after *The Isle of Pines* because they have a number of themes in common. A second edition of *La terre australe connue* was published in Paris in 1692 and translated into English in 1693 and into Dutch in 1701. The 1692 version was almost certainly not by Foigny himself. It accentuates the latent deism of Foigny's text, simplifying the more complex philosophy of Foigny's original. I am not concerned with this version here. The edition by Lachèvre shows where the 1692 edition departs from the original. See *Les Successeurs de Cyrano de Bergerac*, ed. by Frédéric Lachèvre (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1922).

confessed that he had reverted to Catholicism. He spent the final years before his death in 1692 in a monastery in Savoy.⁷⁶⁷ Like Neville in the political sphere, Foigny was a religious and social rebel, allegedly a libertine, who fell foul of authority wherever he lived. His utopia reflects the personal experience of exile more than the other three, although all four authors experienced persecution.

The *Sevarambians* appeared in English and French between 1675 and 1679.⁷⁶⁸

Translations into Dutch and German soon followed.⁷⁶⁹ A Dutch edition printed in 1701 with a translation of Foigny's *La terre australe connue* and Mandrop Torst's journal of his voyage on the *Nyptangh*, one of the three ships of de Vlamingh's expedition to Bandaiyan in 1696–97, was probably read by Smeeks.⁷⁷⁰ *Sevarambians* has been

767 See Ronzeaud's summary of what is known of Foigny's life: Foigny, *La terre australe connue*, pp. xi–xxi.

768 The full title is *The History of the Sevarites or Sevarambi, a Nation Inhabiting Part of the Third Continent Commonly Called Terræ Australes Incognitæ. With an Account of Their Admirable Government, Religion, Customs, and Language. Written by One Captain Siden, a Worthy Person, Who, Together with Many Others, Was Cast upon Those Coasts, and Lived Many Years in That Country* (London: Henry Brome, 1675). Part I was published in English in 1675 as *The History of the Sevarites, or Sevarambi*. Vairasse translated the English into French and added two more parts published in 1677 as *L'Histoire des Sévarambes*. Parts IV and V were published in French in 1679. In that year a more magical variant of Part II was published in English, although it can be questioned whether it was made by Vairasse himself. A full English translation from the French appeared in 1738. For the French edition, see Denis Veiras, *L'Histoire des Sévarambes*, ed. by Aubrey Rosenberg (Paris: Honoré Champion Editeur, 2001). For the English editions, with a helpful discussion of differences between the English and French versions of Parts I and II, see Veiras, *History of the Sevarambians*. In this thesis, unless stated otherwise, quotations from Part I are from the first 1675 edition in English; those from Parts II to V are from the 1738 English translation from the French. All quotations in French are from Rosenberg's edition.

769 A Dutch translation from the French appeared in 1682 as *Historie der Sevarambes, Volkeren die een Gedeelte van het darde Vast-land bewoonen, gemeenlijk Zuid-Land genaamd* (*History of the Sevarambians, Peoples who inhabit a part of the third continent, commonly called the Southland*) trans. by Gotfried van Broekhuizen (1681–1708 fl.). This edition in four parts (Parts I and II were combined) was illustrated with sixteen copperplates by Joannes Lamsvelt, plus a frontispiece by Jan Luyken. A German translation from the Dutch appeared in 1689: *Geographisches Kleinod: Aus zivenen sehr ungemeynen Edelgesteinen bestehend: Darunter der Erste Eine Historie der Neu-gefundenen Völcker Sevarambes genannt, Dritten festen Landes so man sonst das Süd-Land nennet bewohnen...* (*Geographic Jewel, Consisting of seven very tremendous precious stones, of which the first: A History of the New-found People called the Sevarambians, living in the third continent which is called the Southland ...*). The copperplate illustrations were also reprinted in the German edition.

770 S.d.B., *Historie der Sevarambes, Volkeren die een Gedeelte van het darde Vast-land bewoonen, gemeenlyk Zuid-land genaamd, ... door S.d.B. In dezen Tweden Druk vermeerderd met een nieuwe*

discussed by Pierre Bayle, Locke, Gottfried Leibniz, Montesquieu, Rousseau, and Kant.⁷⁷¹

Vairasse was a Huguenot born between 1635 and 1640 in the Languedoc village of Alais (now Alès). Like the hero of his novel, Captain Siden, he served in the army before becoming a lawyer. Because, as a Huguenot, he was unable to progress his legal career in France, he moved to England, where he became involved with ministers of the crown, including the Duke of Buckingham and the Cabal administration. He might have worked as an informant to Henry Bennett, one of the five main members of the Cabal. Bennett (Lord Arlington) was secretary of state to Charles II from 1662 to 1674, a role that included the gathering of 'news and intelligence from all quarters'.⁷⁷²

Vairasse's other acquaintances included Samuel Pepys, probably John Locke, and the adventurer John Scott, so he had the opportunity to discuss trade and exploration with influential people involved in government and commerce. When Buckingham fell from grace in 1674, Vairasse fled back to France, where he wrote his utopia.⁷⁷³

The fourth utopia for analysis, *Beschryvinge van het magtig Koningryk Krinke Kesmes* (*Description of the Mighty Kingdom of Krinke Kesmes*), by Hendrik Smeeks, was published

Reize na het gemelde Land, mitgaders een zeer naauwkeurig Journaal wegens de Voyagie derwaarts gedaan in de Jaaren 1696 en 1697 op ordre der Hollandsche Oost-Indische Maatschappij door de Schepen de Nyptang, de Geelvink, en de Wezel (Amsterdam: Willem de Coup, Willem Lamsvelt, Philip Verbeek en Joannes Lamsvelt, 1701). The copperplates by Lamsvelt and Luyken were reprinted for this edition too, but the last four were erroneously bound within the translation of Foigny.

771 On its reception, see Laursen and Masroori, eds. pp. xix–xxii. Extracts of its reception are included in *Denis Veiras: Eine Historie der neu-gefundenen Völcker Sevarambes genannt, 1689*, ed. by Wolfgang Braungart and Jutta Golawski-Braungart, *Deutsche Neudrucke Reihe Barock* 39 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1990). It was also popular in the Soviet Union, with editions published in 1937, 1956, and 1971 (Laursen and Masroori, eds., p. xxv).

772 If the connection between Bennett and Vairasse was close, Bennett might also have shared information with Vairasse about Dutch affairs. Bennett was married to a Dutch aristocrat, Isabella (bap. 1633, d. 1718), daughter of Lodewyck van Nassau and a relative of William of Orange. Her father was the Dutch envoy to England from 1660 to 1662 (*Oxford Dictionary of Biography*, q.v. Bennett).

773 See Rosenberg's summary of his life in Veiras, *L'Histoire des Sévarambes*, pp. 7–13.

in 1708.⁷⁷⁴ Although it follows the first publication of the other works by three decades, *Krinke Kesmes* is important for my study because it draws on all three earlier utopias, and its setting owes most to VOC mariners' representations of Bandaiyan. Smeeks almost certainly read the 1701 illustrated Dutch combined edition of Vairasse, Foigny, and the *Nyptangh* journal.

Smeeks's realist style means his work shares more with *Sevarambians* than with Foigny and Neville. As the only known utopia to emerge from the Dutch Republic, *Krinke Kesmes* is important for what it can reveal about how a poetic geography of Bandaiyan was emerging at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It is therefore an important witness to what kind of 'consciousness' of the continent existed in Europe, to use Eisler's expression, after a century of exploration and the construction of a geographical discourse about it within the VOC and outside it. It can show how this knowledge was represented within the frame of utopian discourse and the role of the discourse of *Terra Australis* in shaping this poetic geography seventy years before the British invasions began.

Only fragments are known about Smeeks's life from sources other than *Krinke Kesmes*.⁷⁷⁵ That *Kesmes* is an anagram of Smeeks suggests the author's strong personal attachment to his utopian creation. Some clues to his life might be gained from the work, including from his own annotated copy of the first edition, referred to as the

774 The full title is *Beschryvinge van het magtig Koningryk Krinke Kesmes: Zynde een groot, en veele kleindere Eilanden daar aan horende; Makende te zamen een gedeelte van het onbekende Zuidland gelegen onder den Tropicus Capricornus ontdekt door den Heer Juan de Posos, en uit deszelfs Schriften te zamen gestelt door H. Smeeks* ('Description of the mighty kingdom of Krinke Kesmes: Comprising a great island and several smaller islands belonging to it; forming together a part of the unknown Southland lying under the Tropic of Capricorn, discovered by the lord Juan de Posos, his writings compiled by H. Smeeks'). It was well read in Dutch and German in the eighteenth century, with eight Dutch editions, and four in German translation. For the modern critical edition, see Hendrik Smeeks, *Beschryvinge van het magtig Koningryk Krinke Kesmes*, ed. by P. J. Buijnsters (Zutphen z.j.: W.J. Thieme & Cie, 1976). Hereafter cited as 'Buijnsters, ed.' An English translation is Hendrik Smeeks, *The Mighty Kingdom of Krinke Kesmes (1708)*, ed. by David Fausett, trans. by Robert H. Leek (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995). It includes an extensive critical introduction by Fausett. Hereafter cited as *Mighty Kingdom*.

775 For a review of previous speculations about his identity and the results of Buijnsters' archival research on Smeeks's life, see *Koningryk Krinke Kesmes*, pp. 12–24.

Handexemplaar. It includes many notes, some corrections for revision, and a dedicatory poem to his son Barend, which hints at a pedagogical motivation for writing. The poem conveys wisdom and advice. Smeeks writes, 'Read, and learn your Father's book | Which I have written for you'.⁷⁷⁶ P. J. Buijnsters describes the poem as 'a kind of spiritual will, consisting of wise lessons that together form an *ars vivendi*'.⁷⁷⁷ Other material in the *Handexemplaar* reinforces the importance of Smeeks's interest in natural philosophy and metaphysics.⁷⁷⁸ Smeeks did not escape persecution either: *Krinke Kesmes* was declared 'a foul and offensive book' by the Dutch Reformed Church in 1709 for its alleged Spinozism and 'godlessness', and seized. The church council in Zwolle denied Smeeks access to the Lord's Supper from 1710 to 1717 because of his book's alleged Spinozism.⁷⁷⁹ Probably what the church most objected to about Smeeks's work was that it undermined the church's authority by advocating the idea that a society's religion is a political choice.

These four works differ in many particulars—both from each other and from their models—in their chief themes and ideological framing, geography, setting and structure, and in the narrative of the journey to the utopian city. I will consider the implications of the way that utopian tropes are translated and adapted in each work for the poetic geography of each author's imaginary of *Terra Australis*. In this way, it should become clearer how knowledge about Bandaiyan circulating in the later seventeenth century informed these utopists' imaginaries, and the implications of their works for changes in the meaning of the poetic geographies of *Terra Australis* and *Hollandia Nova* in the late seventeenth century. This should make it possible to propose an answer to the question of what it was about the notion of *Terra Australis* that attracted utopists to use it as a setting for their ideal societies rather than the traditional

⁷⁷⁶ 'leesd, en leerd u Vaders boek | dat ik heb voor u geschreven'; Buijnsters, ed., pp. 267–9.

⁷⁷⁷ 'Het is een soort geestelijk testament, bestaande uit wijze lessen die bij elkaar een *ars vivendi* vormen', Smeeks, *Koningryk Krinke Kesmes*, ed. by Buijnsters, p. 22. See also Jonathan I. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650–1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 321–22.

⁷⁷⁸ See *Koningryk Krinke Kesmes*, ed. by Buijnsters, pp. 63–4.

⁷⁷⁹ *Koningryk Krinke Kesmes*, ed. by Buijnsters, p. 21.

island, and the significance of their use of knowledge and experiences recorded in Bandaiyan.

Plot, Location, and Landscape

The Isle of Pines is the story of how, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, George Pines and four women were the only survivors of a shipwreck on the shores of a desert island. Pines (an anagram of 'penis') produces a tribe of descendants with each woman: the Englishes, the Sparks, the Trevors, and the Phills. These number a population of between ten and twelve thousand by 1667, when these 'lost tribes' of the English are rediscovered by a Dutch ship driven on the shores in bad weather. This sensational, titillating narrative was created to both draw attention to and disguise Neville's more serious purpose: to reflect on the possibilities of republican government and criticize the regime of Charles II.

The location of the Isle of Pines, a 'fourth island in *Terra Australis, Incognita*', according to the 27 June 1668 edition, differs depending on the edition. The first London edition gives no location. The second published and first French ('Cramoisy') edition, a free translation that omits large sections of Neville's text, gives the latitude as between 28° and 29° south.⁷⁸⁰ John Scheckter has argued that the location cited in the Cramoisy edition 'sharpens' the novel's reference to the shipwreck of the *Batavia* in 1629, which occurred at 28°30 south off the Houtman Abrolhos on the western coast of Bandaiyan.⁷⁸¹ (The more recent wreck in 1656 of the *Vergulde Draeck* was only a little distant at 31°25 south.) This detail persuaded French cartographer Pierre du Val to update his 1674 world map. He inscribed an island in the Indian Ocean at this latitude derived from a sixteenth century map as 'Romeiros / Castellanoas al. I. de. Pines'. It is closer to Madagascar than the coasts of either *Hollandia Nova* or *Terra Australis*.⁷⁸²

780 Henry Neville, 'The Cramoisy Edition [The Isle of Pines]', ed. by Anon, *Utopian Studies*, 17.1 (2006), 53–61 (p. 53).

781 Neville, *The Isle of Pines, 1668: Henry Neville's Uncertain Utopia*.

782 Jakka, pp. 198–9.

Du Val's use of Neville's text in this way shows, as Sarath Jakka has argued, that the location of a geographical place, even in a work of fiction, was regarded as important by contemporary readers.⁷⁸³ It shows that, for seventeenth century readers, including cartographers, the fact that a text was probably a fiction need not rule out the possibility that it contained empirical information. Not only was it extremely difficult at this time to distinguish geographical fact from fiction; most texts were probably assumed to comprise a mix of both empirical and imaginative information.

The second and third English editions give a different location again: it 'lyeth about seventy six degrees of Longitude, and twenty of Latitude, being scituate under the third Climate'.⁷⁸⁴ On du Val's map, this would locate it just off the southeast coast of Africa, closer to Madagascar than to Mercator's *Terra Australis*, and almost 80 degrees of longitude from the west coast of Bandaiyan. So are there details in Neville's account which suggest that he drew on reports of visits to Bandaiyan that would support Scheckter's view that he drew on Pelsaert's account of the *Batavia* wreck for the location of the island?

According to the letter of verification written by Cornelius van Sloetten, which opens the tale, the Isle of Pines was rediscovered by this Dutchman in 1667 when driven in bad weather onto its shores. One of the first signs of land from the ship seen by the crew is of fires along the shore. Fires were also observed on the coasts of Bandaiyan by Abel Tasman and other Dutch explorers, including by Pelsaert, whose voyage was

783 Jakka, p. 197. Although some early readers believed the Isle of Pines was a real place, most soon realized the hoax. It is unlikely that du Val would have been deceived by the work as a whole, but that appears not to have prevented him from considering it likely that the island's existence was true.

784 Neville, 'The July 27, 1668 English Edition [The Isle of Pines]', p. 43, fol. 22.

recorded by Thévenot.⁷⁸⁵ Neville might or might not have read Thévenot. Fires on the shore were also associated with the appropriately named Tierra del Fuego.

Jakka has questioned Scheckter's attempt to associate *The Isle of Pines* with accounts derived from experiences in *Hollandia Nova*. He argues instead that it is Madagascar that most strongly structures Neville's utopian imagination:

Madagascar was more than just a 'real' place that camouflaged the elaborate hoax of *The Isle of Pines*; it becomes a multifaceted figure which structures Neville's utopian imagination, ... [It] engages with England's disastrous attempt to colonise Madagascar and presents an originary tale that can also be read as a parable of colonial hubris.⁷⁸⁶

Jakka finds strong textual echoes in *The Isle of Pines* of Walter Hamond's *A Paradox* (1640), a more explicit account of England's failed attempt to plant a colony in Madagascar, demonstrating that Neville must have read and drawn on Hamond's work.

The most important difference between the Isle of Pines and both Bandaiyan and Madagascar is that the latter were occupied whereas the Isle of Pines was uninhabited when George Pines and the four women castaways arrived on its shores. On the other hand, Pelsaert left the survivors of the *Batavia* on an island of the Houtman Abrolhos which was uninhabited. The first short-lived European attempt to live off the coast of Bandaiyan was a murderous disaster, which probably set the minds of thinkers such as Neville to work on whether utopia or dystopia might be created when a small group of

785 Melchisédec Thévenot, *Relations de divers voyages curieux, qui n'ont point esté publiées, ou qui ont esté traduites d'Hacluyt, de Purchas, & d'autres Voyageurs Anglois, hollandois, portugais, allemands, espagnols, et de quelques persans, arabes & autres auteurs orientaux, enrichies de figures de plantes non décrites, d'animaux inconnus à l'Europe, & de cartes geographiques de pays dont on n'a point encore donné de cartes. Première Partie* (Paris: Iacques Langlois, 1663), p. 52: 'ayant de loin apperceu de la fumée, ils ramerent vers le lieu où ils l'a voyoient, esperant d'y trouuer des hommes, & par consequent de l'eau ...' ('having seen smoke from afar, they rowed towards the place where they saw it, hoping to find men there, and consequently also water').

786 Jakka, p. 187.

people find themselves alone, thousands of miles from the laws and social restraints of their civilization; and what was required to make such ventures a success. The verbal echoes between Hamond and Neville are stronger than those with Thévenot and in the same language.

In the seventeenth century, neither the English state nor the East India Company were in a position to plant colonies in Bandaiyan. The only previous English voyage to Bandaiyan was that captained by John Brookes, whose ship *The Tryall* was wrecked in 1622 off the west coast. The year after the publishing sensation of *Isle of Pines*, John Narborough set out for the South Seas and claimed Port Desire in Argentina for the British Empire in 1670. The results of this voyage might have confirmed Neville's view of the inadequate colonial power of the English. *The Isle of Pines* expresses the limits of English desires for colonial conquests in the seventeenth century.

During their stay on the Isle of Pines, the Dutch visitors undertake a six-day exploration of the island in which they make a survey of its geography:

by our coasting it [we] conceive it to be of an oval form, only here and there shooting forth with some Promontories. I conceive it hath but few good Harbours belonging to it, the Rocks in most places making it inaccessible. The length of it may be about two hundred, and breadth one hundred miles, the whole in circumference about five hundred miles.⁷⁸⁷

The island is similar in dimensions to More's Utopia (also two hundred miles wide and five hundred in circumference). Typical of Utopia, Antangil, and the utopia generally, the Isle of Pines is difficult to access, with few good harbours.

In other ways, the nature of the Isle of Pines differs markedly from More's Utopia. Its nature is fertile and paradisaical:

787 Neville, 'The July 27, 1668 English Edition [The Isle of Pines]', p. 43.

all the way that we went we heard the delightful harmony of singing Birds, the ground very fertile in Trees, Grass, and such flowers, as grow by the production of Nature, without the help of Art; many and several sorts of Beasts we saw, who were not so much wild as in other Countries; ... Some Trees bearing wild Fruits we also saw, and of those some whereof we tasted, which were neither unwholesome nor distastful to the Pallate, and no question had but Nature here the benefit of Art added unto it, it would equal, if not exceed many of our *Europian* Countries; the Vallyes were every where intermixt with running streams, and no question but the earth hath in it rich veins of Minerals, enough to satisfie the desires of the most covetous.⁷⁸⁸

The Isle of Pines is so fertile, the Pineses do not need to cultivate the land to survive but rely on what nature provides without labour. The land is 'very fertile in Trees, Grass, and such flowers, as grow by the production of Nature, without the help of Art'. This is quite different from the nature of the Utopians' island: 'their soil is not very fertile, nor their climate of the best, but they ... improve their soil by industry, so that nowhere do grain and cattle flourish more plentifully'.⁷⁸⁹ The Utopians rely on the organization of agricultural labour to cultivate crops, and on the rational distribution of produce to survive and flourish. None of this is necessary to survive on the Isle of Pines.

The Pineses live in a state of nature that implies their decline from the political, economic, and social organization that pertained in the England they left. They have regressed to the antediluvian state of Noah's people. Once Neville's political thinking is brought to an analysis of the text, as Peter Stillman and Gaby Mahlberg have done, it is clear that the Pineses' utopia is far from a perfect society and comprises many problematic if not dystopian elements.

Stillman argues that *Isle of Pines* combines arcadian, utopian, and dystopian elements. The first phase of the society created by George Pines and the four women castaways is arcadian, until he realizes the necessity to introduce laws to control social conflict, mainly related to sexual relations. At this point, it becomes a utopia, but an imperfect one. George establishes himself as patriarch ruling over his offspring according to a

788 Neville, 'The July 27, 1668 English Edition [The Isle of Pines]', p. 42.

789 *Utopia*, trans. by Adams, p. 74.

law code derived from Exodus. It fails to maintain social harmony or prevent acts of sexual amorality and interfamilial strife. As Stillman concludes, George Pines is 'like the leaders [in Genesis] who ruled just before Noah, rulers who lived long, populated the earth, but did nothing to prevent the degeneration of men'. George is sexually potent but politically impotent as a governor.⁷⁹⁰

The political characteristics of *Isle of Pines* therefore reflect its geography and the people's use of the land. The state of nature in which the Pineses live is not a paradise in Neville's thinking. These scions of the English have declined in the hierarchy of civilization to a state of antediluvianism, a society like that of Noah's before the Flood. They do not labour to cultivate the soil, living off whatever nature provides; their laws keep them in a state of nature, which for Neville, means a state of war (according to Stillman).

In the early modern period, a land in a state of nature was generally regarded as ripe for colonization. Adam Beach has observed that the Dutch visitors' survey of the geography of the island 'show[s] a material interest in colonization'.⁷⁹¹ Beach argues that Neville expresses an English national anxiety about being technologically inferior to their admired Dutch rivals, an anxiety that stems from Neville's support for colonial projects. The Pineses represent an England that has declined in the hierarchy of civilizations. Their fertile island is ripe for colonization, by a people with 'Art' who will exploit the fertile soils and 'rich veins of Minerals', but the offspring of George Pines, no matter how many of them there are, are ill-equipped for the task. The island is therefore vulnerable to takeover by those who possess 'the desires of the most covetous'.

My interest is not in the national rivalry between England and the United Provinces, but rather to understand the import of the imagination of the utopian geography of

790 Stillman, 'Monarchy, Disorder, and Politics in The Isle of Pines', p. 156.

791 Adam Beach, 'A Profound Pessimism about Empire: The Isle of Pines, English Degeneracy, and Dutch Supremacy', *The Eighteenth Century*, 41.1 (2000), 21–36.

Terra Australis. Neville's imagined society whatever his national anxieties is a meditation on the possibilities of colonization, what organizational and social characteristics are required to plant a successful colony. To the extent that Neville considers *Terra Australis*, it is conceived as a vast region awaiting colonization, and a hope of fertile lands lying waiting for exploitation. Neville's evocation of such a place of exotic fecundity and potential for commercial exploitation is an incitement to colonization.

The primary intention of Neville's utopia was to promote republicanism with a fable that highlighted the deficiencies and risks of the Restoration regime of Charles II, criticized for his indulgence of his mistresses and neglect of orderly governance. The pamphlet's postscript makes an explicit incitement to colonization. It presents the Isle of Pines as a land in a state of nature awaiting improvement in the form of 'Agriculture and Gardening', which for Neville, also implied a republicanism based on landed property.⁷⁹²

no question but time will make this Island known better to the world; all that I shall ever say of it is, that it is a place enriched with Natures abundance, deficient in nothing conducible to the sustenation of mans life, which were it Manured by Agriculture and Gardening, as other of our European Countries are, no question but it would equal, if not exceed, many which now pass for praiseworthy.⁷⁹³

This is also the sense with which Robert Burton made his claim that one day *Terra Australis* would 'yeeld in time, some flourishing kingdomes to succeeding ages, as *America* did unto the *Spaniards*'.⁷⁹⁴ The last words leave it up for the reader or prospective colonist to determine to whom the kingdoms of *Terra Australis* will be yielded. The idea that their flourishing might profit the native inhabitants is out of the question.

792 On Neville's republicanism, see Stillman, 'Monarchy, Disorder, and Politics in The Isle of Pines'. See also Mahlberg, 'Historical and Political Contexts of The Isle of Pines'.

793 Neville, 'The July 27, 1668 English Edition [The Isle of Pines]', p. 49.

794 Burton, Part. II, Sect. 2, p. 34.

Foigny's *La terre australe connue* tells the story of a hermaphrodite, Nicholas Sadeur, whose ship bound for the East Indies is wrecked to the west of Madagascar. Sadeur clings to a plank for survival and, after a violent aerial combat with vicious birds, he is washed up naked on the shores of *Terra Australis*. The *australiens*, who are also hermaphrodites, welcome him as one of their own.

To maintain their society, the *australiens* kill anyone born as one sex. In combining both male and female in one body, hermaphroditism is the symbol and embodiment of a supremely rational human perfection. As hermaphrodites, they not only combine both sexes in one body and avoid the passions of sex. So unified are they, they even go to war as one mind, knowing exactly where to station themselves to defend the body politic. When they know it is their turn to die, they perform the required ritual obediently without hesitation. They are vegetarians; the fruits that grow in *la terre Australe* provide all the nutrition they need. This rational uniformity breeds impassivity. As the European narrator, Nicholas Sadeur remarks, 'The Australians are exempt from all these passions ... they live in a sort of indifference, without any other movement than that dictated by reason'.⁷⁹⁵ In the end, Sadeur rejects utopia and returns home.

Foigny's *terre Australe* invokes Mercator's *Terra Australis Incognita* rather than *Hollandia Nova*. Sadeur lands on an island at 33°S after being driven more than 1000 leagues west of Annanbolo, on the west coast of Madagascar. Before the birds' attack, he thinks he is at 35°S. Foigny supplies a series of coordinates, in latitudes only, which together produce a coastline like Mercator's with some corrections, implying a satirical critique of efforts to achieve empirical geographical representations, later used by Jonathan Swift.⁷⁹⁶

795 Trans. by Leek, p. 79. 'Les Australiens sont exempts de toutes ces passions: ... ils vivent dans une espece d'indifference, sans autre mouvement, que celui que la raison leur imprime.' Foigny, *La terre australe connue*, p. 140.

796 In *Gulliver's Travels*, Gulliver criticizes errors in maps of New Holland; see Alfred Hiatt, 'Terra Australis and the Idea of the Antipodes', in *European Perceptions of Terra Australis*, ed. by Anne M. Scott and others (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 9–43 (p. 10 and n. 5).

Here then are the geographical details of the Southern Land as I understood them from my sources there and can describe them in terms of Ptolemy's system. ... Commencing around the 340th meridian at 52 degrees south latitude, it rises toward the equator through forty meridians to reach 40 degrees south; all this part is called Huff. The coast continues at this latitude for about fifteen degrees of longitude, this part being named Hubc. From there the sea advances again through a further twenty-five meridians down to 51 degrees south, and this entire west-facing coast is known as Hump. The sea then forms a large gulf called Slab.⁷⁹⁷

This is only the beginning of a long geographical description in the midst of the fourth chapter, which is entitled 'Description de la terre Australe; la Carte Geographique de la terre Australe'. One by one, twelve provinces are described in this manner, producing a series of peculiar monosyllabic toponyms, some of which are almost unpronounceable: Huff, Hubc, Hump, Hued, Huod, Hug, Pug, Pur, Sub, Sug, Pulg, Mulg. Each provincial name has one phoneme different with each step eastwards.⁷⁹⁸

For Ronzeaud, this geographical description is an opportunity for satire. He dismisses Numa Broc's claim that Foigny's description could be mapped (Ronzeaud regarded Broc as being taken in). In fact, Broc is correct: Foigny's coordinates are consistent and comprehensive enough to map his imaginary geography; but that does not undermine the satire.⁷⁹⁹ The point is that rational acts of geographical description are by nature irrational because human agents want to derive meaning from the conceptualization of landscape, a process that is supported by naming. Foigny's hyper-rational,

797 Fausett, trans. p. 38. Ronzeaud, ed., pp. 68–9: 'Voicy donc autant exactement que je l'ay pû comprendre par plusieurs relations; & que je le puis décrire selon les meridiens de Ptoloméé les limites de la terre Australe. ... Elle commence au 340. meridien vers le cinquante deuzième degré d'élevation australe: & elle avance du côté de la Ligne en 40. meridiens jusques au 40. degré: toute cette terre se nomme Huff. La terre continuë dans cette elevation environ quinze degrez & on l'appelle Hubc. Depuis le 15. meridien la mer gagne & enfonce petit à petit en 25. meridiens jusques au 51. degré: et toute cette côte qui est occidentale s'appelle Hump. La mer fait là un golphe fort considerable qu'on appelle Slab.'

798 These toponyms might have also have inspired Swift to the unpronounceable nomenclature of *Gulliver's Travels*.

799 Numa Broc, *La géographie des philosophes: géographes et voyageurs français au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Éditions Ophrys, 1975), p. 138.

meaningless toponyms frustrate and satirize precisely because the reader expects meaning where there is only laughter.

Like Utopia, *la terre Australe* has an 'admirable uniformity of language, custom, architecture, and agriculture' across the whole of the continent, so that, '[t]o know one region is to know them all'.⁸⁰⁰ The vast landscape of *la terre Australe* is flat, without marshes, mountains, or deserts. The narrator Sadeur is amazed to be told that the inhabitants had levelled all the mountains. The even land gradient extends under the sea for three leagues from the shore, the shallow waters providing a natural defensive barrier to intruders.

On this flat terrain is laid out a uniform geometry of social structures based on the square and the circle, the ideal forms in Leon Battista Alberti's treatise on architecture (1452).⁸⁰¹ These shapes also reflect contemporary principles for the design of defensive structures.⁸⁰² *La terre Australe* is divided into square *seizains* ('sixteens'), consisting of sixteen quarters of twenty-five houses each. Each *seizain* comprises three types of building, all circular: at the centre, the Hab ('house of elevation') for communal eating, is built of transparent stone—the trope of seeing and being seen. There are four Hebs ('houses of education') at the meeting point of four quarters and twenty-five Hiebs ('men's houses') for communal dwelling in each quarter.

Sevarambians is the longest and most fully developed of the four utopias set in *Terra Australis*. It begins with the story of Captain Siden, who boards a new ship, the *Golden Dragon*, bound for the East Indies, because of a 'restless desire for travelling the World that I might my self be an Eye Witness of those things I had either read or heard of'. He

800 Fausett, trans., p. 40. Ronzeaud, ed., pp. 70–1: 'l'uniformité admirable de langues, de coûtumes, de bâtiments, & de culture de la terre qui se rencontre en ce grand pays. C'est assez d'en connoître un quartier pour porter iugement de tour les autres.'

801 Leon Battista Alberti, *De Re Aedificatoria. On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, trans. by Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach, and Robert Tavernor (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1988).

802 Lise Leibacher-Ouvrard, *Libertinage et utopies sous le règne de Louis XIV* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1989), p. 94.

is therefore a man in the mould of Bacon rather than Hall, an active advocate of curiosity. He also has an invitation from a friend with business in Batavia, and the expectation of 'the great gain and profits' of such a voyage. The *Golden Dragon* leaves the Texel channel (near Amsterdam) on 12 April 1655, carrying 'near four hundred People Seamen or Passengers, and great Sums of Money'. Sometime after rounding the Cape of Good Hope, three months and three weeks later, at a latitude of 38° south, the ship is blown off course in a storm, driven south for two days, then southeast for four days, before entering a calm. In the early hours of the tenth day, it strikes ground on the shores of *Terra Australis*.

The account of the storm is similar to Foigny's, taking place over ten days. In Foigny, this is numerologically significant, as the calm on the seventh day alludes to God's day of rest in Genesis. In *Sevarambians*, such biblical allusions are less significant.

Several of these details are close to the facts known about the maiden voyage of the VOC's ship, the *Vergulde Draeck*, which means 'gilt dragon', which left the Texel channel on 4 October 1655, carrying 193 passengers and '78,600 guilders in cash'. It was wrecked on 28 April 1656 off the coast of southwestern *Hollandia Nova* (so the real voyage took about twice as long as the imaginary one). The unknown fate of these sixty-eight passengers therefore makes a starting point for Vairasse's fiction.

Vairasse's utopian geography is the most complex of the works discussed here. Sevarambia is larger than the island utopias of More, Bacon, and Smeeks, but much smaller than Foigny's imaginary landscapes which fills much of Mercator's huge *Terra Australis Incognita*. Sevarambia forms a vaguely defined part of Mercator's continent. Its topography is also more varied: whereas Foigny's has only fertile plains and no mountains, in Vairasse, there are marshes and sandy plains, as well as forests, mountains, and valleys.

Sevarambia occupies one part of *Terra Australis*, not the whole continent. It is roughly square in shape, the main territory controlled directly by the Sevarambians is about sixteen hundred kilometers square, about six hundred 600 kilometers inland from the sea. There are two main divisions: an outer periphery, Sporoumbe, lying between the sea and a range of mountains; and an inner core, the plain of Sevarambia proper. In the centre of the plain, on an island in a river, is the capital city of Sevarinde. The chief utopian city is located at the geographical centre of the nation, and it is the mountain range rather than the sea that forms the natural defensive barrier to protect the utopian city from invasion.

Although both Foigny and Vairasse set their utopias on the continental terra firma of *Terra Australis*, the meaning of this territory is different in each. In Foigny, the utopian boundary is at the shore, or in the neritic zone before the beach. Sadeur's ordeal of crossing into utopia, the Cockaigne trope of eating through the buckwheat mountain⁸⁰³ becomes his fight with the vicious birds, occurs before he reaches land. In Vairasse, however, the Sevarambian utopia is only a small part of *Terra Australis*, and requires boundaries within the continent to protect it from aliens. In fact, only inner Sevarambe is well protected from incursion. Sporoumbe is more easily accessed by Siden and by Sevarias before him. Sporoumbe is a transition zone, a space less favourable in which arrivals can be watched and picked up before they penetrate the utopia proper.

Krinke Kesmes combines the genres of utopia, travel account, and wisdom literature. The main narrative of the novel traces how the narrator, a Dutchman, enters the world of commerce after leaving his native country. After becoming qualified in mathematics and spending time in Spain, he adopts the name, identity, and religion of his friend and sponsor, Juan de Posos, from near Ronda in Andalusia, in order to gain access to trade in Portobello, Panama, where he lives for some time. It is from Portobello that he sails to East Asia to conduct trade in the Philippines, only to be blown off course in a storm and become beached on an island of *Terra Australis*, *Krinke Kesmes*. Hence,

803 Ross Frank, 'An Interpretation of Land of Cockaigne (1567) by Pieter Breugel the Elder', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 22.2 (1991), 299–329 (p. 304).

unlike the other three utopias discussed here, the narrator's voyage to utopia heads west toward *Terra Australis* from South America, rather than eastwards via the Cape of Good Hope. Krinke Kesmes is located in the blank space of *Terra Australis* to the east of *Hollandia Nova* on Thévenot's 1663 map. On a modern map, Krinke Kesmes would be located in southeast Queensland.

De Posos refers to More's *Utopia* at one point in a way that is revealing of the utopist's geographical imagination. The Garbon explains to de Posos the custom of marriage partners to make a preinspection of each other's naked bodies, like a horse is inspected before buying it. De Posos observes that 'I had read something like this in More's *Utopia*, yet believed that to have been a fiction; but now I found it to be the truth, which amazed me greatly'.⁸⁰⁴ On the most obvious level, this is a moment of estrangement in which the author has unexpectedly drawn the curtain across the stage and alerted the reader's attention to the fictiveness of his creation. At the same time, within the suspended disbelief of the novel's reality, this statement implies that Krinke Kesmes is *identical* geographically speaking with More's Utopia; that Utopia is *one* place, located somewhere unknown on earth, like Paradise was thought to be. From this perspective, each author's description of Utopia is held to be, not a different conceptualization of utopia in general, but rather a truer description of the same place.

The geography of Krinke Kesmes is informed by many of the geographical rationales of its predecessors. Krinke Kesmes is an almost square island of about one thousand square miles (one hundred hours walking on each side). It has smaller associated islands, including Nemnan and Wonvure, which are the sites of universities for men and women respectively. Their shape is gendered: Nemnan is square, Wonvure oval. The interior plain is surrounded by a densely wooded mountain range. The distribution of population is more random than in More and Foigny. A number of

804 Fausett and Leek, p. 88. Buijnsters, ed. p. 204: 'Ik had in de *Utopia* van *Morus* ook zulks geleesen, dog meenden dat het verçierd was; maar nu bevond ik het de waarheid te zijn, dat my zeer verwonderde.' Douwe Wessel Fokkema, *Perfect Worlds: Utopian Fiction in China and the West* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011), p. 140 notes that this famous topos goes back to Horace.

cities are mentioned, including the capital Kesmes, about which the reader learns little. The narrator, de Posos spends most of his time in Taloujaël, said to be a free city, and the place where the El-ho lives, apparently with the grace of the King. Taloujaël is located in a central plain, surrounded by a densely-wooded mountain range. Between an outer range of mountains and the coast, lies a wasteland inhabited by the Stranders ('beach dwellers').

After the arrival of de Posos and his party of marooned sailors, they set about exploring the land, pursuing the sighting of a *stompen Tooren* ('truncated tower') that is spotted from a hill on a distant horizon. After marching for twenty-four and a half hours over three and a half days,⁸⁰⁵ they finally get a sight of the city of Taloujaël. While gazing at it in awe, they are surprised by unarmed local inhabitants, who take them to the city. There de Posos is introduced to the Garbon ('supervisor') who will be his guide to the city and teach him about the history, politics, law, religion and customs of his people, and give him gifts to take home including a map of Krinke Kesmes.

The second voyage narrative presents the catalyst for the creation of the modern Kesmian society. In the year AD 1030, a Persian ship was wrecked on the shores of Krinke Kesmes with three hundred people on board of mixed Eurasian cultures, including Persians, Indians, Turks, Arabs, and Christian slaves speaking Greek, Italian, and Dutch. Its main cargo included books 'in divers Languages and on various Topics', including 'Hebrew Bibles, Greek Testaments, and Arabian Alkorans'.⁸⁰⁶ The arrival of this knowledge from the rest of the world (excluding America) spurs king Chamhazi to call his sages to a conference in the capital Kesmes. Language learning is a priority. Twelve 'quick-witted Youths' with expertise in the Kesmian language are appointed to go to the city of Araso with the Arabs, where they are locked up together for two years to learn each others' languages. The Persians are likewise sent with 'twelve Youths' to another city, Tenbar. The same goes for the Turks, Jews, Indians (for learning Malay), the Greeks, Italians, and the Dutch. The language learning is very successful except

805 Fausett and Leek, p. 31.

806 Fausett and Leek, p. 36. Buijnsters, p. 127.

that the youths adopt their teachers' religions too. This leads to disputes, not between the religions, but between the sects of each religion.

In an effort to quell the sectarian conflict, an ecumenical church is built in which the sects of each religion have their own pulpits, arranged by the cardinal points: Arab Muslims on the east side, Christians on the west, Jews on the north, and Moorish Muslims on the south. Unlike the distribution of people to different parts of the country to learn languages, this time the experiment in social enhancement using principles of rational design and the spatial distribution of difference fails: the disputes between the sects become ever more violent. As a result, King Chamhazi abandons religious and sectarian pluralism, and locks up all the aliens in detention; except for the Dutch. Their Reformed Christianity 'seemed the gentlest' and their values are used as the basis for designing the religion of the reformed society.⁸⁰⁷ Smeeks seems to suggest that religious syncretism might be possible, but not in the presence of sectarian strife.⁸⁰⁸

The 'old Philosopher', Sarabasa, recommends a new faith for all based on two divine maxims from the Bible, which he believes provide the keys to happiness: the first, the 'golden rule', 'Love God above all, and your neighbour like yourself' (also a Confucian maxim);⁸⁰⁹ and the second, 'give to God what belongs to God and to Caesar what belongs to Caesar'. This simple religious foundation has Spinozist as well as Calvinist roots. The maxims of Krinke Kesmes declare that religion is 'like a certain kind of government', which advances morals, obedience, and just social relations, and is believed to be imparted to a person through education.⁸¹⁰ The idea that religious laws

807 Fausett and Leek, p. 39. Buijnsters, p. 131.

808 Smeeks suggests a Christian and Muslim could live more happily as neighbours than a Calvinist and a Roman Catholic. R. Po-Chia Hsia has described the religious settlement in the Dutch Republic as 'a confessionally pluralistic society with an official intolerant Calvinist Church that discriminated against Catholics, but whose pragmatic religious toleration elicited admiration and bewilderment', see *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age*, ed. by R. Po-Chia Hsia and Henk F. K. van Nierop (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 2.

809 Fokkema, p. 142, from *The Analects*.

810 Fausett and Leek, p. 51). Buijnsters, p. 150: 'Gods-dienst, is als een zeekere zoorte van regeering, zy is om de zeeden der Menschen te beeteren, om de gehoorsaamheid der

are for social governance comes from Spinoza. Jonathan Israel's view is that the Spinozism in *Krinke Kesmes* is not always explicit, but enough to be regarded by some as seditious.⁸¹¹

It has been claimed that utopias are static societies that cannot change, but Kesmian society is, like Bacon's Bensalem, open to new knowledge.⁸¹² Active debates on philosophy, anatomy, physics and other subjects current in Europe ensue in two academies: a men's academy, secluded on the island of Nemnan, and a women's on the island of Wonvure. These have the function of Solomon's House in *New Atlantis*, but it is interesting that their gendered division creates a spatial framework for dialogue between different ideas. Two years before the arrival of de Posos, the women gained access to the knowledge in Dutch books salvaged from a shipwreck. They quickly acquired this knowledge and embarked on an ongoing debate via correspondence with the men's academy over a number of questions, such as the relationship of the soul to the body and the existence of vacuums. Perhaps, the location of *Krinke Kesmes* in the antipodes explains why the women's academy is more up to date and their views seem to match the author's. It therefore seems likely that the many books that de Posos presented to the Garbon might also be carefully read and considered by the philosophers of *Krinke Kesmes*. Open philosophical debate on such questions does not change the fundamental social structure, but since the construction of the new Kesmian society was a direct response to the arrival of new ideas and knowledge with the Persian ship in AD 1030, rather than a conquest like that of Utopus, Smeeks seems to suggest that it is a contest of knowledge rather than of territory that should be the foundation of utopia.⁸¹³ As we will see, territorial conquest has not been removed from the process entirely, but it is interesting that, in following the logic of Bacon and

gemeene te bevorderen, en regt aan malkanderen te doen.'

811 Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, pp. 320–2.

812 For a discussion of the idea that utopias are static, ahistorical societies that allow no internal dynamics of social change, see Nicole Pohl, 'Utopianism after More: The Renaissance and Enlightenment', in *The Cambridge Companion to Utopian Literature*, ed. by Gregory Claeys (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 51–78.

813 As Boesky, p. 20, observes, 'the location of utopia in a conquered or contested site' is inherited from More's *Utopia*.

Spinoza as well as of More, Smeeks might have suggested that radical proposition. If so, it leaves open the possibility of further social change through the discussion of other new ideas that wash up on the shores of Krinke Kesmes from time to time, rather than, as in *New Atlantis*, through the activity of scientific spies. A simple religious creed would support a society more open to changing philosophy. Smeeks's utopia presents a model for the enhancement of sociability which foregrounds its poiesis, and embodies Boesky's observation that utopias show that 'states are not discovered but made',⁸¹⁴ although it is one that, like all utopias, creates its own dystopian obverse for those who must be excluded.

The third journey to the utopian city occurred some years before the arrival of de Posos. The narrator begins his story when he was a boy in the service of the VOC in Batavia, and he was called to join the crew of the *Wakende Boey*, about to set sail for the Southland to search for survivors of the wrecked *Goude Draak*.⁸¹⁵ He joins a landing party, but wanders off on his own and gets lost. When his crewmates cannot find him, they leave him his ship's chest buried in the sand marked by a 'dig-here' sign on a stake, before returning to Batavia. He learns to survive using his wits, resourcefully finding food, and bringing casks from the wrecked ship, and adopting a dog. He builds a 'castle' to defend himself from 'the barbarians' of the sea coasts, who are the descendants of the Persian ship. Eventually, he is captured and taken to the capital city, where he is welcomed into Kesmian society, learns the language, and gains employment as a translator and language teacher.

This narrative, a model for Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, has a number of sources, including Ibn Tufail's *The History of Hayy Ibn Yaqzan (Philosophus Autodidactus)*.⁸¹⁶ It has been regarded by some critics as a 'digression' without obvious relevance to the rest of the

814 Boesky, p. 22.

815 In this chapter, I use the spellings found in Smeeks's book, rather than those of the ships discussed in Chapter 3, the *Vergulde Draeck* and the *Waeckende Boey*. On the associations and differences between these events and their use in *Krinke Kesmes*, see Fausett in *Mighty Kingdom*, pp. xxix–xxxii. It was the *Witte Valck* that left Batavia on the date suggested in *Krinke Kesmes* to search for survivors of the *Vergulde Draeck*, but Smeeks might have felt the name *Waeckende Boey* ('watchful buoy') had better associations with the El-ho's character.

novel,⁸¹⁷ but aside from bringing the personal narratives and voyage trajectories of the El-ho and de Posos to meet in Taloujaël, the details it draws from VOC accounts of *Hollandia Nova*, particularly reports of the Aboriginal inhabitants, make it an important witness to Smeeks's utopian imaginary.

The most disturbing part of the story occurs during the El-ho's long journey to the utopian city, escorted by the beach-dwellers. They stop for a couple of months in a village, where he marries a local woman. Although he cannot speak the local language, he says his greatest discomfort is having to go naked. His antediluvian life is terrifyingly interrupted one night when the Kesmian army arrives to carry out a massacre. An army captain spares the El-ho from certain death because he has never before seen anyone with white skin.⁸¹⁸

816 See Avner Ben-Zaken, *Reading Hayy Ibn-Yaqzan: A Cross-Cultural History of Autodidacticism*, History of Science (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011). Ibn Tufail (c. 1105–1185) was an Andalusian writer and philosopher. His book was translated into Latin in 1671 by Edward Pocock as *Philosophus Autodidactus*. The first Dutch translation was published in 1672. According to Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, p. 198, it was translated by Johannes Bouwmeester, even though it is attributed on the title page to the mysterious 'S.d.B.' The authorship of the 1701 Dutch edition *Sevarambians* (printed with Foigny's *La terre australe* and the *Nyptang* journal) was also attributed to 'S.d.B.'. Bouwmeester's translation of Tufail was reissued in 1701 with a surtitle *De natuurlyke wysgeer* ('The natural philosopher'). Its readers included Leibniz and Christiaan Huygens among many others (Ben-Zaken, p. 10). The resonances of wakefulness in autodidactic philosophy also supports the hypothesis for Smeeks's choice of the *Waeckende Boey* as the El-ho's ship (Ben-Zaken, pp. 48–9). Buijnsters and Fausett indicate a popular Dutch source for the El-ho's story, Anonymous, *Het wonderlijck en niet min kluchtig leven, van Kleyn Kobisje, alias Koning sonder onderzaten* (Amsterdam: Jacobus Bouman, 1700). Despite these literary sources, Fausett argues that the 'great realism' of the El-ho's story shows it had an 'authentic' source in an account of marooning in *Hollandia Nova*; see *Mighty Kingdom*, pp. xxix–xxxv.

817 For example, Rosenberg. Rosenberg believes the novel lacks literary merit, lamenting that the description of Krinke Kesmes takes up a relatively small part of the book. Fokkema describes the novel's structure as 'unbalanced', regarding the El-ho's story as principally an authentication device (an admittedly long one if so) that has 'little to do with the experiences of de Posos and his company'; see Fokkema, p. 144. Surprisingly, Fausett also expresses this view, stating that 'Krinke Kesmes bore implications going beyond the work's own literary qualities (or lack of them)' (*Mighty Kingdom*, p. xxxiv). Boesky, pp. 21–2, has pointed out that those who criticize utopian fictions' lack of literary merit often misunderstand the works' complexities and 'strategies of self-representation'.

818 Fausett and Leek, p. 85; Buijnsters, ed., p. 199.

The reason for this massacre is explained at the conclusion to the account of the foundation of Kesmians' utopian society. Once the castaways from the Persian ship were locked in detention (all except the Dutch) they continued to pursue their violent sectarian conflicts. As a result, they were all banished to the 'remote Sea-coasts' where they were reduced to 'living as simple Fishermen, supplied with no other arms than wooden stakes, and constantly plagued there by Flies'. They live on 'the barren and arid beaches', lack fresh water, and speak an incomprehensible fusion of all their languages. This peripheral landscape recalls descriptions of the west coast of Bandaiyan by VOC mariners. Smeeks provides a reason for the existence of the people reported to live there, whom the Kesmians call 'Stranders' or 'beach-dwellers'. Every so often, their population grows to such an extent that they encroach on more fertile lands. De Posos is told:

when their Descendants have multiplied to the extent that they come Inland, where the fertile Soil also supports Towns and Villages, a well-armed Army is sent thither, which sometimes beats eight or twelve thousand of them to death, Men, Women as well as Children'.⁸¹⁹

It is a horrific price to pay for religious sectarianism, and a ruthless means to secure the borders of the utopia, one that reinvoles the blood rites of the ancient Greek city state.⁸²⁰ The second mention of these massacres in the El-ho's story is the most vivid account of border violence of all the utopias discussed in this thesis, because it is read

819 Fausett and Leek, p. 39. Buijnsters, ed. p. 132: 'wanneer haar Nazaaten zoo vermeenigvuldigen, dat zy Landwaard in komen, daar het vrugtbaar Aardrijk ook Steeden en Dorpen draagd, dan word daar een wel-gewaapend Leeger op uitgesonden, welke somtijds agt of twaalf duisend daar van dood slaan, zoo wel Mannen, Vrouwen, als Kinderen.'

820 Hence, although *Krinke Kesmes* is set on an island, its imaginary shares the features of the French utopias set in *Terra Australis*, including *Antangil*, Foigny's *La terre australe*, and *Sevarambians*, and unlike the previously unpopulated Isle of Pines. In More's *Utopia*, the 'barbarian other' was physically separated from the Utopians' island by the excavation of the channel. More admits interactions between the two peoples—as when the population of Utopia's strictly regulated city numbers grows too large, excess population goes to live on the continent, colonizing the barbarians' places—but the society and institutions of Utopia itself remain unchanged. Without the trope of the channel, Smeeks has translated this trope from More with a bloody prescience that suggests that utopists considered the possibility of European colonization of Bandaiyan and the reality of a European society sharing a landmass with a people regarded as barbarians.

through the El-ho's experience. He survives because of the unique colour of his skin, whereas his local wife is murdered with all her relatives. It is a prescient imagination of the massacres experienced by Aboriginal men, women, and children in all parts of Bandaiyan between 1788 and 1930, as colonists invaded their lands.⁸²¹

Crossing the Utopian Periphery

Although the sea voyage conceit is critical in the Renaissance utopias of More, Campanella, and Bacon in getting the narrator to the utopia to describe it, very little of the narrative is devoted to the voyage itself. One of the most important transformations of this utopian model in the utopias set in *Terra Australis* is the elaboration of an extensive voyage account—indeed of multiple voyage accounts. This opens up the liminal space on the periphery of the utopian city—whether at sea or on land—to detailed topographic description and to occupation with events and human drama. The setting in *Terra Australis* appears to have encouraged the later utopists to open up this liminal space, briefly mentioned in the Renaissance utopias, for engraving a rich topography of meaning.

The green shoots for this development might be discerned in the models through the framework of multiple narratives of arrival in the utopian space. In More, the two events of arrival—of Utopus and Hythloday—are explained but not narrativized. The construction of the channel gives Utopus's arrival mythical and foundational significance, but the experience of those involved is not told. Neither does the reader gain much detail about the experience of Hythloday. We do not see him eating or taking part in other activities of the Utopians. He is an observer and reporter. Campanella tells us that the Genovese Captain 'was compelled to go ashore'.⁸²² We can

821 Hundreds of massacres occurred in all parts of the Australian colonial frontier between 1788 and 1930. Research to gather data and understand the phenomenon continues; see Lyndall Ryan and Centre For 21st Century Humanities, University of Newcastle, Australia, 'Colonial Frontier Massacres in Australia, 1788–1930' <<https://c21ch.newcastle.edu.au/colonialmassacres/introduction.php>> [accessed 7 August 2019].

822 Campanella, *The City of the Sun*, p. 2.

only speculate on the details why. The rest is a dialogue that describes the *Città del Sole* and its governance.

In *New Atlantis*, the arrival of the castaways in Bensalem is represented as a miraculous event. After praying to God for deliverance from ‘the midst of the greatest wilderness of waters in the world, without victuals’, they give themselves up for dead. The next day they sight land and are welcomed into quarantine in the Strangers’ House of Bensalem. As the narrator tells his companions,

We are men cast on land, as Jonas was, out of the whale’s belly, when we were as buried in the deep: and now we are on land, we are but between death and life; for we are beyond both the old world, and the new.⁸²³

Bacon thus describes the utopian space where the castaways find themselves as a liminal one, between fiction and reality: ‘between death and life; for we are beyond, both the old world, and the new’. The narrative does not include any description of the Strangers’ House, this in-between space in which the castaways find themselves. The focus of the narrative quickly moves on to Bacon’s main purpose, the discussion and explanation of Solomon’s House, the utopia proper. In the utopias set in *Terra Australis*, Bacon’s brief summary of this liminal space as ‘beyond, both the old world, and the new’ was translated and elaborated in rich topographical detail, in some cases, reformulated into the sea- or landscape for the narration of a number of different episodes within the same work. Thus the moment in *New Atlantis* that for Chloë Houston represents ‘deliverance from harm and divine benediction’ is transformed into a rich topography engraved by the ideological concerns of the utopists.⁸²⁴

In the utopias set in *Terra Australis* with which I am concerned here, this development is gradual. In *Isle of Pines*, there are two arrival narratives: that of the Pines, who

823 Francis Bacon, ‘New Atlantis’, in *Three Renaissance Utopias: Utopia, New Atlantis, The Isle of Pines*, ed. by Susan Bruce (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 149–186 (p. 156).

824 Chloë Houston, ‘Traveling Nowhere: Global Utopias in the Early Modern Period’, in *A Companion to the Global Renaissance: English Literature and Culture in the Era of Expansion*, ed. by Jyotsna G. Singh (Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), pp. 82–98 (p. 91).

colonize the land and create a 'utopian' society; and the arrival of the Dutch. The latter are the equivalent of Hythloday. We get a little detail of the circumstances of their welcome in the utopia, their feast and dialogue with William Pine, and then we follow their six-day expedition across the island. All of this concerns description of the utopian society and landscape. The Dutch share brandy from their ship with William Pine and invite him on board to dine with them there, but no details of the meal are given. However, the food economy of the ship represents, not the utopian periphery, but the known world of the author and reader.

In *Foigny*, we are not told how the society was created. However, Sadeur's arrival experience (after he is cast into the sea from his ship) contains brief but important narrative scenes that have equivalents that Vairasse and Smeeks elaborate at much greater length into a description of the food economy of the utopian periphery.

Following the shipwreck, Sadeur has been stranded on an island. He finds some trees without fruit, and thinks that he will starve to death. He prostrates himself and prays:

I had just finished this prayer and was looking around for a spot to lie down and await the end of my wretched life, when I spied two fruits covered with leaves. I took them as a gift from Heaven, and a sure sign that God did not wish me to perish yet.⁸²⁵

It is significant that there are two fruits. A little earlier, when Sadeur is first beached on the island, he drags himself under a tree and looks up to find two fruits the colour of pomegranates.⁸²⁶ Fausett notes that this is '[p]robably a metaphor referring to the maternal breast, the whole ordeal [of the shipwreck] being a symbolic rebirth.'⁸²⁷ Two fruits resembling breasts on a tree also recalls the Land of Cockaigne. According to the

825 Fausett, trans., p. 32. Ronzeaud, ed., p. 59: 'A peine eus ie achevé ma priere, que me tournant pour voir, où ie pourrois me coucher & attendre la fin de ma chetive vie, je vis deux fruits qui étoient couverts de quelques feuilles. Je les pris comme un present du ciel, & une marque assurée que Dieu ne vouloit pas que ie perisse.'

826 Ronzeaud, ed, p. 51: 'Je trouvay sous cet arbre deux fruits de la grosseur & presque de al couleur de nos grenades'.

827 Fausett, trans., p. 27, n. 1.

poetic tradition, the Land of Cockaigne is reachable only by those who labour for seven years, so it is not open to the rich.⁸²⁸ Hence the painting shows a man digging through buckwheat to enter Cockaigne.⁸²⁹ Two obscure nodules on the tree at the centre of Bruegel's painting become breast-like in the later engraving by Pieter van der Heyden (after 1570). The allusion to the Land of Cockaigne makes the symbolism of the fruit more ambivalent.

The two fruits are perhaps simultaneously a sign of Providence and a satire on the hero's miraculous deliverance from the shipwreck. But Sadeur has still not reached safety at this point. He must still undergo an extended ordeal in a battle with vicious birds that guard entry to the continent. The birds recall Burton's 'great Bird *Rucke* that can carry a man and horse, or an Elephant', which flies over ocean near Madagascar.

In *Krinke Kesmes*, there are three separate arrival narratives: that of the ship that brings the knowledge on which the utopian social system is founded; the arrival of de Posos, the Dutch merchant and narrator; and the arrival of the El-ho, the Dutchman who was marooned on the shores of Krinke Kesmes as a boy, after the wreck of his ship the *Golden Dragon*.

In the tale that the El-ho tells de Posos about his marooning as a boy, a providential episode occurs similar to that experienced by Sadeur. After the El-ho gets separated from his companions from the *Golden Dragon*, he wanders lost through a barren sandy landscape. Just when he is about to give up hope of survival, he rejoices, 'along the way I found an Apple! O Lord! how happy I was. I looked up, and found myself under a wild Apple tree.'⁸³⁰

828 Lyman Tower Sargent, 'Everyday Life in Utopia: Food', in *Food Utopias: Reimagining Citizenship, Ethics and Community*, ed. by Paul V. Stock, Michael S. Carolan, and Christopher J. Rosin (London; New York, NY: Routledge, 2015).

829 Frank, 'An Interpretation of Land of Cockaigne', p. 304.

830 Fausett and Leek, p. 60. Buijnsters, ed., p. 164: 'in 't gaan vond ik een Appel! ô Heer! wat was ik blijde. Ik zag op, en was onder een wilden Appel-boom.'

He eats apples till his stomach is full and climbs the tree and picks more. Wild apple and other fruit trees were an important source of nourishment particularly for the poor in early modern Europe. So European explorers regarded the finding of fruit in a strange land as a Providential sign, both that they would survive, and that they were acting in accordance with God's will. Like Sadeur's providential moment, the El-ho's providential salvation by the fruits of the apple tree occurs in the beach landscape, on the periphery of the utopia, at the beginning of the long ordeal that will eventually bring him to the gates of the utopian city of Taloujaël.

Sevarambians has two main arrival narratives: that of Sevarias, the utopian founder (an anagram of Vairasse); and that of Siden, the narrator (an anagram of Denis).⁸³¹ A providential episode also occurs on the utopian periphery, but in a more realistic context.⁸³² In Part I, once Siden's castaways have elected Captain Siden to lead them, they begin to explore the nearby land looking for a place to set up a camp and procure food and water. The landscape is varied, with sandy and semi-arid parts, as well as forested areas. A party led by Morton marches 'through a Sandy and barren Country, where they had not found so much as a Spring or Brook of sweet Water'. A second party led by De Haes found 'a Sandy Plain', and a lake with 'an infinite number of Water-Fowl'. The lake is surrounded by 'Marshy and Muddy ground ... where they could not march without danger of sinking'.⁸³³ Eventually, the castaways find 'great quantities' of 'some kind of wild Berries ... upon the bushes and shrubs of the place'.⁸³⁴

831 In fact, Sevarias learns of the existence of *Terra Australis* from the report of an earlier visit by a Persian trading ship that was blown off course in a storm, but the earlier event is narrated briefly.

832 As it occurs in Part I, it actually formed the main narrative of the original one-part novel published in English in 1675. It is not unknown whether Vairasse had in mind the full five-part scheme from the beginning.

833 Laursen and Masroori, eds., p. 23.

834 Laursen and Masroori, eds., p. 15. Since berries are smaller than fruit, the implication might be that the effort to gain sustenance from them is greater than from larger, fleshier fruits. These 'wild Berries' are not the supernaturally nutritious fruits of Foigny's *terre Australe*. Joan Fitzpatrick has found that, in Shakespeare, the eating of berries is often associated with 'animalistic feeding' or feeding that is 'especially close to the natural world'. She gives an example from *Timon of Athens* (IV. iii. 424–5) in which the First Thief tells Timon: 'We cannot live on grass, on berries, water, | As and birds and fishes'; see Joan Fitzpatrick, "'I Must Eat My Dinner': Shakespeare's Foods from Apples to Walrus', in *Renaissance Food from Rabelais*

The alliteration on berries, beasts and birds suggests an environment in which food supply is insecure and humans must gather food like the birds and beasts, in contrast to Foigny, in which fruit is abundant enough to sustain vegetarianism. Siden's camp is a subsistence economy on the unsettled periphery of the Sevarambians' utopian society, which achieves a measure of sustainability and enhanced sociability through disciplined sharing of the work of survival.

Siden's party walks through a wood of 'very lofty Trees, not thick, and under which there was not much under-wood, so that it was easily pervious'.⁸³⁵ This description is reminiscent of Tasman's observation of thinly spaced trees without understorey in Lutruwita.⁸³⁶ In response, Siden 'kept my men very close to one another, and doubled the Van', fearing attack by 'men or beast'.⁸³⁷ Such open country is potentially dangerous. By contrast, a short while later, a 'green Vale' is discovered, described quite differently, in terms of enclosure and safety. It is located in the 'inner part of the Wood', and entered via a 'Declivity in the ground' which they walk 'down into'. It is 'very full of green and thick Trees', in contrast to the pervious wood above, and has a stream of fresh water. Siden decides immediately to transfer their camp there. They feast and make merry that evening, without any mention of posting a guard for security. The night is spent 'with a great deal of joy and quietness'.⁸³⁸ The tone is more restrained than the exclamations of Sadeur for the pomegranate and the El-ho for the apple, but this is the corresponding moment in Vairasse's utopia in which the visitors learn that Providence is looking out for them and they will survive. The green Vale is a secure, nourishing place within a vast unknown and wild landscape, which will

to *Shakespeare: Culinary Readings and Culinary Histories*, ed. by Joan Fitzpatrick (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 127–43 (p. 132).

835 Laursen and Masroori, eds., p. 21.

836 'Trees, which stand so Thinly, that one [may] pass through everywhere, and see far from him'; Andrew Sharp, *The Voyages of Abel Janszoon Tasman* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), p. 111. Vairasse might have read details of Tasman's experiences, which had been published for the first time in Dutch and English at the beginning of the 1670s; see Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*, p. 150.

837 Laursen and Masroori, eds., p. 21.

838 Laursen and Masroori, eds., p. 22.

support their primitive needs. Siden's companions name the camp in the green Vale Sidenberge in his honour.⁸³⁹

Siden is not content to rely on what nature provides, however. To secure their precarious food supply—they rely partly on provisions salvaged from their ship—they plant a crop of peas, from some of those they brought from Europe. Owing to the good soils in the green Vale, they harvest a crop in just three months. The castaways will survive in their foreign environment, because they do not rely on Providence alone to sustain them. They also work to improve the land for that purpose.

Vairasse evokes a similar discourse about labour to that in Foigny, a tension between the Providential supply of food as reward for labour and the questionable morality of relying on the plenty that nature provides alone. Through labour, Captain Siden's embryonic colony in the green Vale has become a simple utopia, similar in status to Foigny's *terre Australe*, where simple cultivation and disciplined organization of the population enables survival. It will be contrasted with the more complex society of the Sevarambians, which organizes social, labour, and technological systems to achieve improvements of the land's natural fertility on a much greater scale.

In Foigny, the providential episode occurs at sea, in the neritic zone, the shallow waters off the coast of *la terre Australe*, which are patrolled by the vicious birds. This comprises the transition zone to utopia, the liminal space, the mountain of buckwheat in Cockaigne terms. By contrast, Vairasse and Smeeks made use of the vast space of the imagination of *Terra Australis* to move this liminal space to the land. Although Krinke Kesmes is an island, its poetic geography is more like Vairasse's *Terra Australis* than More's Utopia or even Foigny's *terre Australe*, because it has a liminal zone that is controlled by the utopian society but not fully occupied by them. The foreigners can arrive in this transition space and move around at will, possibly being watched, but not

839 Laursen and Masroori, eds., p. 25.

being arrested by the utopian authorities until they move closer to the utopian city. By contrast, Sadeur is picked up by the *australiens* on the beach.

These three providential episodes comprise elaborations of narrative threads or ideas in the utopists' earlier Renaissance sources in order to tell an extended narrative of the arrival experience of the narrator or visitor to the utopia. It is perhaps not a coincidence that both the production and consumption of food is such a foreground concern in these narratives of arrival in *Terra Australis*. Aside from the mythical and Christian sources of the appearance of providential fruits, is it not also possible that the centrality of food in these episodes might owe something important to the location in *Terra Australis*?

Journey to the Utopian City

The utopian societies of Vairasse and Smeeks differ from the antediluvian landscapes of Neville and Foigny in having a centralized urban core. This is the ultimate destination of the foreign visitors and narrator, the place where the most treasured secrets of the utopia will be revealed. Vairasse and Smeeks artfully delay the arrival with voyage narratives which reveal other important aspects about the social structure of the utopian society.

Vairasse translates Utopus's channel into a tunnel through the mountains to enable easier passage from the periphery of Sporoumbe to inner Sevarambia and the capital city of Sevarinde. This feat carried out at the beginning of Sevarias's reign entailed ten years' labour by four thousand men, night and day, stopping only for national festivals (hence an elaboration of Utopus's feat of forced labour). The tunnel has the practical purpose of making a more convenient way for travellers to reach Sevarambia and the capital of Sevarinde from Sporoumbe than travelling by a much longer, more circuitous route over the mountains. Flaming torches are available at the tunnel's entrance to light the way, along with riding hoods to protect pedestrians from the cold and damp, and sledges to carry the infirm or pregnant women. There are two pathways: one with steps for travellers on foot, and a smooth one for carts, which are drawn by ropes

fastened to wheels turned by men. This is an improvement project of human ingenuity that builds on a natural advantage: the tunnel begins in a natural cavern on the Sporoumbe side.⁸⁴⁰

Like Utopus's channel, the tunnel also works on the level of poetic geography, as a spectacle of awe and terror to deter outsiders. But the awe is not mythic as in Foigny: it is even more mundane than in More. Vairasse builds the reader's awe about the mountains through a long narrative of the journey that Captain Siden and his European visitors take across Sevarambia to the capital city of Sevarinde, guided by their hosts. When the voyagers finally reach the Mountain after many stops to view other wonders and cities on the way, tropes of awe become more frequent. The awe is created both by nature (the mountains appear 'exceeding lofty, and almost upright') and by human agency: the visitors' guide Sermodas increases the visitors' anticipation and growing anxiety by informing them that he is going to take them 'to Paradise, by the way of Hell.'

Just as the reader might expect the narrative to become mythic, it suddenly turns mundane. Sermodas explains that he is joking. Clearly anticipating the decline of religious belief, Sermodas explains that he is in fact using heaven and hell as metaphors for overground and underground. But his little ruse has the effect of striking terror into some of his guests, who are clearly not yet ready to use terms such as heaven and hell so caverlierly. The men are 'very much amaz'd', but 'submit to [their] destiny' with stoicism. The women, however, are thrown 'into a terrible Fright and Apprehension', and begin to cry, thinking they are being led to their deaths (p. 177).

This passage is a good example of how Vairasse translates and elaborates on the tropes of More's *Utopia* to build a story which captures readers through the representation of situation and the emotions of characters. Where More is most interested in the ideas

840 Laursen and Masroori, pp. 177–8.

and merely states what happens, Vairasse dramatizes the effect of awe, fear, relief, and delight through the reactions of his characters. Vairasse brings the awe and terror of crossing the territorial boundary into the utopian city to life.

Foigny also elaborates Sadeur's experience of crossing the boundary into utopia, but Sadeur's experience is supernatural, including tropes of divine intervention that makes it seem incredible. Sadeur must endure the terror of a fight with vicious birds. The experience of Siden and his companions is realistic, a process of moving across a natural landscape. In *Sevarambians*, the awesome is 'domesticated' through an explanation of its mechanical and human agency, to borrow the terminology used by Darko Suvin, whereas Foigny's supernatural presentation of this crossing emphasizes the mythic nature of his utopian society.⁸⁴¹

In *Krinke Kesmes*, when de Posos arrives on the shores of the Southland with his companions from the *Golden Dragon*, the travellers divide up into separate parties as Siden's companions did to explore their environs.⁸⁴² A striking difference from *Sevarambians* and *La terre australe connue* is in the much increased level of detail with which Smeeks describes the preparations they make for the expedition. The various tools and objects that de Posos and others carry with them are itemized in precise detail. The list includes compasses, burning glasses, field glasses, flints, twine, nails, and the reader learns even of de Posos's decision to leave his game-bag on board the ship. This precision echoes Foigny's hyper-detailed list of toponyms and their geographical coordinates, but serves verisimilitude and realism rather than satire.

Just as one of the first acts of Siden and his companions on landing in *Terra Australis* is to seek a high vantage point from which to survey the land, so the objective of an initial

841 Darko Suvin, *Metamorphoses of Science Fiction: On the Poetics and History of a Literary Genre*, ed. by Gerry Canavan, *Ralahine Utopian Studies*, 18 (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2016), p. 2.

842 It was common for shore parties to split into smaller groups, a practice followed by de Vlamingh and others.

reconnaissance party of thirteen of de Posos's men is the highest point of land they can see: a green and shapely mountain. From here, they survey the interior of the land:

After our thirteen Men had been taken to Shore, they marched Inland, towards a Mountain which was estimated to be four or five hours' walking from the beach, appearing all green and very shapely. ... [They] reported having been on the Mountain, but without sighting Cities, Houses, or People; However, at the limit of their sight they believed they had seen a truncated Tower; though without certainty, as they had not been equipped with a field glass.⁸⁴³

This landscape is similar to that described by Siden, without cities, houses, and people', and echoes descriptions recorded by seventeenth-century metropolitan visitors to Bandaiyan.⁸⁴⁴ Although the view of the mountain 'appearing all green and very shapely' is suggestive of a more bountiful landscape than Dampier's and VOC mariners' observations of the west coast of Bandaiyan, the hope (and desire) remained to find more bountiful landscapes in the hinterland of *Nova Hollandia*.

After their first night sleeping on the land, they are still wary of being watched but are impressed by the landscape:

In the morning I issued an order, that no-one should shoot without my authority, in order not to be discovered. We did not see the truncated tower that had been sighted the day before. We descended from the Mountain, where a beautiful Forest grew, after a three hours' walk we at last passed through it, to a large Plain covered with fine grass and traversed by Rivers; this valley had high Mountains all around, all covered with Forests, which was a most delightful view.⁸⁴⁵

843 Fausett and Leek, p. 27. Buijnsters, ed., p. 114: 'Onze dertien Man aan Land gebragt hebbende, marcheerden zy Landwaard in, naa een Berg die naa gissinge vier of vijf uren gaans van 't strand was, doende zig geheel groen en zeer cïerlijk op. Welke zeiden, op den Berg geweest te zijn, maar hadden geen Steeden, Huisen, nog Menschen gesien; maar dat egter meenden een stompen Tooren gesien te hebben, zoo verre het oog bereiken konde, dog zonder zeekerheid, alzo van geen verrekijker voorsien waaren.'

844 Bandaiyan was not the only place where landscape described as 'natural' or 'waste' was observed: this distinction is a characteristic of the poetic geography of the early modern metropolitan European imagination, one which evokes the ancient Greek distinction between civilized city and barbarian periphery.

845 Fausett and Leek, p. 29. Buijnsters, ed., p. 117: 'In den morgenstond gaf ik order, dat niemand zou schieten buiten mijn last, om niet ontdekt te worden. Den stompen tooren die

The landscape is edenic: 'fine grass', rivers, beautiful forests, 'a most delightful view'. Apart from the absence of kangaroos, it might almost be the landscape curated by Aboriginal peoples, which was described by surveyors such as Hamilton Hume after the colonial invasion: 'passed over some Bushy hills ... came on good Forest Land Fine Grass'.⁸⁴⁶ The natural bounty of the land is also indicated by the presence of many animals, including 'some Pigs, Deer, Bucks, and some animals we did not know, as well as several large Snakes'.⁸⁴⁷

Just as Siden and his companions were not confident at their perception of an absence of human inhabitants, so too de Posos gives the order not to shoot (unless he gives the command to do so), in case they reveal their presence to people nearby who might be dangerous. The apparent absence of people, the recognition that what they perceive might not be all that is there, the possibility that the explorers might be discovered as they go about their discoveries; these figures of absence and presence, seeing and being seen, not seeing and not being seen, gradually raise the tension and suspense of the narrative as the explorers penetrate deeper into what appears to be a bountiful *terra*, both *incognita* and *nullius*.⁸⁴⁸

daags te vooren gesien was, vernaamen wy nietWy trokken den Berg neederwaarts, daar een schoon Bosch stond, naa drie uuren gaans kwaamen wy ten einde en door het zelve, aan een groote Vlake met goed gras bewassen, met Rivieren doorstroomd; dit dal had rondom hooge Bergen, alle met Bosschen beset, dat een zeer vermaakelijk gesigte was.'

846 Bill Gammage, *The Biggest Estate on Earth: How Aborigines Made Australia*, [iBooks edn] (Crow's Nest, N.S.W.: Allen & Unwin, 2011), Chapter 7 [p. 278]. Hume described the Shoalhaven River district, which in the early nineteenth century was a mix of open country for grazing kangaroos and more wooded areas. Today, much of it is dense forest.

847 Fauset and Leek, p. 29. Buijnsters, ed., p. 117: 'eenige Verkens, Herten, Bokken, en eenige dieren die wy niet en kenden, als ook verscheiden groote Slangen'.

848 The status of this territory peripheral to the utopian city is uncertain. It is a territory that the visitors can enter and move through without permission, without being apprehended. As in Vairasse, once they get closer to the inner utopian space, they will be stopped and they will need to agree to certain conditions of behaviour to allow them to enter into the utopian space proper. But in this peripheral space, that does not happen immediately.

During a march that lasts three and a half days, they are diverted for half an hour by the sight of 'diverse Birds of various species' fighting in the sky'.⁸⁴⁹ This moment echoes Sadeur's fight with vicious birds, one of the ordeals by which he gains entry to *la terre Australe*. It also translates the moment when Siden and his companions are stopped by the spectacle of wild animals fighting on their long journey to Sevarinde, the utopian city of Sevarambia. Smeeke's episode, like Vairasse's, is realistic, rather than mythical and supernatural as in Foigny. Nonetheless, it is an important moment of wonder on the journey to the utopian city. It stops the explorers for half an hour and 'brought us a great diversion'.⁸⁵⁰

On the third day, de Posos and his companions march up the mountain and get a glimpse of 'a truncated white Tower' ('een stompe witte Tooren') through his field glass. He observes that 'everyone was curious, however we could reach no decision about it because the distance was too far'.⁸⁵¹

That evening they decide to send a slave, Pedro Rosso, on a reconnaissance mission to climb a white cliff in the distance and discern more detail about the tower. He returns the next morning crying 'a City! a City! a City!' Pedro tells what he observed on his overnight expedition: 'I could see the City very well, there are several Towers, all of them truncated at the top or flat, many large and small Houses, also flat on top, these are all built out of stone'.⁸⁵²

This is a critical moment of wonder and estrangement. The premise and argument of the novel, set up in the discussion between de Posos and the Master in the first three chapters, is that, with the right approach to exploration of the Southland, if it is carried

849 Fausett and Leek, p. 29. Buijnsters, ed., p. 117: 'verscheide Vogelen van veel'erley soort'.

850 Fausett and Leek, p. 29. Buijnsters, ed., p. 117: 'ons groot vermaak toebragt'.

851 Fausett and Leek, p. 30. Buijnsters, ed., p. 118: 'elk was nieuwsgierig, dog wy konden niet daar van besluiten, om dat de distantie te verre was'.

852 Fausett and Leek, p. 30-1. Buijnsters, ed., p. 119: een Stadt! een Stadt! een Stadt! ... doen kon ik de Stadt zeer wel zien, daar zijn verscheyde Toorens, alle boven stomp of plat, veele groote en kleine Huisen, ook boven plat, deese zijn alle van steen geboudt.'

out by people with interests and skills other than those of seamen and traders focused on profit, it will be possible to penetrate the interior and find out much more than the VOC appeared to know. Smeeks reinvoles the old notion (or desire) that there should be European-style cities in the interior of *Terra Australis*, as proposed more than a century earlier by Erédia and others; building on the idea of the antipodes as the opposite of Europe and the theory that the temperate latitudes of the southern hemisphere must yield similar kinds of civilizations to those in the north.

It is interesting that Smeeks gives the 'discovery' of the long-suspected existence of such a city to the enslaved man Pedro. Perhaps this is because the emotional outburst of the exclamation of wonder is more appropriate to a slave than to a Dutch gentleman.⁸⁵³ Although Pedro disappears from the novel thereafter, it is significant that he is named for his cameo appearance. His name is probably also significant: in being first to see the city and announce it to the others, Pedro brings the city into existence within the discourse of the novel; he lays its discursive foundation stone.⁸⁵⁴ This is an important moment in the narrative. It is the epistemological counterpart of the El-ho's discovery of the apple, or Sadeur's spotting the fruits above his head. Providence has rewarded de Posos for his commitment to the propositions for exploring the Southland.⁸⁵⁵

853 As observed by Penelope Gouk and Helen Hills, 'Towards Histories of Emotions', in *Representing Emotions: New Connections in the Histories of Art, Music, and Medicine*, ed. by Penelope Gouk and Helen Hills (Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate, 2005), implicit in most representations of emotions is the notion that their management is important to effect social distinction—and that lower social classes, women and non-white peoples are, for a variety of reasons, less able to subject their emotions to control.

854 Pedro Rosso disappears from the narrative after his starring appearance. However, his name and association with Taloujaël and its white walls and *Stompe Tooren* indicates that one of Smeeks's sources was a map. As noted in Chapter 4, Blaeu's full map of *Anthoni van Diemens Landt* shows two stacks off the southwest coast: *Stompe Toorn* and *Pedra Branca*. It is most likely that

855 This suggests that the best source for de Posos is Juan de Fuca, a Greek mariner whose true name was Apostolos Valerianos. He claimed to have found the northwest passage, the Straits of Anian; see Fausett in *Krinke Kesmes*, p. xx.

There are also clues in these foundational details to Smeeks's inspiration for the tale itself. Pedro Rosso disappears from the narrative after his starring appearance, but associations between his name and his role in sighting Taloujaël and its *stompen Tooren* from a white cliff are indications that one of Smeeks's inspirations was a map. Blaeu's full map of *Anthoni van Diemens Landt* shows two stacks off the southwest coast: *Stompe Toorn* and *Pedra Branca*. It is probable that Smeeks saw these names on a map in a popular pocket-atlas by Claes Janszoon Visscher, the *N. I. Visscheri Tabularum Geographicarum Contractarum Libri Quatuor Denuo Recogniti*, first published in Amsterdam in 1649 (Figure 5.02).⁸⁵⁶ *Pedra Branca* has even changed gender on Visscher's map to *Pedro Brancko*.⁸⁵⁷ Smeeks includes a specific reference to Visscher in the scene where de Posos comes across the Master by chance gazing at a new map displayed outside Visscher's shop in Amsterdam.⁸⁵⁸ This scene, an allusion to More's chance meeting with Giles in the streets of Antwerp, occurs in the context of their discussion of the propositions concerning exploration of the Southland, which the Master had just presented to Nicolaes Witsen in the Town Hall. These associations point to the geography of Lutruwita (Tasmania) as the inspiration for the roughly square island of Krinke Kesmes with its smaller offshore islands of Nemnan and Wonvure. This moment reminds us that the problem at the heart of the novel is about knowledge, and Smeeks's conception closer to the thought of Bacon and Campanella than More. But Smeeks's predecessors' confidence that the empire of knowledge would bring enhanced sociability has been shaken.⁸⁵⁹

856 For a discussion of Visscher's atlas, see Dorothy Prescott, 'A Little Master's Piece', *The LaTrobe Journal*, 79 (2007) <<http://www3.slv.vic.gov.au/latrobejournal/issue/latrobe-79/t1-g-t4.html#latrobe-79-037a>> [accessed 11 April 2020].

857 Visscher's map is probably also a source for the map illustrating Part IV of Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, discussed by Hiatt, pp. 10–12.

858 Fauset and Leek, p. 10. This scene was translated into a copperplate for the 1776 edition, reproduced in the English translation by Leek, p. iii.

859 For evidence of cynicism about utopia in the second half of the seventeenth century, see Chloë Houston, *The Renaissance Utopia: Dialogue, Travel and the Ideal Society* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), p. 143. Houston's evidence includes John Webster's defence of the utopian form in his treatise on university reform, *Examination of the Academies* (1653).

City Architecture: The Riddle of Babel

There are no cities in the antediluvian Isle of Pines. The grandest edifice is the 'Palace' that the Dutch visitors build for the patriarch William Pine, 'though much inferiour to the houses of your Gentry in *England*'.⁸⁶⁰ Foigny's *terre Australe* does not have a capital city, as the uniformity of the land precludes one. However, each *seizain* across the vast continent has a Hab at its centre, defined as a 'House of Elevation'. This circular building one hundred paces in diameter and 313 in circumference is a place for receiving visitors. It has four entrances, one onto each of the four main roads that meet at the Hab. Its walls are built of 'a transparent stone that could be compared to our finest rock crystal'.⁸⁶¹ Streaks in the stone form images of people, landscapes, and the heavenly bodies, showing that its source was Campanella's temple. The exterior of the Hab consists of one thousand steps which lead to a roof terrace broad enough for forty people.

The capital city of Sevarambia, Sevarinde, is located on an island in the middle of the country, like the capitals of Utopia and Antangil. Sevarinde has a square layout, with rectilinear streets lined with iron pillared colonnades to protect pedestrians from the sun and rain. Awnings are erected to shade the streets from the sun. The Palace of the Sun, the Viceroy's mansion, has a panopticon design, imitating the temple of Campanella and the Hab of Foigny. Twelve doors in each façade, sited exactly opposite those on the facing wall, enable people without to see inside, and those inside to survey the entire city and its surrounding landscape. The twelve doors echo the New Jerusalem (*Revelation* 21), making the palace a figure of the universe, the three gates on each side of the city facing the cardinal directions.⁸⁶²

De Posos spends most of his time in Taloujaël, an important city but not the capital of Krinke Kesmes. Taloujaël is almost perfectly round with thirteen bastions. Its rational

860 Neville, 'The July 27, 1668 English Edition [The Isle of Pines]', pp. 43–4.

861 *Southern Land, Known*, p. 40. Ronzeaud, ed., p. 72: 'pierres diaphanes & transparentes que nous pourrions comparer à nôtre plus fin chrystal de roche'.

862 Leibacher-Ouvrard, *Libertinage et utopies sous le règne de Louis XIV*, p. 99.

spatial design reflects the typical utopian urban form. As in Sevarambia, the city is surrounded by a chain of mountains, but in Krinke Kesmes, it is the Kesmian army's regular brutal massacres of the beach dwellers that has the greatest effect in protecting the utopian city.

The *stompen Tooren* at the centre of Taloujaël attracts the wonder of de Posos and his companions soon after their arrival on the coastal periphery. What is its larger meaning? Fausett argues that it recalls the Tower of Babel. Referring to the popularity of the topos of the Tower of Babel in Netherlandish art in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, begun by Pieter Bruegel the Elder's famous painting (1563), Fausett proposes that the truncated tower is a metaphor for the Kesmians' 'linguistic promiscuity', their 'uncanny ability to learn languages without any direct contact with the world'.⁸⁶³ The Babel metaphor is focused on the confusion of tongues and the problems of communication that resulted following God's destruction of the tower as punishment for humanity's arrogance. The Babel parable might apply to the beachdwellers who have been cast out of the utopia and condemned to barbarism on the periphery, but the reason for their banishment was not linguistic competence but religious sectarianism. If Babel is a symbol for Taloujaël and the Kesmian utopia in general, further explanation is needed. Linguistic 'promiscuity' is not a problem for the utopian society itself. To the contrary, multilingual competence is presented as an advantage. It enables the Kesmians to access the knowledge that washes up on their shores in wrecked ships, and to greet foreign arrivals in their own languages. Buijnsters discusses the figure of the Tower of Babel in the novel, but draws no connection with the *stompen Tooren* of Taloujaël. Buijnsters laments the fact that Smeeks provides no details about the Kesmians' language, nor took the opportunity offered by his sources such as Vairasse and Foigny to invent an artificial language. His view is that Smeeks resolves the problem of the multiplicity of languages by making the Kesmians proficient at learning

⁸⁶³ Fausett and Leek, p. xv. On the cultural and intellectual influences of Bruegel's painting, see Michael Seymour, *Babylon: Legend, History and the Ancient City*, [iBooks edn] (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014), Chapter 4: 'Pieter Bruegel and the Tower of Babel' [pp. 266–76].

languages.⁸⁶⁴ Before accepting that the reference to a tower is a linguistic metaphor, it is necessary to question a little further.

Smeeks seems not to have regarded multilingualism as a problem. Rhodri Lewis has argued that intense interest in artificial languages as a solution to the problem of the profusion of languages in the advance of knowledge waned in the second half of the seventeenth century.⁸⁶⁵ Hamans has also suggested that there was less interest in artificial languages in the Netherlands.⁸⁶⁶ Language teaching is an exemplum of the Kesmians' rational approach to education, rather than their 'uncanny' linguistic abilities.

Smeeks might have read one of the most important books on Babel of the seventeenth century, Athanasius Kircher's *Turris Babel*, published in Amsterdam in 1679.⁸⁶⁷ This work grew out of the first archaeological research at Babylon, and it is an important work in the history of archaeology, language, and architecture.⁸⁶⁸ Victor Plahte Tschudi has examined how Kircher interpreted the historic monuments of the past within a Christian moral and historical universe, so that they prefigure the events of Christian

864 Buijnsters, ed. p. 49.

865 Rhodri Lewis, *Language, Mind, and Nature: Artificial Languages in England from Bacon to Locke*, Ideas in Context, 80 (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 2.

866 C. Hamans, 'Universal Language in the Netherlands', in *Transactions of the Fifth International Conference on the Enlightenment*, ed. by H. Mason (Oxford, 1980), III, 1218–1227.

867 Athanasius Kircher, *Turris Babel, Sive Archontologia Qua Primo Priscorum post diluuium hominum vita, mores rerumque gestarum magnitudo, Secundo Turris fabrica civitatumque exstructio, confusio linguarum, et inde gentium transmigratio, cum principalium inde enatorum idiomatum historia, multiplici eruditione describuntur et explicantur* (Amsterdam: Janssonis-Wassbergiana, 1679), III.

868 Seymour, *Babylon: Legend, History* [iBooks edn], Chapter 4: 'Athanasius Kircher' [pp. 242–9]. Kircher drew on *in-situ* studies of Babylon by Pietro della Valle, who made sketches of the ruins to inform a painting when he returned. Pietro's sketches do not survive, neither does the painting, but they are supposed to be the source of the images in Kircher's *Turris Babel*. Seymour argues that Kircher's aim was to explain the diffusion of idioms after Babel by seeking relationships between a great variety of languages. His humanistic method was to assemble scholarly knowledge on language from as wide a range of sources as possible, and seek to harmonize it with authorities, in particular, with the authority of Christian doctrine and history. For Seymour, Kircher's aim was 'a harmony, consistency and completeness that is simply impossible, and in so doing creates a vision of Babel that is rich and strange in equal measure'. Kircher's method, like the object of his study, was utopian.

history. Kircher regarded the destruction of the Tower of Babel and the ancient Roman theatre of Marcus Scaurus (which he selects as one of the Seven Wonders of the World) as a just reward for the challenge to God's omnipotence of humanity's architectural arrogance and extravagance.⁸⁶⁹ It is through this frame that philosophers such as Kircher were able to incorporate the architectural achievements of past pagan societies, such as the Romans and the Incas, into the meaning framework of Christian history. For Kircher, ancient architecture, like the Bible or the medieval book of nature, comprises a record in which it is possible to discern the judgement and meaning of God's hand in the unfolding of history. Might this Christian eschatological understanding of pagan architecture apply to Smeeks's *stompen Tooren*?

In Chapter 6, the El-ho takes de Posos on a tour of some monuments of Taloujaël. They visit a central square with 'a striking large Pyramid or Tower, which one could climb by steps ascending on the outside'.⁸⁷⁰ From a platform at the top of the *Piramide of Tooren*, there is a synoptic view of the city and surrounding countryside, including the city's 'thirteen bastions, all very well built'.⁸⁷¹ From the description of the building's height and vantage point over the surrounding city and landscape, and its platform roof, it seems possible that the *Piramide of Tooren* is the *stompen Tooren* that de Posos first saw peering through his field glass soon after beginning to explore the landscape. He could only make out 'a portion' of it 'upon or behind' a white cliff.⁸⁷² Why is this structure part stumpy tower and pyramid?

Over the course of de Posos's tour of the tower in Chapter 7, the description of the structure changes so that it becomes more pyramid than tower.⁸⁷³ That appears to broaden its associations beyond the Tower of Babel to encompass pyramids or pagan

869 Victor Plahte Tschudi, *Baroque Antiquity: Archaeological Imagination in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 214–25. Tschudi finds that, for Kircher, the fate of architectural monuments reflects God's plan, such that architectural history 'unfolds as a moral, not a temporal, recurrence of types' (p. 225).

870 Fausett and Leek, p. 87. Buijnsters, ed., p. 202: 'een groote treffelijke Piramide of Tooren, daar men langs trappen op klom, van buiten opgaande'

871 Fausett and Leek, p. 87. Buijnsters, ed., p. 202: 'dertien Bolwerken, alle zeer wel geboud'.

872 Fausett and Leek, p. 30.

temples in general. Its platform roof terrace resembles the Aztecs' Great Temple of Tenochtitlan rather than an Egyptian pyramid. The most common image of the Great Temple appears in Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*.⁸⁷⁴ The more precise drawing in Volume 6 of Chatelain's *Atlas historique ou nouvelle* offers a better model for Smeeks's description (*Figure 5.03*).⁸⁷⁵ By contrast, Kircher's contemporary drawing of the Tower of Babel is unlike the *Piramide of Tooren* of Taloujaël (*Figure 5.04*).⁸⁷⁶ However, Smeeks might have in mind the eschatological Christian significance of Babylon as a prefiguration of the future destruction of pagan societies for their arrogance, as explicated by Kircher. Such an interpretation foreshadows the conquest of Krinke Kesmes in the future.

At the end of the novel, the Garbon shows de Posos a decree from the Kesmian king that the visitors must never return to Krinke Kesmes, 'because his Country did not desire to be known'.⁸⁷⁷ Ironically, he has just provided de Posos with maps and an illustrated description of his land with all the information required by the *ars apodemica* to guide a future European colonial enterprise.⁸⁷⁸ Since no reader would be unaware of the Dutch desire to exploit trade opportunities, and since the novel was premised on

873 In the contents of Chapter 7, it is 'the Pyramid or Sanctuary tower' ('de Piramide of Vry-tooren'). The Garbon then leads de Posos inside the 'tower' ('Den Garbon bragt my onder in den Tooren'). Finally, when they leave the building, both de Posos and the Garbon refer to it as a pyramid only; *Mighty Kingdom*, pp. 91; 107. Buijnsters, ed., pp. 207–8; 233–4.

874 This image was reprinted by Jan Janssonius in his *Theatrum Urbium Celebriorum* published in 1664; see <https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/43922/mexico-with-cusco-jansson>

875 C[hatelain] and Gueudeville, *Atlas historique ou nouvelle: Introduction à l'Histoire, à la Chronologie & à la Géographie Ancienne & Moderne; Représentée dans de Nouvelles Cartes, où l'on remarque l'Etablissement des Etats & Empires du Monde, leur durée, leur chute, & leurs differens Gouvernements; La Chronologie des Consuls Romains, des Papes, des Empereurs, des Rois, & des Princes, &c. qui ont été depuis la commencement du Monde, jusqu'à présent: Et la Généalogie des Maisons Souveraines de l'Europe*, 7 vols (Amsterdam: L'Honoré & Chatelain, 1705), VI. Although first published in Amsterdam between 1705 and 1720, Volume 6 was not published until 1719, and so could not have been seen by Smeeks when writing *Krinke Kesmes*; however, it might be regarded as giving an impression of a more refined understanding of the Aztec pyramid in the early eighteenth century.

876 Kircher, III, p. 52.

877 Fausett and Leek, p. 128; Buijnsters, ed. p. 264: 'alzoo sijn Land niet begeerde bekend te hebben.'

878 He tells de Posos 'Dispose of them as you please' ('Schikt die naa u eigen welgevallen') Fausett and Leek, p. 128; Buijnsters, ed. p. 263.

the propositions for better ways to explore the Southland, the shadow hanging over the last paragraphs must be that Krinke Kesmes's isolation cannot remain much longer.

The Riddle of Taloujaël

A consideration of the name of the city dominated by the architecture of the *stompen Tooren* might help. We know that Smeeks originally called the city Elko, and changed it to Taloujaël late in the writing of the novel, because Elko still appears in the summary of Chapter 6.⁸⁷⁹ Smeeks must have had a good reason to make this change.

Fausett proposes that Taloujaël refers to *taal melayu* 'Malay language' in Dutch, and that this supports the idea that the *stompen Tooren* is a figure of Babel because Malay was an important trade language of southeast Asia. However, the phonological and morphological transition from *taal melayu* to Taloujaël is difficult to explain, and linking the name to one language, however promiscuously used in trade, seems to undermine the power of the metaphor to refer to linguistic profusion. The suggestion that *tal-* refers to speech is plausible, but what about the other elements of the name?

A derivation that seems not to have been considered involves the Hebrew Biblical heroine, Jael, written in Dutch as Jaël.⁸⁸⁰ Jael is a heroine from the Book of Judges, who defended the Israelites by killing the leader of Jabin's army, Sisera. She is generally shown hammering a nail into Sisera's skull in her tent, where she led him by deception. After receiving her hospitality, Sisera falls asleep and Jael commits her deed. Jael was a popular figure in Renaissance and early modern Dutch art. She was a figure of the powerful woman topos. Her painters included Artemisia Gentileschi in Italy. In the Netherlands in the sixteenth century, Jael became an emblem of a different topos: the artist and artistic invention. P. Scott Brown has argued that this 'surprising leap' from

879 Buijnsters, ed. p. 159; See also Fausett's discussion in Fausett and Leek, p. lii.

880 See *Richteren* (Judges) 4: 21 of the Statenvertaling 1637: *Biblia: Dat Is: De Gantsche H. Schrifture, Vervattende Alle de Canonijcke Boecken Des Ouden En Des Nieuwen Testaments*. (Leiden: Paulus Aertszoon van Ravensteyn, 1637) <<https://www.bijbelsdigitaal.nl/view/?bible=sv1637>> [accessed 31 August 2019].

female anti-hero to male artist was possible partly as a result of Jael's reception as 'an insoluble riddle, inherently open to exploration and to new speculations'.⁸⁸¹

Maarten van Heemskerck and Hendrick Goltzius depicted Jael as the figure of the artist. Heemskerck began her transformation in a series of eight engravings of biblical women published in 1560, engraved by Philips Galle. Jael was the subject of the first of the eight plates. She is the image of the most flawed heroine; the series ends with the Virgin Mary. The series is an allegory for the artist's aspiration to perfection and ultimate failure to achieve the divine. Jael therefore embodies the initial expression of utopian desire.

Brown explains that the depiction of Jael as a figure of the artist or artistic invention rests on the quality of *strenuitas*, a (Machiavellian) *virtù* considered important to both artists and heroes. *Strenuitas* is depicted in the emblematic literature of Alciato as the sea goddess Thetis visiting the tomb of her son Achilles. Thetis was known as a shape-changer because she (unsuccessfully) used this strategy to avoid the advances of Peleus before they were married and produced Achilles. The accompanying text explains that the fame of both the poet (Homer) and the hero (Achilles) are owed to the *strenuitas* (the skilful work and achievements) of the other. Likewise, Jael's achievement—using her hammer and nail to kill the persecutor of the Israelites, becoming splattered with Sisera's blood in her arduous lonely work, unseen in her tent—becomes an allegory of the artist, working alone in the studio, becoming splattered with the ink and paint in the arduous work of rendering the hero.⁸⁸² Jael's deception of Sisera, leading him to her tent and offering him hospitality to lull him into complacency, is a metaphor for the artist's use of deception to convince the audience of the reality of a representation.

881 P. Scott Brown, *The Riddle of Jael: The History of a Poxied Heroine in Medieval and Renaissance Art and Culture*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 278 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 1–2.

882 P. Scott Brown, 'Maarten van Heemskerck and Hendrick Goltzius on Jael's Nail and the Artist's Hand', in *The Riddle of Jael: The History of a Poxied Heroine in Medieval and Renaissance Art and Culture*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 278 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 213–61.

Goltzius later drew on Heemskerck's series and strengthened the artistic allegory. He even gave Jael his own right hand—recognizable because it was deformed as a result of a burn when he was a child. The hand might have prevented him having an artistic career at all, but he developed a distinctive style suited to its capacities. He also used the image of his deformed hand as part of his self-fashioning as an artist, representing his art as a result of the 'blood, sweat, and tears' of *strenuitas*, seizing opportunity. In Goltzius' rendering of Jael, the nail she holds along with the hammer in her (Goltzius') right hand becomes the engraver's burin. Brown concludes, Jael's 'infamy [is equated] with the artist's desire for fame, the destruction of Sisera with the act of artistic creation'.⁸⁸³

If Smeeks intended a reference to Jael, Taloujaël might be interpreted as 'language of Jaël', referring to the poetic and rhetorical use of language to deceive, persuade, convince of a reality that does not materially exist. Other puns on *taal* are possible which gain resonance in the context of Jael as an allegory of the artist. Dutch *talaan* 'heel' is cognate with English 'talon', French *talon*, and Portuguese *talão*.⁸⁸⁴ Heel and talon both make good metonyms for Jael's nail and the engraver's burin, if Smeeks were familiar with Goltzius' image. Probably *taal* is also implied, in which case the pun suggests the violence of written language and print.

Other allusions in Smeeks's narrative offer some support for such an interpretation of Taloujaël as Jael's heel or language. Like Thetis, the *stompen Tooren* of Taloujaël changes shape, from a tower to a pyramid. The shift is subtle, but it recalls the earlier dialogue

883 Brown, p. 255.

884 *Talão* meaning 'heel' has been replaced in modern Portuguese by the more common *calcanhar*; the most common meaning of *talão* is now 'receipt'. The cognate *talan*, a Galicism introduced through Frankish and Provençal contacts with Portugal, according to Serafim da Silva Neto, *História da língua portuguesa*, 3rd edn (Rio de Janeiro: Presença Edições, 1979), p. 416, (later *talante* and *talã*) meant *vontade*, 'will' or 'desire'. *Talão* had a variety of relevant evocative meanings in the seventeenth century, including 'heel' (*calcanhar*), 'the end of a horseshoe' (*extremidade de ferradura*), 'picture frame' (*moldura*) and instrument for making a picture frame' (*instrumento com que se faz [uma] moldura*). See Instituto António Houaiss de Lexicografia, *Dicionário Houaiss da Língua Portuguesa* (Lisbon: Circulo de Leitores, 2013), q.v. *talã*, *talão*.

between de Posos and the Master about the propositions for exploring the Southland. The Master criticizes Dampier and de Vlamingh for being poor explorers of alien countries because they could not perform ‘faked Miracles’ to deceive ‘savage’ inhabitants.⁸⁸⁵ In the midst of this discussion of the role of faked miracles in exploration, Smeeks breaches the fourth wall and instructs the reader to

Look at the title Illustration, where a grim Lion, a Serpent, a Fox, and a Monkey are shown with me. An Explorer of Countries must be able to acquire these characteristics; he must be able to change shape like *Thetis*, in response to circumstances.⁸⁸⁶

This is a disorienting moment for reader, because it is the Master who has been speaking to de Posos. On turning to the title page, we see de Posos looking at us, sitting writing his description of Krinke Kesmes and pointing with his left hand through the frame of a curtained window to his ship aground off the Kesmian coast. Buijnsters’ conclusion is that Smeeks admits at this point that he, the Master, and de Posos are all alter-egos.⁸⁸⁷ Fausett also accepts this explanation.⁸⁸⁸

885 Fausett and Leek, p. 23: ‘Whoever wishes to explore an alien Country, where the inhabitants as savages possess no or little polity, must be able to perform for such People awesome and wondrous Miracles, at the right time and in the right place, for they make him as highly regarded as one who might wish to establish a new Religion by means of faked Miracles.’ Faked miracles is a reference to both Vairasse and Bacon. In *Sevarambians*, the false prophet Omigas (also called Stroukaras) sets up an alternative religion by persuading the people with false miracles. Sevarians wins the obedience of the Prestarambians and Stroukarambians to his utopian society using a similar strategy, by creating the illusion that his power comes from the sun divinity. Vairasse invokes the Reformation anti-Catholic discourse on fake miracles. In *New Atlantis*. The purpose of Solomon’s House is ‘to discern ... between divine miracles, works of nature, works of art, and impostures and illusions of all sorts’. The issue is about correct interpretation in both cases, discerning whether the deceptive arts are used for good or evil, a classic trope of Augustinian hermeneutics. Bacon highlights the goodness of Solomon’s House because a collegian recognizes the ‘true’ miracle of God.

886 Fausett and Leek, p. 23; Buijnsters, ed., p. 108: ‘Ziet in de Print-verbeelding op de titul, daar is by my een grimmigen Leeuw, een Slang, Vos, en Aap’.

887 Buijnsters, ed., p. 108n: ‘de afgebeelde figuur moet dus de spreker voorstellen. Nominaal is dat de Meester! Illustratief voor de identificatie van De Posos, Meester en Smeeks?’ (‘the depicted figure must therefore represent the speaker. Nominally it is the Master! [Is this] illustrative of an identity between de Posos, the Master and Smeeks?’).

888 Fausett in Fausett and Leek, p. xxv.

If an explorer of countries occupied by 'savages' must be a shape-changer, and the explorer (de Posos) is also Smeeks the writer, then Smeeks identifies himself as author with the deceptive strategy of Thetis. It is clear that Smeeks was familiar with Alciato because the effigies and maxims in the *stompen Tooren* of Taloujaël are adapted directly from the emblematic literature. It would not be surprising if he was also familiar with Goltzius' Jael.⁸⁸⁹

It appears that Smeeks has set up a provocative set of parallels. As Jael spilt Sisera's blood to protect the Israelites, so the artist (Smeeks) spills his ink in the cause of publishing his utopia, whose citizens of Taloujaël spill the blood of the beachdwellers to protect their utopian privileges. The people of Taloujaël are the Israelites who defend their superior civilization with the higher arts, including writing, but also the ruthless massacre of their barbarian neighbours, who descend from the tribes speaking only a barbaric tongue, confused for their sin. If so, Taloujaël is a reference to the importance of artistic invention and *strenuitas* as an art of deception and persuasion, both in the Kesmians's utopia, and, self-referentially, in the art of Smeeks himself. As a result, Smeeks also admits complicity with the darker aspects of exploration and colonialism, involving faked miracles to deceive 'savages' and the Kesmians' maintenance of their utopia through the brutal suppression of the beachdwellers.

Taloujaël stands as a metonym for Krinke Kesmes as a whole. Its urban design and architecture are engraved with the ideologies and values of Smeeks's utopian imaginary. The *Tooren of Pyramide* invokes the characteristics of other utopian temples in Vairasse and Campanella, as well as Foigny's Hab. If Taloujaël references Jaël, its architecture bears a sinister mark of the blood rites that maintain the privileged harmony of utopia.

889 The frontispiece of *Krinke Kesmes* even shows one finger of Smeeks's right hand truncated (reproduced in Fausett and Leek). It is not the index finger as in Goltzius' hand but the ring finger, and is probably intended to be interpreted as hidden in shadow, resting on the manuscript. On the other hand it might be an inaccurate attempt by the engraver to render an authorial suggestion.

Colonial Projection of Uncultivated Wasteland

An important difference between the late seventeenth-century utopias set in *Terra Australis* and their Renaissance models in More, Campanella, and Bacon is that the later utopias present the reader with multiple imagined societies. Besides the utopia, alternative economies of living are described, entailing both individual and collective experiences of survival, which occur on the journey to the utopian city, on the utopian periphery. These more transient experiences and societies are intended to be compared with the author's and reader's own society as well as with the utopia itself. A good way to examine the significance of the differences between what happens in the utopia and on its periphery is to compare food production and consumption practices in different works.

More's Utopians grow grain only to make bread (not for alcohol), and drink wine from grapes, cider from apples and pears, or simply water, 'which they sometimes boil with honey or liquorice'.⁸⁹⁰ The organization of agricultural production is an important element of enhanced sociability.⁸⁹¹ City people are sent to the country to help with labour on rotation, living in large family groups, and additional people are sent to help with the harvest as needed.

In his preface to the reader, Foigny declares his debt to Queirós' description of *Terra Australis*, a feature of which is its fruitful abundance.⁸⁹² Foigny's *terre Australe* is so fertile that the *australiens* are vegetarian.⁸⁹³ Unlike Neville's Isle of Pines, an antediluvian society where the land provides everything needed to survive without labour, Foigny's *australiens* cultivate large square gardens, called Huids, where they

890 *Utopia*, trans. by Adams, p. 44

891 Claeys, 'News from Somewhere: Enhanced Sociability and the Composite Definition of Utopia and Dystopia', p. 145.

892 *The Voyages of Pedro Fernandez de Quiros*, ed. by Markham, pp. 477–86: 'The fruits consist of many and very good bananas of six varieties, a great number of almonds of four sorts, large obos, which is a fruit about the size and flavour of peaches; many walnuts, and oranges, and lemons, which the Indians don't eat, and another very extended and large fruit, and others not less good, which were seen and eaten.'

893 In early modern French and English, the word 'fruit' could also refer to vegetables.

plant fruit trees in ordered rows, and dig shallow trenches along thoroughfares to grow three kinds of fruit produced from roots. All these fruits are highly nutritious. The tree fruit considered the least valuable by the *australiens* has a diameter of seven to eight inches (c. 20 cm) and is nutritious enough to satisfy the hunger of four men.⁸⁹⁴ Its flesh tastes better than 'our greatest delicacies' according to Sadeur. A fruit with supernatural properties, the Balf fruit, is used by the *australiens* to induce their death in a complicated ritual which they solemnly conduct at the allotted time. Sadeur explains that the *australiens* do not cook:

They know neither oven nor pot nor what it means to cook food. Their fruits satisfy their needs and tastes completely, without causing any indigestion or offense to their stomachs because they eat them perfectly ripe and with no trace of tartness.⁸⁹⁵

Abundant fruit is an image of the antediluvian 'golden age' in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, a time before humans ate meat: 'But that pristine age, which we have named the golden age, was blessed with the fruit of the trees and herbs which the ground sends forth, not did men defile their lips with blood.'⁸⁹⁶ In Thomas Moffett's dietary, he explained why humanity was vegetarian before the Flood, but had to eat meat afterwards:

before the flood men were of stronger constitution, and vegetable fruits grew void of superfluous moisture: so by the flood these were endued with weaker nourishment ... Whereupon it was requisite or rather necessary, such meat to be appointed for human nourishment, as was in substance and essence most like our own.⁸⁹⁷

894 *Southern Land, Known*, pp. 42–3. Ronzeaud, ed., p. 75: 'sept ou huit poulces de diametre. ... Un seul fruit est capable de rassasier quatre hommes.'

895 *Southern Land, Known*, p. 43. Ronzeaud, ed., p. 76: 'Ils n'ont ni four, ni marmite pour cuire aucune viande, ils ne savent ce que c'est que cuisine & cuisenier. Leurs fruits les contentent avec des avantages si puissants qu'ils satisfont pleinement leurs goûts, sans offencer ou blesser en façon quelconque leurs estomachs: & avec une plene vigueur qu'ils causent sans les charger, & sans leur causer aucune indigestion. Ce qui provient de ce qu'étant parfaitement cuis, ils n'ont nul reste de verdure.'

896 Quoted in Joan Fitzpatrick, *Food in Shakespeare: Early Modern Dietaries and the Plays* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 60–1.

897 Fitzpatrick, "'I Must Eat My Dinner': Shakespeare's Foods from Apples to Walrus'. The quotation comes from Thomas Moffett, *Healths Improvement: Or; Rules Comprizing and Discovering the Nature, Method, and Manner of Preparing All Sorts of Food Used in this Nation*, first edn. Wing M2382 (London: Tho[mas]: Newcombe for Samuel Thomson, 1655).

The consequence of the fecundity of *la terre Australe* is that the *australiens* do not need to work very hard to survive, unlike Europeans. *La terre Australe* may be in an antediluvian 'golden age' but it is not perfect, as Foigny makes explicit with a comparison. Sadeur visited the Congo before being shipwrecked, and observed that people there also picked fruit from the trees to survive and did not need to cook. Sadeur comments that this is happiness, but not perfection, which 'requires exercise, work, and effort'.⁸⁹⁸

Foigny's imaginary of a land with an abundance of fruit available to be picked without effort also invokes the Land of Cockaigne. This traditional satire on sloth and gluttony can help reveal some of the tensions between mythical, humanist, and empirical knowledges and the political implications of their combination in this work. The most well-known iteration of the Land of Cockaigne is the painting of the same name by Pieter Bruegel the Elder (1567). A soldier, a peasant, and a burgher (sometimes referred to as a scholar) lie satiated on the ground under a tree, which might be a reversal of the cross, or tree of life. The soldier and peasant are sleeping, while the burgher has his mouth open to receive wine from a jug overhead. A roof is made of tarts, the fence is wound with sausages (a reference to the Edenic snake), a pig runs around ready for slicing with a knife in its back, and a walking egg with its top removed has a spoon in it ready for being eaten—broken eggs were also symbols of 'destroyed potential'.⁸⁹⁹ The Cockaigne tradition is much older than Bruegel's painting, but by the Renaissance it has acquired a discourse of punishing the poor for their alleged laziness, pushed by the leisured aristocracy and the commercial bourgeoisie.

The idea that the lands newly 'discovered' by Europeans existed in a golden age was well established by the seventeenth century. Vasco de Quiroga wrote in his *Información en derecho* (1535): 'For not in vain, but with much cause and reason is this called the New World, not because it is newly found, but because it is like as was the first and

898 *Southern Land, Known*, p. 20; Ronzeaud, ed., p. 38:

899 Frank, 'An Interpretation of Land of Cockaigne', p. 323.

golden age.⁹⁰⁰ Quiroga sought a model to reorganize and control the Peruvian Indian population for colonial labour and Christianization. His proposed a model was based on households led by a paterfamilias in More's *Utopia*.⁹⁰¹

Cultivation of the land gained a positive moral meaning in the seventeenth-century associated with the development of the Protestant work ethic. Mark Pluciennik has traced the development of the concept and discourse of the hunter-gatherer to mid-seventeenth-century agricultural treatises such as William Blith's *The English Improver Improved, or the Survey of Husbandry Surveyed* (1653). Such treatises and the writings of Locke and others attached moral value to the 'improvement' of land by agriculture (as conducted by early modern Europeans), and as a corollary, troped indigenous people in America and elsewhere as 'lazy savages' and 'nomadic hunter-gatherers'.⁹⁰² The description of Australia's Aborigines as 'nomadic hunter-gatherers' remains fixed in the popular imagination, and has been questioned by scholarship only relatively recently, although the term is now discredited in anthropology.⁹⁰³

In *Sevarambians*, barbarians live far to the south, along the shores and islands of a strait and mediterranean sea:

These Islands and all the Coasts both of the Sea and the Straight, are inhabited by a stupid, savage kind of People ... In this Sea they meet with many Monsters, and several sorts of Fish different from those of the Ocean: which last are also found in prodigious quantities in the Straight, and are the chief Food of the Inhabitants; tho' they have a good Climate, and a rich Soil, which would produce very plentifully, if they were industrious enough to cultivate it. ... The People all go naked, only in Winter they cover themselves with the Hides of Beasts, which they take in Hunting,

900 Ruth Eaton, *Ideal Cities: Utopianism and the (Un)Built Environment* (New York, N.Y.: Thames & Hudson, 2002), p. 75.

901 Emily Berquist Soule, *The Bishop's Utopia: Envisioning Improvement in Colonial Peru, The Early Modern Americas* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), pp. 16–17.

902 Mark Pluciennik, 'The Invention of Hunter-Gatherers in Seventeenth-Century Europe', *Archaeological Dialogues*, 9.2 (2002), 98–118.

903 For a survey of recent scholarly criticism of the concept of hunter-gatherer, see *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology and Anthropology of Hunter-Gatherers*, ed. by Vicki Cummings, Peter Jordan, and Marek Zvevlebil (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014). See also Pluciennik, 'The Invention of Hunter-Gatherers', pp. 98–118.

and make supple by some Management of the Brain of the Animal it self ... they are so barbarous that the *Sevarambians* have never been able to fix any stated Commerce with them' .⁹⁰⁴

The trope that the most 'savage' of peoples live closer to the south (an echo of Hall) is also found in *Antangil* and *La terre australe connue*, where they live in mountains near the south pole.⁹⁰⁵ As in *Krinke Kesmes*, the barbarians live near the coast. Historically these barbarians of the southern coasts had attacked the *Sevarambians* in canoes until brought under control by superior weaponry. That detail recalls experiences described by VOC mariners on the coasts of *Bandaiyan* and *New Guinea*, particularly the fatal meeting at 'Murderers' Bay' between *Abel Tasman's* sailors and *Maori* in *Aotearoa* (*New Zealand*).⁹⁰⁶ These people's characteristics are typical of the stereotype of the hunter-gatherer. They do not cultivate a fertile land to make it more productive, but rely on whatever nature provides to survive, in this case, fish; and they go naked. They are so close to the beasts that they are able to manipulate animals' brains to make their hides more supple, although that detail might appear a mark of ingenuity to a modern reader. The land they occupy is an object of colonial desire. When *Siden* asks his guide why the *Sevarambians* do not conquer these barbaric peoples, he is told that

they can conquer them when ever they please; and that, in effect, they have already done so by their Ships, and the Forts which they have built along the Coast. ... they believe, that, as their Nation daily increases, they shall at least be forc'd to send Colonies further on towards this Sea, and, by little and little, possess themselves

904 Laursen and Masroori, eds., p. 281. Rosenberg, ed. p. 227: 'ces îles & les rivages de la mer & du canal étaient en divers endroits habitées par des peuples grossiers & sauvages qui, à la vérité, adoraient le soleil, la lune & les étoiles, mais que les erreurs de *Stroukaras* étaient reçues parmi plusieurs ... [Les *Sevarambes*] ajoutaient encore que dans ces mers on trouvait des monstres & des poissons fort différents de ceux de l'océan, & que le canal avait une quantité prodigieuse de ces poissons dont quelques-uns des habitants des rivages tirent leur principale nourriture. Que d'ailleurs leur pays est fort bon & la terre fort grasse, de sorte qu'elle leur pourrait rendre beaucoup de fruits s'ils avaient l'industrie de la cultiver.'

905 It might also have been suggested by *Jan Carstenszoon's* observation that the less dangerous and more poorly armed inhabitants of 'New Guinea' (that is, less threatening to the VOC mariners) lived further to the south; see *Heeres, The Part Borne by the Dutch*, p. 43.

906 The 'Murderers' Bay' encounter had been published in Dutch and English, see *Schilder, Australia Unveiled*, p. 150.

wholly of the River: But, that this will be done insensibly, and only as Necessity obliges them.⁹⁰⁷

Like Tamburlaine gazing on Ortelius's *Typus*, seeing 'As much more land, which never was descried', it is though the 'barbarians' land has already been possessed even before the conquest has begun. This is perhaps the most awesome and terrifying power of Euclidean geography's myth-making codes of extrasignification: that a whole people, and the unknown complexity, diversity, beauty, and power of their cultural practices, languages, and knowledges of place, can be so totally reduced in the dismissive glance of the map-maker or map-reader to a future footnote of history, even before the invasion and genocide have begun.

Conclusions

Neville, a native of insular Britain, imagined a *terra nullius* on an empty island of *Terra Australis*, which the English colonists could remake as they wished. The British invaders would later regard Bandaiyan in the same way. The continental utopists, Foigny, Vairasse, and Smeeks, used the vast space of *Terra Australis* to reconfigure the centre-periphery model of classical Greek poetic geography, with a hinterland utopia surrounded by increasingly more 'barbaric' neighbours. The four works used the space and the antediluvian characteristics of the people supposed to inhabit *Terra Australis*, alongside emerging evidence of Bandaiyan and its peoples, to inhabit a landscape more varied than that in their sources. The few details about Bandaiyan that had been more publicly disseminated in Europe suggested a less fertile place than Querós's imaginary, one that would require more work from the colonist to refashion as an orderly, hierarchial society, protected from its less worthy neighbours by natural features, a rational social organization, and military violence. Vairasse used this idea the most powerfully to visualize a society with a modern colonial ideology with an insatiable appetite to turn ever more 'underutilized' land over to 'productive' use by the state.

907 Laursen and Masroori, eds., p. 282.

Although the utopists drew on a variety of sources, there is good evidence that it was the geographical imaginary of *Hollandia Nova* that inspired their works. This is most in the use by Vairasse and Smeeks of well-known names and facts associated with the wreck of the *Vergulde Draeck* and VOC mariners' experiences in Bandaiyan. It is noteworthy that the utopists avoid the name *Hollandia Nova*, not only, I suggest, because utopia must be a no-place, but also because *Terra Australis* furnished a more evocative and vivid utopian imaginary in the seventeenth century. Its association with the discourse of the antipodes, with its roots in Cicero's *otium* and 'The Dream of Scipio', and its increasing use by geographers to gloss *Hollandia Nova's* nescience, made *Terra Australis* a poetic and evocative philosophical setting for utopia.

The utopias created to inhabit these uncertain southern landscapes are prescient of the later colonial reality of Bandaiyan. The characters' stories and voyage narratives of these imperial utopias elaborate the colonial ideal of flourishing kingdoms projected by Burton, in a continent not yet inhabited 'as it ought'. Fifty years after Burton and Bacon, utopists used the evidence of Bandaiyan that had emerged to imagine its colonization, exploitation, and genocidal dispossession.

Conclusion: Speculations beyond a Map

This thesis set out to examine how the collection of a variety of empirical observations of locations along the shores of Bandaiyan produced a poetic geographical discourse which continued to be associated with *Terra Australis Incognita*. I sought to understand the relationships between the geographical entities of Indigenous Bandaiyan, *Hollandia Nova*, and *Terra Australis*, and explain why Indigenous peoples' presence and knowledge were ignored or minimized in representations of the continent.

Empirical observations of locations along the shores of Bandaiyan were first circulated in print through the hydrography of *Hollandia Nova*. A substantial body of observations in manuscript logs and charts mainly circulated in manuscript within the VOC. A variety of dramatic, poetic, and utopian elaborations were derived from these. It is necessary to be cautious about drawing categorical or over-generalizing conclusions about the meaning that the continent shown on seventeenth-century maps as *Hollandia Nova* had in early modern European consciousness. Only limited observations of endogenous details of Bandaiyan and its inhabitants emerged. The acquisition of more substantial impressions of the land and its peoples was prevented by the VOC's commercial priorities, its limited technical capacity at such a distance from its bases, and the physical and emotional challenges for mariners, who feared starvation, injury, and violence in an unfamiliar environment occupied by people from a radically different culture with whom they could not communicate.

The meaning of interpretations and representations needs to be understood in context, paying due attention to the designs of writers and audiences, whether they were translated through cartography, text, or illustration, and whether disseminated in print or manuscript. The hydrographical description of *Hollandia Nova* was embellished by a discourse of Dutch imperium. Travel accounts such as Pelsaert's *Unlucky Voyage* or Dampier's *A New Voyage* strained observations through a thick filter of self-fashioning, justification, and self-aggrandizement. Unpublished logs appear more straightforward, and show both curiosity and bafflement about the continent. However, even 'objective'

observations can reveal signs of emotional colouring and prejudice. Interpretations sometimes contradict the observations that were witnessed. Despite observations of Aboriginal peoples' intelligence, compassion, strategy, technologies, buildings, and agriculture, the interpretation that was formed was that the inhabitants were 'savages' without European notions of civilization. Observations and interpretations of sensational events such as the shipwrecks of the *Batavia* and *Vergulde Draeck* probably also circulated in oral discourse, although this can only be surmised from written sources. It might have been conversations about reports of experiences in Bandaiyan that inspired Vairasse's and Smeeks's utopias. All of these forms could contain aspects of poetic geography, and tropes borrowed from the discourses of the antipodes and the imaginary of *Terra Australis Incognita*.

A careful reading between the lines of such texts, maps, and images has revealed some insights about Bandaiyan and European intruders' responses to it; and even occasional signs of Indigenous agency. Reading maps, texts, and images as cultural artefacts in their historical context can highlight the imaginary of Europe's southeastern antipodes in the seventeenth century. A more nuanced understanding comes from reading each poetic geography, whether in text, cartography, or image, in the context of its own making and reading.

The Blaeuvian *Hollandia Nova* was the more poetic for the limited knowledge it conveyed about Bandaiyan. The longer it circulated with few published textual accounts of experiences in Bandaiyan, the more appropriate its association with *Terra Australis Incognita* appeared. It became a substantial uncertain hydrography at the foot of the visualization of Dutch imperium in Asia, which encouraged a poetic geographical discourse speculating about its inhabitants, and its future potential as a site for colonization. The classical philosophical and geographical tradition made *Terra Australis Incognita* a much more poetic and vivid framework for such speculative and utopian discourse than the new and uncertain entity of *Hollandia Nova*. At the end of the first decade of the eighteenth century, Blaeu's statement fifty years earlier that 'but little' had been published remained true. *Hollandia Nova* was largely *terra incognita*

throughout this period. Comprising a limited published discourse of its own, it needed *Terra Australis* to provide a gloss; to fill the gaps in both knowledge and imagination.

The textual evidence of attempts to reduce Bandaiyan to a map in the seventeenth century affirms that the geography of the continent now called Australia was a European idea. This attempt to grasp an understanding of space entailed claims to knowledge and possession that were more limited in practice than they appeared in the poetic geography of maps. After Blaeu created his partial Euclidean representation of Bandaiyan's hydrography, the concept of *Terra Australis* gradually came to be associated by map-makers and map-readers with the spaces of *Hollandia Nova* that remained *incognitae*. The dream of exploring these southern lands and gaining access to whatever riches they offered persisted, but the lack of identified sources of profit and the logistical costs of travel and colonization deterred attempts to learn more, despite continued speculation about the potential opportunities, which was reflected in utopian literature. Pilots' and hydrographers' attempts to use 'antenna eyes' to describe it are perhaps the most powerful expressions of this desire to see and know Bandaiyan. Utopists—most of all Vairasse and Smeeks—challenged the land's resistance to being known most powerfully by inhabiting their utopian landscapes with projections derived from tropes of *Terra Australis* combined with details drawn from observations and experiences of Bandaiyan. Utopias realized most evocatively the colonial imagination of Burton's flourishing kingdoms in a land inhabited not 'as it ought'.

It is impossible to draw more than tentative conclusions about a European 'consciousness' of the continent at the time from this varied discourse, although curiosity and utopian speculation about the continent's future colonial 'uses' are prominent among a diversity of impressions. Unpublished mariners' accounts provide more complex impressions, and make the best sources for further research into pre-colonial relations between visitors and Bandaiyan's peoples. It is also in the archives that more evidence might be found about the particular circumstances or knowledge that inspired Vairasse's and Smeeks's interest in the continent.

Bandaiyan and its peoples resisted the desire to be known. In the wake of the brutal British invasions, many of its peoples maintain a system of knowledge invested in place, the preserve of those authorized and responsible to curate it. Some of the knowledge of the ancestors has been shared with universal libraries, but much is still retained by the elders responsible for it. This is its strength. The Baconian empire of knowledge, visualized in utopian architectures such as Campanella's temple and in geography perhaps most emblematically by Mercator's 1569 description for navigating the world on one multi-sheet map, also envisaged the distribution of knowledge in space. The critical difference from Indigenous paradigms is the idea that there can be one temple or one map of everything. The desire to collect and control the distribution of all knowledge at one site, the Baconian mission Google inherits today, is inherently violent, inimical to human flourishing, and doomed to failure.

Today, the peoples of Bandaiyan speak back in the language of colonization and utopianism with a new accent. Wirlomin Noongar writer Claire G. Coleman shares the hope through the legacy of Esperance that knowledge of how to live in place is the key to survival and freedom:

Somewhere in the gorges and caves of this desert land, almost too hot for humans, there would be survivors—free humans. ... Somewhere out there were a people supremely adapted to this environment who had been there for tens of thousands of years. The opposite of foreigner, the opposite of alien, they were the people who belonged, who could survive here naked and unarmed.⁹⁰⁸

And so it will remain. The desire to gain the empire of knowledge is a disease, to which I am addicted too.

908 Claire G. Coleman, *Terra Nullius*, [iBooks edn] (Sydney: Hachette Australia, 2017), end of Chapter 21.

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Appendix: Figures

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Figure 0.01: Bandaiyan: The body of Australia, *Corpus Australis*, by David Bungal Mowaljarlai. The double lines show the trade routes or songlines, 'the way the history stories travelled'. The squares are the 'communities ... and languages of the different tribes ... from long-long time ago'.

Credit: David Bungal Mowaljarlai and Jutta Malnic, *Yorro Yorro: Everything Standing up Alive: Spirit of the Kimberley* (Broome, WA: Magabala Books Aboriginal Corporation, 2015), p. 213.



Figure 0.02: *Archipelagus Orientalis sive Asiaticus*, by Joan Blaeu (1659), showing incomplete coastlines of *Hollandia Nova* (Australia/Bandaiyan), *Anthoni van Diemens Landt* (Tasmania/Lutruwita), and *Zeelandia Nova* (New Zealand/Aotearoa). The Latin, French, and Dutch text appears in the left, right, and lower margins.

Credit: Wikimedia Commons: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Archipelagus_Orientalis_sive_Asiaticus_1659_-_Atlas_of_the_Great_Elector.jpg



Figure 0.03: World map, the *Typus Orbis Terrarum*, by Abraham Ortelius (1570), showing the huge south-polar continent at the antipodes of the other continents, here called *Terra Australis Nondum Cognita* ('the southland not yet known'), including the *Beach* peninsula projecting northwards to form a strait opposite Java, where the continent of Australia lies on modern maps.

Credit: The Library of Congress, Public Domain, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=6872417>



Figure 0.04: *Archipelagus Orientalis sive Asiaticus*, Joan Blaeu, 1659. Dutch toponyms placed across an otherwise blank interior, and Dutch ships off the western coast (left). The title cartouche with exotic figures (right).

Credit: Darmstadt: Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek: http://tudigit.ulb.tu-darmstadt.de/show/Gr-Fol-09_087/0002 (Public Domain)



Figure 1.01: *Typus Orbis Terrarum*, by Abraham Ortelius (1570), showing the huge south-polar continent *Terra Australis Nondum Cognita* ('the southland not yet known') above the quotation from Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations*: 'Quid ei potest videri magnum in rebus humanis, cui aeternitas omnis, totiusque mundi nota sit magnitudo' ('How can human affairs seem significant to someone who comprehends all eternity and the vastness of everything.').

Credit: The Library of Congress, Public Domain, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=6872417>

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Figure 1.02: 'Tempe' by Abraham Ortelius, from the *Parergon* to *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1590).

Credit: Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Antwerp 1570), ed. by R. A. Skelton (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1964), *Parergon*.

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Figure 1.03: [World image showing *Temperata Australis Antipoduos* in the southern temperate zone] from Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, MS. 10146, fol. 109v.

Credit: Reproduced in Alfred Hiatt, 'The Map of Macrobius before 1100', *Imago Mundi* 59.2 (2007), p. 166

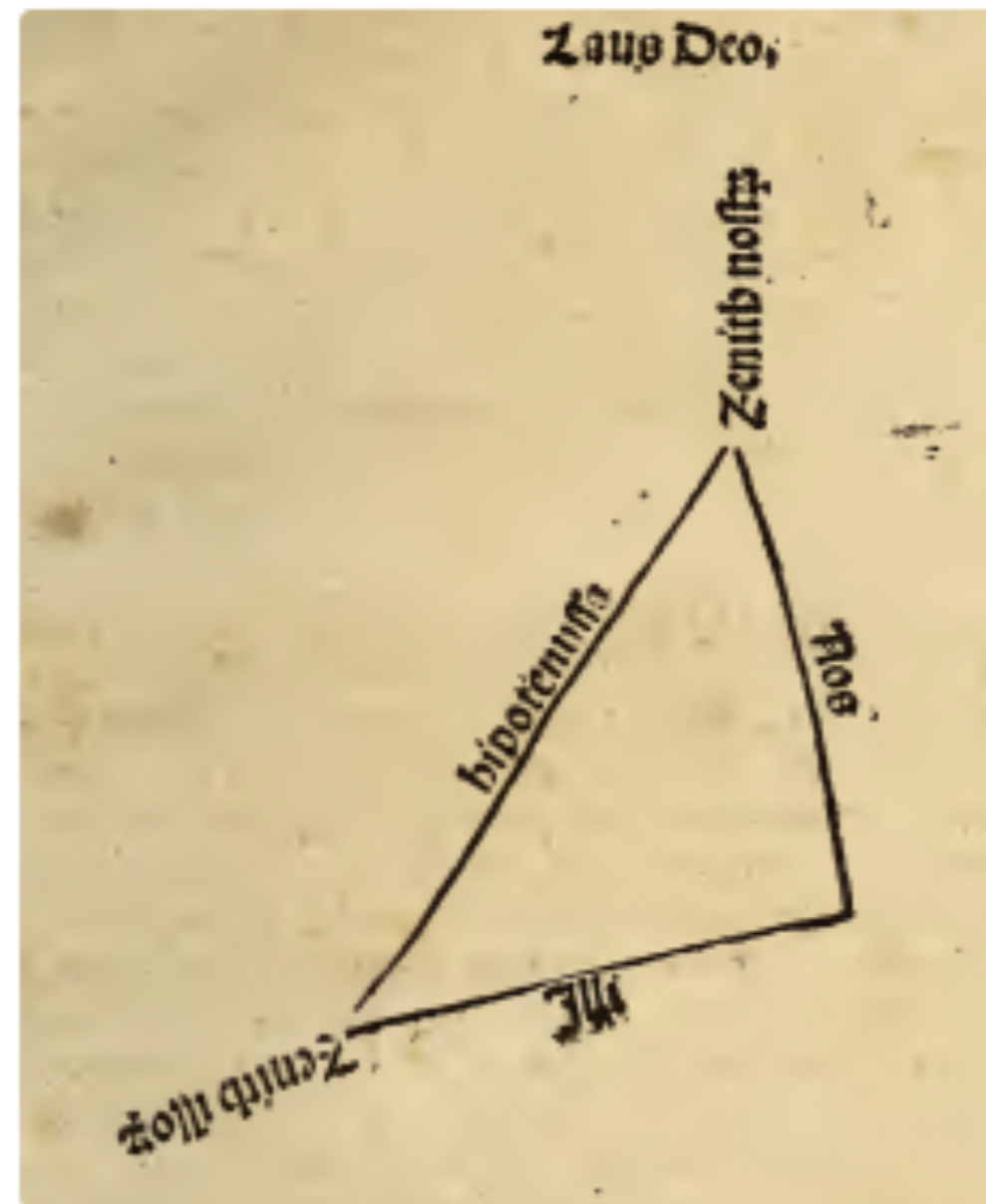


Figure 1.04: Amerigo Vespucci's drawing showing the relationship between Europeans (*Nos* 'us') on the perpendicular line under the heavens (*Laus Deo* 'praise be to God'), and the antipodes (*Illi* 'them') along the base, if standing on the earth at a 90° angle from each other.

Credit: Amerigo Vespucci, *De ora antarctica per regem Portugallie pridem inuenta*, ed. Matthias Ringmann (Strasbourg: Matthias Hupfuff, 1505).

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Figure 1.05: Burgo de Osma Cathedral Library MS. Osma Beatus, eleventh century. The semi-circular disk of the antipodes can be seen at the right, with the antipode shading himself from the sun with his large foot. East is at the top of the map with the four rivers clearly shown within the 'four walls' of Paradise.

Credit: Reproduced in William Eisler, *The Furthest Shore: Images of Terra Australis from the Middle Ages to Captain Cook* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), Plate 2.

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Figure 1.06: [Untitled Map of the World: 1482 Ulm Ptolemy World Map]

Figure 1.06a: Close-up of label on the southern *terra incognita*: ‘Terra incognita secundu[m] ptholomeu[m]’

Credit: Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antique Maps Inc., <https://img.raremaps.com/xlarge/14277.jpg>



Figure 1.07: *Vniversalis cosmographia secvndem Ptholomæi traditionem et Americi Vespvicii aliorv[m] que Ivstrationes*, (A Universal Cosmography according to the Tradition of Ptolemy and the Elucidations of Amerigo Vespucci and Others), Martin Waldseemüller, 1507

Credit: Public domain: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Waldseemuller_map_2.jpg#/media/File:Waldseemuller_map.jpg

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Figure 1.08: Drawing of Johann Schöner's globe, 1515

Credit: Franz Wieser, *Magalhães-Strasse und Austral Continent auf den Globen des Johannes Schöner* (Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagner'schen Universitaets-Buchhandlung, 1881), Outsert.

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Figure 1.09: Drawing of the southern hemisphere of Johann Schöner's globe, 1533

Credit: Franz Wieser, *Magalhães-Strasse und Austral Continent auf den Globen des Johannes Schöner* (Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagner'schen Universitaets-Buchhandlung, 1881), Outsert.

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Figure 1.10: *Noua, et integra uniuersi orbis descriptio*, Oronce Finé, 1531

Credit: Library of Congress: <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3200.ct001393>

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Figure 1.11: Mercator globe gore (1541), detail showing the *Beach* promontory of *Terra Australis Incognita* south of Java.

Credit: National Library of Australia, YYef 2014-514: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-233256894>

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Figure 1.12: [Manuscript world map], Guillaume Brouscon, 1543

Credit: Huntington Library, HM 46: http://dpg.lib.berkeley.edu/webdb/dsheh/heh_brf?Description=&CallNumber=HM+46

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Figure 1.13: *Nova et aucta orbis terrae descriptio ad usum navigantium emendate accomodata*, by Gerhard Mercator, 1569

Credit: Bibliothèque nationale de France: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b7200344k>

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Figure 1.13a: Close-up showing the inscription entitled ‘De meridiana continentis ad Javam Majorem accessu’ (‘On the approach to the southern continent from Java Major’) superimposed on the *Beach* promontory.

Credit: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Karten-Lesesaal: KTA:2"@Kart. 56/232/1-2

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Figure 1.14: *Cosmographie universelle, selon les navigateurs tant anciens que modernes par Guillaume Le Testu, pillotte en la Mer du Ponent: de la ville francoyse de Grace*, fol. 40 v. showing the peninsula of *Terra Australis* named 'C[ap] de More'.

Credit: Bibliothèque nationale de France, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8447838j>

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Figure 1.15: 60-sheet world map on a north-polar projection showing ‘encircling’ islands of *Terra Australis Incognita*, from Urbano Monte’s manuscript atlas, digitally reassembled by David Rumsey Map Collection.

Credit: David Rumsey Map Collection: <https://www.davidrumsey.com/blog/2017/11/26/largest-early-world-map-monte-s-10-ft-planisphere-of-1587>

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Figure 2.01: *Ceremony*, by William Barak, c. 1895.

Credit: Art Gallery of Ballarat (<https://artgalleryofballarat.com.au/collection/>)



Figure 2.02: Photo of a reproduction of the world map by Gervase of Ebstorf (thirteenth century), showing the world as the body of Christ, with the head in Paradise in the east, the feet in Portugal in the west, and the navel at Jerusalem. The monstrous of the antipodes can be seen in the south.

Credit: Public domain: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ebstorf_Map#/media/File:Ebstorfer-stich2.jpg

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Figure 2.03: *Aevi veteris, typus geographicus*, Abraham Ortelius, 1595.

Credit: Barry Lawrence Ruderman (<https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/53794/aevi-veteris-typus-geographicus-ortelius>)

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Figure 3.01: Trading routes to Southeast Asia from the Cape of Good Hope, showing Brouwer's route between 30° and 40°S heading directly to the west coast of Bandaiyan before turning north to Java.

Credit: Günter Schilder, *Australia Unveiled: The Share of the Dutch Navigators in the Discovery of Australia* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1976) p. 57.

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Figure 3.02: The chart drawn on board the *Duyfken* in 1605–1606, copied by Vingboons and/or staff, c. 1670. The ‘vertical’ coastline drawn in the southeast of the map corresponds with the west coast of Cape York peninsula (Bandaiyan).

Credit: Reproduced in *The Atlas Blaeu-van Der Hem of the Austrian National Library, Vol. V: Africa, Asia and America, Including the ‘Secret’ Atlas of the Dutch East India Company (VOC)*, ed. by Peter van der Krogt and Erlend de Groot (Houten: HES & De Graaf, 2005), map 41.29

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Figure 3.03: Folio 212 v from Jonck's logbook, 'Dagh Register gehouden bij den Schipper Aucke Pieters Jonck schipper op 't gallioot Emeloort seijlende met deselve van Batavia naer 't Zuytlandt Int. Jaer ano. 1658'.

Credit: The Hague, Nationaal Archief, inv. nr. VOC 1225, fols. 204–217.

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Figure 3.04: Detail from *'t Lant van Eendracht: oft Afbeeldinge van 't Zuytlandt Ontdeckt door den Schipper Aucke Pieters Jonck in de Maend Februario En Maart A[nn]o 1658 met Emeloort*, by Johan Nessel, 1658, after Aucke Pieters Jonck.

Credit: The Hague, Nationaal Archief, Kaarten Leupe 4.VEL 504

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Figure 3.05: Open-sided dome house depicted by Louis Auguste de Sainson, 1826

Credit: Paul Memmott, *Gunyah, Goondie and Wurley: The Aboriginal Architecture of Australia* (St Lucia, Qld: University of Queensland Press, 2007), Plate 6.

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Figure 3.06: Reconstructed house built for a researcher by Jack Karadada and Ildefonse Cheinmoro on Corneille Island, Kimberley, 1978.

Credit: Photo by Ian Crawford, Western Australian Museum; printed in Paul Memmott, *Gunyah, Goondie and Wurley: The Aboriginal Architecture of Australia* (St Lucia, Qld: University of Queensland Press, 2007), Plate 13.

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Figure 3.07: Illustration by Caspar Luyken from a Dutch edition of William Dampier's *A New Voyage Round the World*, published by Abraham de Hondt in 1698.

Credit: Pacific Collection, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i-Mānoa. Online at <https://theconversation.com/found-the-earliest-european-image-of-aboriginal-australians-106176>

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Figure 4.01: Terrestrial Table Globe, Vincenzo Coronelli, Venice, 1696. Detail of the Antipodes of Venice: ‘Questo preciso luogo segnato coll’Asterismo è Antipodo alla Città di Venetia, Patria dell’Autore della presente Opera’ (‘This precise location indicated with an Asterisk is the Antipodes of the City of Venice, the Homeland of the Author of the present Work’). Note the error in the date of ‘discovery’ by the Dutch: 1654 instead of 1644.

Credit: Author’s photo/National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, GLB0124

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Figure 4.02: *India quae orientalis dicitur et Insulae adiacentes*, Hugo Allard, c. 1652

Credit: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cartes et plans, GE DD-2987 (6813 B)

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Figure 4.02a: Lower right detail (above)

Figure 4.02b: Lower left detail (below)

Credit: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cartes et plans, GE DD-2987 (6813 B)

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Figure 4.03: 'Crocodile and Fire Dreaming', by Djamika Munungurr

Credit: David Turnbull, Helen Watson, and Yolngu community at Yirrkala, *Maps are Territories: Science is an Atlas: A Portfolio of Exhibits* (Geelong, Vic: Deakin University Press, 1989), Exhibit 5.

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Figure 4.04: *Nova et Accurata Totius Terrarum Orbis Tabula ex optimis quibusq. in hoc genere auctorib. desumpta. et duob. planisphaeriis delineata, auct. Gul. Ianssonio MDCXVIII*, Joan Blaeu, 1645–46.

Credit: Rotterdam, Maritiem Museum. Reproduced in William Eisler, *The Furthest Shore: Images of Terra Australis from the Middle Ages to Captain Cook* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 94–5.

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Figure 4.05: Chart of Tasman's voyages, by Vingboons and/or staff, c. 1670, after François Jacobszoon Visscher.

Credit: Reproduced in *The Atlas Blaeu-van Der Hem of the Austrian National Library, Vol. V: Africa, Asia and America, Including the 'Secret' Atlas of the Dutch East India Company (VOC)*, ed. by Peter van der Krogt and Erlend de Groot (Houten: HES & De Graaf, 2005), map 41.30

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Figure 4.06: *Nova Totivs Terrarvm Orbis Tabvla*, Joan Blaeu, 1648

Credit: Harry Ransom Center, Kraus Map Collection, online at <https://hrc.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p15878coll9>

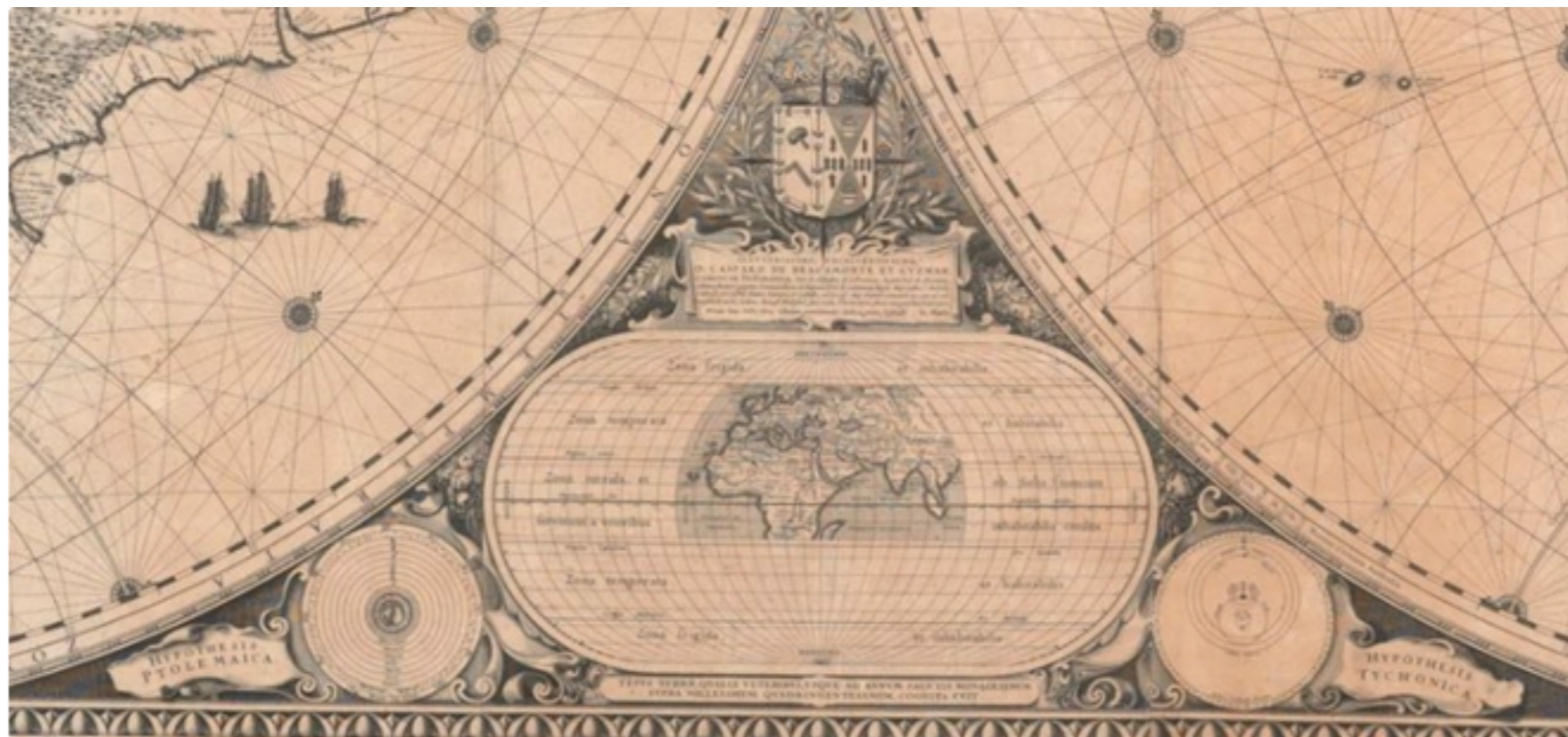


Figure 4.06a: Detail of the *oikoumene* on a modern projection (sourced from Ortelius), with the Ptolemaic and Tychonian systems on either side, in the lower interhemispherical space of Joan Blaeu's new wall map of the world.

Credit: Public Domain: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Joan_Blaeu_-_Map_of_the_World_1648.jpg

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Figure 4.07: *Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis Geographica ac Hydrographica Tabula*, Jodocus Hondius Jr., 1622–29

Credit: Reproduced in Avan Judd Stallard, *Antipodes: In Search of the Southern Continent* (Clayton, Vic: Monash University Publishing, 2016), Figure 8.2.

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Figure 4.08: *Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis Geographica ac Hydrographica Tabula. Auct. Henr. Hondio*, by Henricus Hondius, 1630

Credit: The Old Print Shop New York City, online at: <http://oldprintshop.com/product/4686?inventoryno=2522&itemno=2>

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Figure 4.09: *De la Terre Universelle: Typus Orbis Terrarum*, Jodocus Hondius Jr., 1630 (from Mercator-Hondius *Atlas Minor*)

Credit: Reproduced in Günter Schilder, *Australia Unveiled: The Share of the Dutch Navigators in the Discovery of Australia* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1976), pp. 308-9 (map 33).

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Figure 4.10: Terrestrial globe, Arnold Florent van Langren, c. 1625 (detail).

Credit: Reproduced in Glyndwr Williams and Alan Frost, eds. *Terra Australis to Australia* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, in association with Australian Academy of the Humanities, 1988), Figure 3.5.

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Figure 4.11: Manuscript map of the Indian Ocean and Far East, João Teixeira, 1630 (detail).

Credit: Reproduced in Schilder, *Australia Unveiled: The Share of the Dutch Navigators in the Discovery of Australia* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1976), pp. 312–13 (map 35).

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Figure 4.12: *Noua Orbis Terrarum Delineatio Singulari Ratione Accommodat Meridiano Tabb. Rudolphi Astronomicarum*, Philipp Ekebrecht, 1658.

Credit: Reproduced in Robert Clancy, *The Mapping of Terra Australis* (Macquarie Park, NSW: Universal Press Pty Ltd, 1995), p. 76, (map 6.4).



Figure 4.13: *Archipelagus Orientalis sive Asiaticus*, Joan Blaeu, 1659.

Credit: Wikimedia Commons: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Archipelagus_Orientalis_sive_Asiaticus_1659_-_Atlas_of_the_Great_Elector.jpg



Figure 4.13a: Detail showing *Hollandia Nova* and *Carpentaria* (coastline highlighted in green), and place names placed within the coastline. Clearly visible is the gap in the southwest Noongar coast, north and south of the 30th degree of southern latitude, in the area where the *Vergulde Draeck* was wrecked. Blaeu did not update this section of coastline despite the availability of hydrographic information to do so.

Credit: Darmstadt: Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek: http://tudigit.ulb.tu-darmstadt.de/show/Gr-Fol-09_087/0002 (Public Domain)

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Figure 4.14: *India quae orientalis dicitur, et Insulae adiacentes*, Willem Blaeu, 1635

Credit: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cartes et plans, GE DD-2987 (6809)

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Figure 4.15: Terrestrial Table Globe, Vincenzo Coronelli, Venice, 1696 (detail)

Credit: Author's photo/National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, GLB0124

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Figure 4.16: *Isole dell'India, e parte de' Paesi di nuoua scoperta*, Giacomo Cantelli da Vignola, c. 1692

Credit: London, British Library C.39.f.7: map 63. Reproduced in Alfred Hiatt, *Terra Incognita: Mapping the Antipodes before 1600* (London: British Library), p. 263 (Figure 47).

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Figure 4.17: *Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis Tabula*, Hugo Allard, c. 1652 (detail)

Figure 4.17a: Details of hunters and animals (right)

Credit: Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, KBK 0-0-1665

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Figure 4.18: Globe gore detail from Vincenzo Coronelli, *Libro dei globi*, Venice, 1693

Credit: Reproduced in *Libro dei globi, 1693 (1701)*, ed. by Helen Wallis (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1969).

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Figure 4.19: Detail of *Nouvelle Hollande* from Vincenzo Coronelli, terrestrial standing globe (1681–83) made for King Louis XIV.

Figure 4.19a: Close-up of pursuit (right).

Credit: Author's photo/Bibliothèque nationale de France. See also <http://expositions.bnf.fr/globes/index.htm>

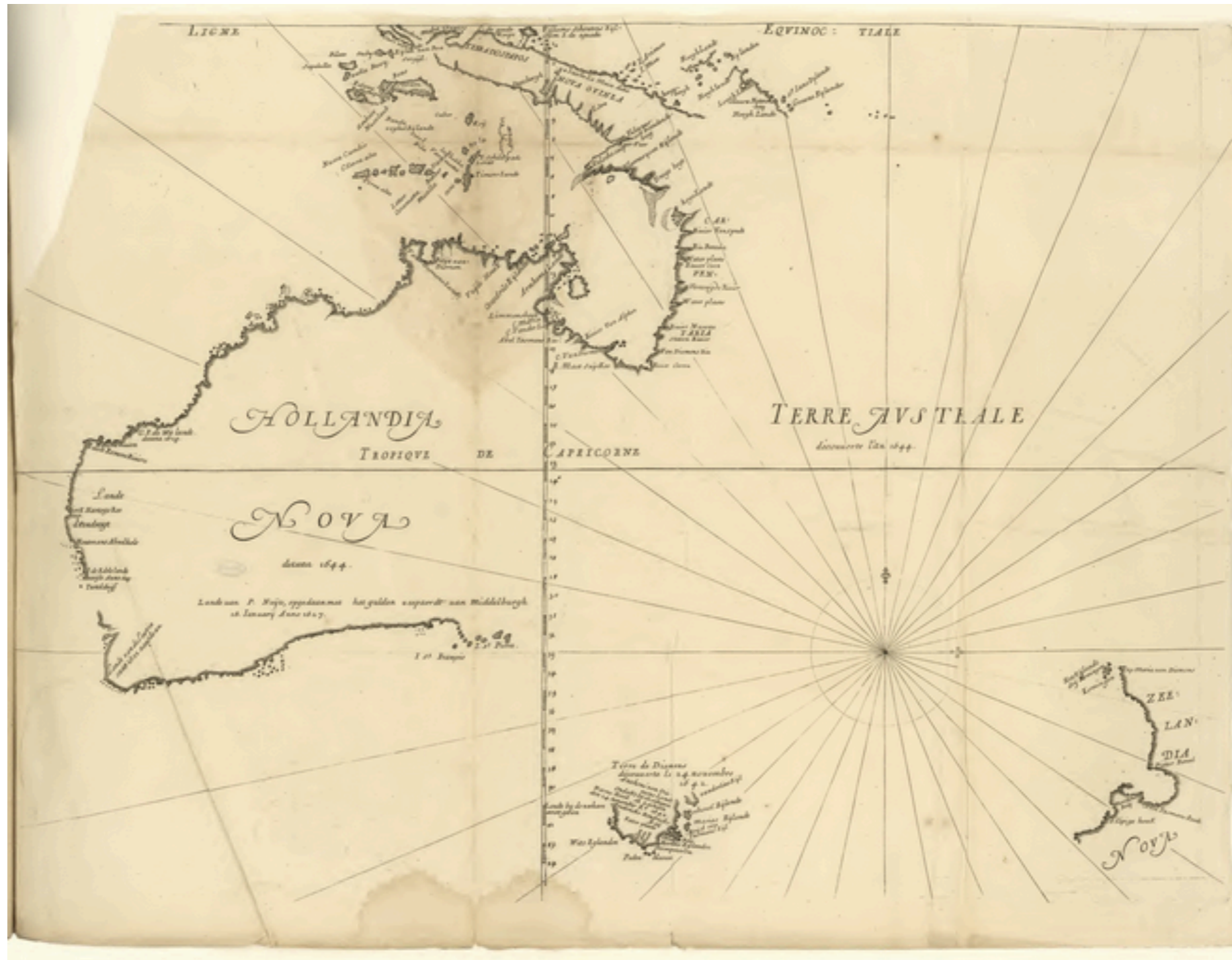


Figure 4.20: [*Hollandia Nova and Terre Australe*], Melchisédec Thévenot, 1663

Credit: From *Relations de divers voyages curieux, qui n'ont point esté publiées, ou qui ont esté traduites d'Hacluyt, de Purchas, & d'autres Voyageurs Anglois, hollandois, portugais, allemands, espagnols, et de quelques persans, arabes & autres auteurs orientaux, enrichies de figures de plantes non décrites, d'animaux inconnus à l'Europe, & de cartes geographiques de pays dont on n'a point encore donné de cartes. Première Partie* (Jacques Langlois, Paris, 1663)

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Figure 4.21: *Carte universelle du commerce, c'est-à-dire carte hydrographique où sont exactement décrites les costes des 4 parties du monde...*, by Pierre du Val, 1674

Credit: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cartes et plans, GE D-12483

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Figure 4.22: *A Complete Map of the Southern Continent Survey'd by Capt. Abel Tasman & depicted by Order of the East Indian Company in Holland In The Stadt House at Amsterdam*, by Emanuel Bowen, 1744

Credit: Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antique Maps Inc. Online at <https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/48023/australia-a-complete-map-of-the-southern-continent-surveyd-by-capt-abel-tasman-depicted-by-order-of-the-east-indian-company-in-holland-in-the-stadt-house-at-amsterdam-bowen>



Figure 4.23: *Archipelagus Orientalis sive Asiaticus*, by Joan Blaeu, 1659. Detail showing the gap in the hydrography of the west coast north and south of 30°S in the standard Blaeuvian geography.

Credit: Darmstadt: Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek: http://tudigit.ulb.tu-darmstadt.de/show/Gr-Fol-09_087/0002 (Public Domain)

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Figure 4.24: *'t Lant van Eendracht: oft Afbeeldinge van 't Zuytlandt Ondeckt door den Schipper Aucke Pieters Jonck in de Maendt Februario En Maart A[nn]o 1658 met Emeloort, Johan Nessel, 1658 after Aucke Pieters Jonck*

Credit: The Hague, Nationaal Archief, Kaarten Leupe 4.VEL 503

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Figure 4.25: *'t Lant van Eendracht: oft Afbeeldinge van 't Zuytlandt Ontdeckt door den Schipper Aucke Pieters Jonck in de Maend Februario En Maart A[nn]o 1658 met Emeloort*, manuscript chart by Johan Nessel, 1658, after Aucke Pieters Jonck

Credit: The Hague, Nationaal Archief, Kaarten Leupe 4.VEL 504

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Figure 4.26: *'t Lant van Eendracht: oft Afbeeldinge van 't Zuytlandt Ondeckt door den Schipper Samuel Volckertsz. in de Maend Februario En Maart A[nn]o 1658 met de Wakende Boeij*, by Johan Nessel, 1658, after Samuel Volckertszoon

Credit: The Hague, Nationaal Archief, Kaarten Leupe 4.VEL 507

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Figure 4.27: *'t Lant van Eendracht: oft Afbeeldinge van 't Zuytlandt Ondeckt door den Schipper Samuel Volckertsz. in de Maend Februario En Maart A[nn]o 1658 met de Wakende Boeij*, by Johan Nessel, 1658, after Samuel Volckertszoon (detail): Rottnest Island and Cockburn Sound, as now called, near the (overlooked) Swan River estuary are shown. Volckertszoon's distinctive tree icons can be seen, as well as shoals, depths, anchorage point, and profile of the island and coastal landscape.

Credit: The Hague, Nationaal Archief, Kaarten Leupe 4.VEL 507

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Figure 4.28: Coastal profiles by Isaac Gilsemans, 1642–4 (Huydecoper copy).

Credit: Robert Jenkin, ‘Was Gilsemans really Tasman’s primary draughtsman?’ *Abel Tasman 1642*, 12 April 2015, <http://abeltasman.org.nz/was-gilsemans-really-tasmans-draughtsman/>

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Figure 4.29: *'T Zuydlandt* [chart of the South Land] by Victor Victorszoon, 1697

Credit: The Hague, Nationaal Archief, Kaarten Leupe 4.VEL 509

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Figure 4.30: Mt Lesueur comparison

Above left: Samuel Volckertszoon: *Een Tafel Bergh* (left); Aucke Pieters Jonck: *Hooge duijnen* (right)

Credit: The Hague, Nationaal Archief, Kaarten Leupe 4.VEL 507; 4.VEL 504

Below right: Victor Victorszoon Profile No. 3 (left); Victorszoon's chart (right).

Credit: Rotterdam, Maritiem Museum. Reproduced in Günter Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land: Willem de Vlamingh 1696-1697* (Sydney: Royal Australian Historical Society/the Australian Bank, 1985), Plate 21 (below left); The Hague, Nationaal Archief, Kaarten Leupe 4.VEL 509 (below right).

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Figure 4.31: The Hummocks comparison

Above left: Aucke Pieters Jonck: *Emeloorts Uijkijk* (left); Samuel Volckertszoon: two less prominent hills (right).

Credit: The Hague, Nationaal Archief, Kaarten Leupe 4.VEL 504 and 4.VEL 507.

Below right: Victor Victorszoon's drawings of the Hummocks: Coastal profile No. 2 (left); chart (right).

Credit: Rotterdam, Maritiem Museum. Reproduced in Günter Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land: Willem de Vlamingh 1696-1697* (Sydney: Royal Australian Historical Society/the Australian Bank, 1985), Plate 21 (below left); The Hague, Nationaal Archief, Kaarten Leupe 4.VEL 509 (right).

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Figure 4.32: Aucke Pieters Jonck's chart copied by Johann Nessel, with coastal profile above (left) and cartography below (right), showing the more distant coastline of Cockburn Sound in grey (left) and Rottnest island (right) that Jonck mistook for a peninsula.

Credit: The Hague, Nationaal Archief, Kaarten Leupe 4.VEL 503.

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Figure 4.33: *'T Eijlant T' Rottenest* [Inset chart of Rottnest Island] by Victor Victorszoon, 1697

Credit: The Hague, Nationaal Archief, Kaarten Leupe 4.VEL 509

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Figure 4.34: Watercolour coastal profile No. 1 by Victor Victorszoon, 1697, showing Rottnest Island.

Credit: Rotterdam, Maritiem Museum. Reproduced in Günter Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land: Willem de Vlamingh 1696-1697* (Sydney: Royal Australian Historical Society/the Australian Bank, 1985), Plate 21 (detail)

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Figure 4.35: John Smibert, *View of Boston* (1738)

Credit: Reproduced in Edward S. Casey, *Representing Place: Landscape Painting and Maps* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), Plate 2.

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Figure 4.36: Watercolour coastal profile 10–11. Victor Victorszoon, 1697, showing southern end of Dirck Hartog Island.

Credit: Rotterdam, Maritiem Museum. Reproduced in Günter Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land: Willem de Vlamingh 1696-1697* (Sydney: Royal Australian Historical Society/the Australian Bank, 1985), Plate 24.

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Figure 4.37: Watercolour coastal profile No. 12 (above) by Victor Victorszoon, 1697, showing northern coast of Dirck Hartog island (Turtle Bay) with site of Hartog's pewter plate marked towards the western end (A) and Cape Levillain at eastern point (B).

Credit: Rotterdam, Maritiem Museum. Reproduced in Günter Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land: Willem de Vlamingh 1696-1697* (Sydney: Royal Australian Historical Society/the Australian Bank, 1985), Plate 25 (detail)

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Figure 4.38: Comparison of Isaac Gilseman's different versions of the coastal profile of *Mordenaers Baij* (Murderers' Bay or Golden Bay, New Zealand): Huydecoper (top) and The Hague Nationaal Archief (middle); and modern photograph (bottom).

Credit: Robert Jenkin, 'Was Gilsemans really Tasman's primary draughtsman?' *Abel Tasman 1642*, 12 April 2015, <http://abeltasman.org.nz/was-gilsemans-really-tasmans-draughtsman/>



Figure 4.39: *View of Delft*, by Johannes Vermeer, 1660–61.

Credit: Mauritshuis, The Hague; <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Vermeer-view-of-delft.jpg>



Figure 4.40: [De Vlamingh's ships at the entrance to Derbarl Yerrigan (Swan River) in 1697], Johannes van Keulen, 1796, after Victor Victorszoon.

Credit: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Vlamingh_ships_at_the_Swan_River,_Keulen_1796.jpg

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Figure 4.41: Gesture of demonstration

Left: John Smibert, *View of Boston* (1738) (detail)

Right: *India quae orientalis dicitur et Insulae adiacentes*, Hugo Allard, c. 1652 (detail).

Credit: Reproduced in Edward S. Casey, *Representing Place: Landscape Painting and Maps* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), Plate 2; Bibliothèque nationale de France, *Cartes et plans*, GE DD-2987 (6813 B).

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Figure 4.42: Ships modelling survey of the shore on Victor Victorszoon's chart.

Credit: The Hague, Nationaal Archief, Kaarten Leupe 4.VEL 509.

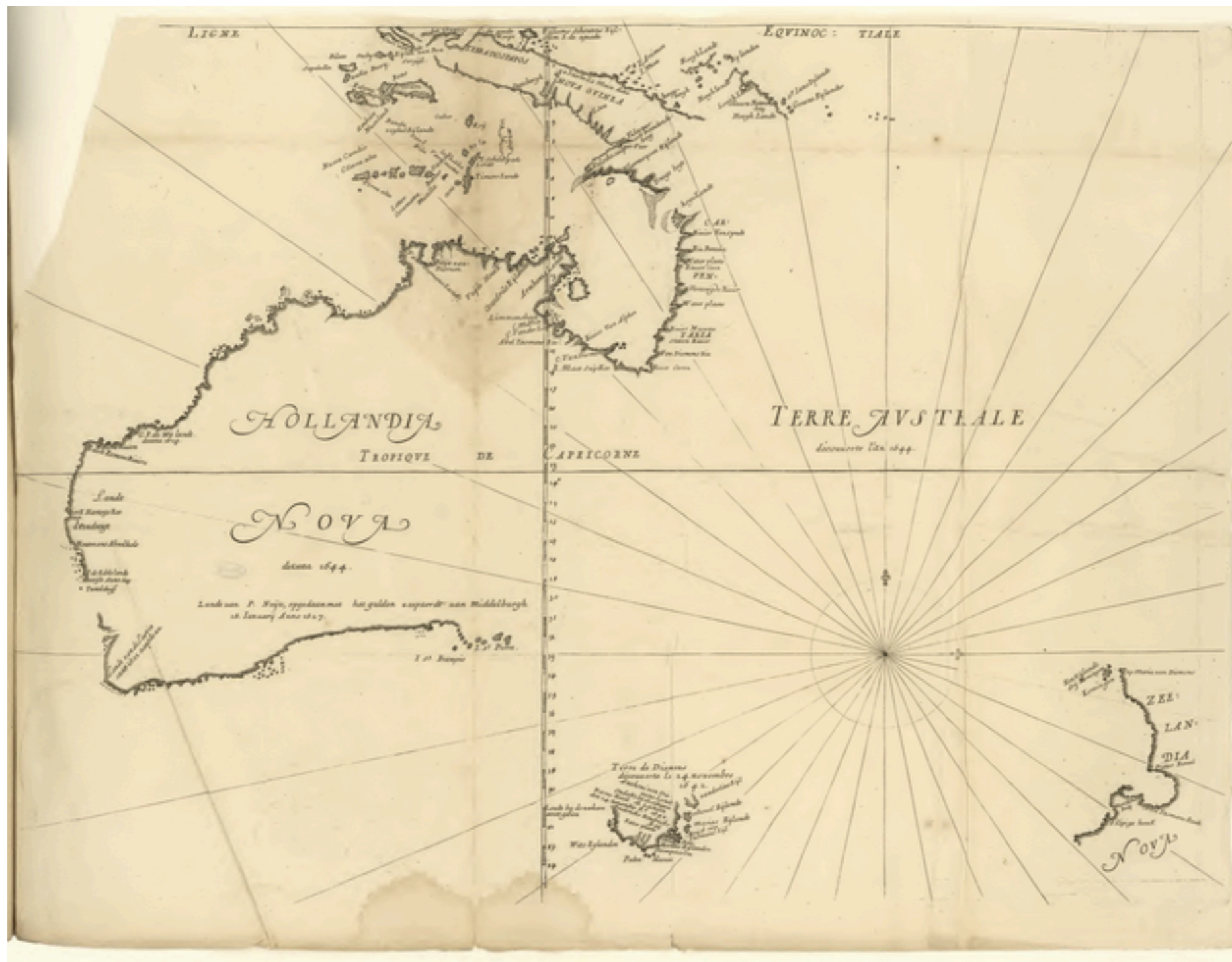


Figure 5.01: [*Hollandia Nova and Terre Australe*], Melchisédec Thévenot, 1663

Credit: From *Relations de divers voyages curieux, qui n'ont point esté publiées, ou qui ont esté traduites d'Hacluyt, de Purchas, & d'autres Voyageurs Anglois, hollandois, portugais, allemands, espagnols, et de quelques persans, arabes & autres auteurs orientaux, enrichies de figures de plantes non décrites, d'animaux inconnus à l'Europe, & de cartes geographiques de pays dont on n'a point encore donné de cartes. Première Partie* (Jacques Langlois, Paris, 1663)

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Figure 5.02: ‘Anthoni van Diemens Landt’, from *N. I. Visscheri Tabularum Geographicarum Contractarum Libri Quatuor Denuo Recogniti*, by Claes Janszoon Visscher (Amsterdam, 1649). Note the appearance of *Pedro Brancko* and *Stompe toorn* off the southwestern coastline in the bottom right of the map.

Credit: Dorothy Prescott, ‘A Little Master’s Piece’, *LaTrobe Library Journal* 79, 2007; online at <http://www3.slv.vic.gov.au/latrobejournal/issue/latrobe-79/t1-g-t4.html#latrobe-79-037a>. From State Library Victoria Rare Book Collection (*S 912 V82T).

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Figure 5.03: ‘Description, Situation & Vue de la Ville de Mexique, des deux Lacs sur lesquelles elle est batie du Grand Temple de cette Ville, des Sacrifices d’Hommes qu’on y faisoit de l’Idole des Mexicains, de leurs Jeux, Divertissements, Coutumes, Superstitions & autres usages pratiquez parmi eux’, from *Atlas historique ou nouvelle*, Tome VI: Africa & America North & South ... by Chatelain et Gueudeville (Amsterdam, 1719)

Credit: Biblioteca Digital Hispánica, <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000001717&page=1>

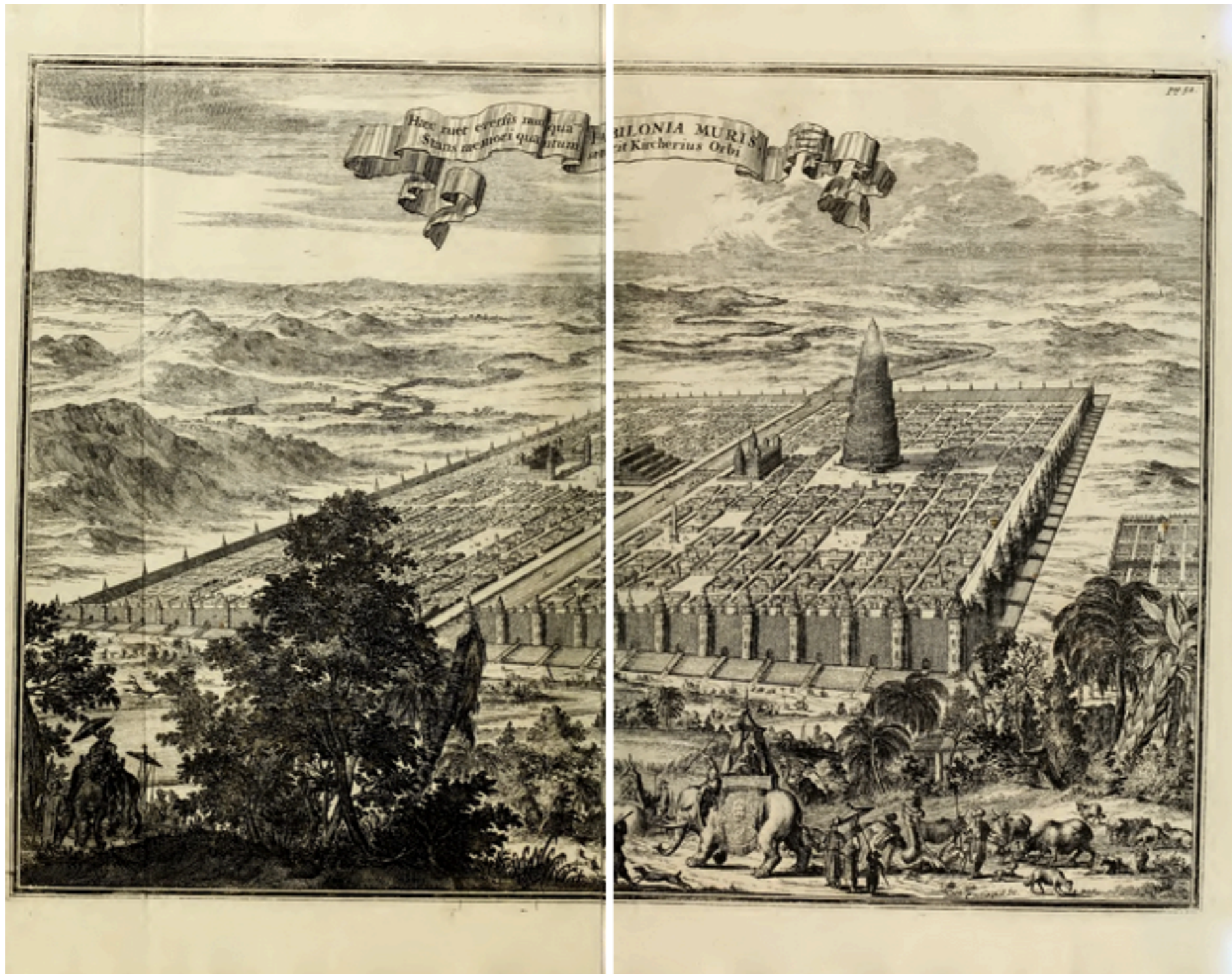


Figure 5.04: ‘Babilonia Muris’, illustration of the city of Babylon with the tower in its landscape setting.

Credit: Athanasius Kircher, *Turris Babel, Sive Archontologia Qua Primo Priscorum post diluvium hominum vita, mores rerumque gestarum magnitudo, Secundo Turris fabrica civitatumque exstructio, confusio linguarum, et inde gentium transmigrations, cum principalium inde enatorum idiomatum historia, multiplici eruditione describuntur et explicantur* (Amsterdam: Janssonis-Wassbergiana, 1679), pull-out between pp. 52–3.