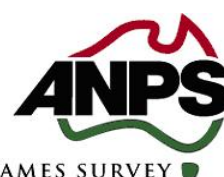
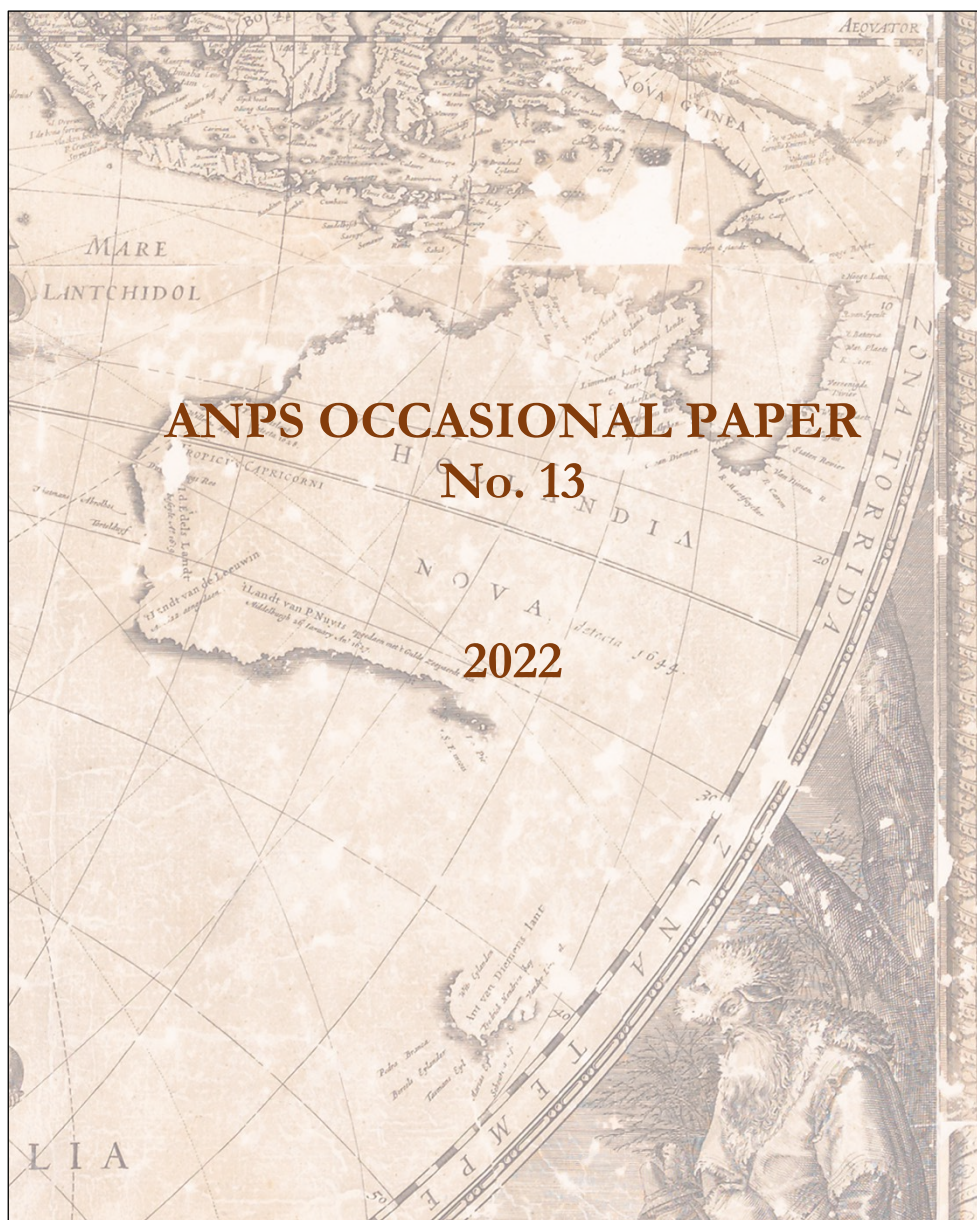


Who named New Holland?



WHO NAMED NEW HOLLAND?

Jan Tent

ANPS OCCASIONAL PAPER
No. 13

2022



AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL PLACENAMES SURVEY

ANPS Occasional Papers
ISSN 2206-1878 (Online)

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Detail of Willem Janszoon Blaeu’s *Nova et Accvrata Totivs Terrarvm Orbis Tabvla* (1645-46 [1619]), purported to be the first imprint showing the names ‘Hollandia Nova’ & ‘Zeelandia Nova’. (Source: courtesy of Collecties Maritiem Museum ‘Prins Hendrik’, Rotterdam, K259)



Published for the Australian National Placenames Survey

This online edition: October 2022

Australian National Placenames Survey © 2022

Published by Placenames Australia (Inc.)

PO Box 5160

South Turramurra

NSW 2074

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1 INTRODUCTION

It is often claimed, in both popular and academic literature, that Abel Tasman was the first to name the western three quarters of the Australian continent *Hollandia Nova* (or *Nieuw Holland* 'New Holland') subsequent to his 1644 voyage along the northern coasts of Australia. We see for instance the following declarations:

- In discussing the naming of New Zealand, McCormick (1959, p. 11), though not using the appellation *Hollandia Nova* or *New Holland*, applies the name 'Compagnies Nieuw Nederland' to the continent and ascribes the name to Tasman:¹

The reason [why 'Zeelandia Nova' was chosen in preference to other possible alternatives] is probably bound up with the naming of the western coast of Australia, called by Tasman 'Compagnies Nieuw Nederland' and later rechristened 'Hollandia Nova', a term gradually extended to the whole continent.

- The New Zealand author and publisher A.W. Reed writes in his *Place names of Australia* (1974, p. 163):²

New Holland The name New Holland was frequently used for the continent until the early part of the 19th century, when it was displaced by Flinders's Australia, q.v. The older name originated from Tasman, who called it Compagnis Nieuw Nederland, which became anglicised as British interests increased. The name still survives in scientific nomenclature in the form *novae-hollandiae*.

- In reference to Tasman's voyage of 1642-43, Bricker (in Tooley, Bricker & Crone, 1976, p. 256) states: 'His voyage took him a very long way round, but it showed that the land he named New Holland was entirely surrounded by navigable waters.' On the following page, Bricker writes: 'Linking what Tasman found on his two voyages, chartmakers were able to sketch a remarkably accurate outline of his New Holland: the north and west coasts as well as long stretches of the south coast and Tasmania.' (p. 257)³

- In 2018, the American Q&A website *Quora* carried the question, posed by one of its subscribers: 'Why was Australia first named New Holland?' Two of the answers read:

New Holland, is the historical European name for mainland Australia. The Dutch East India Company ship, *Dyfken* [*sic*], led by Willem Janszoon, made the first documented European landing in Australia in 1606. The name however was first applied to Australia much later in 1644 by the Dutch seafarer Abel Tasman, best known for his discovery of Tasmania.

It was named 'New Holland' by **Abel Tasman** who was the first person person [*sic*] to chart the western part [*sic*] of Australia on behalf of the Dutch East Indies Company.

(<https://www.quora.com/Why-was-Australia-first-named-New-Holland>)

- While author and journalist Evan McHugh (2006, p. 94) does not directly attribute the name to Tasman, he nevertheless implies that Tasman was responsible for it:⁴

It is also from Tasman's second voyage that the South Land gained a new name. On his 1644 chart of the Australian coast, which includes the discoveries of all earlier voyages, the

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continent is referred to as New Holland.

- In a chapter entitled ‘The “Indians” of New Holland and the naming process in English in the age of Captain Cook’, Palusci (2009, p. 285) declares:⁵

Culturally speaking, we understand why Anthonij van Diemenslandt, the south west coast of the southern land, which Abel Tasman called after the Governor of the Dutch East Indies in 1642 and *Hollandia Nova*/New Holland, the name he selected after exploring and taking possession of the northern coast of Terra Australia [*viz*] two years later, were not favourite place-names [for the English].

- Payne [n.d., p. 6] muddies the waters slightly by implying Tasman named the southern continent after his first voyage in 1642-43:

[...] They [Tasman and Visscher] sailed north missing Cook’s Strait and in due course found their way to the Tonga islands before returning to Batavia in June 1643, having, in effect, circumnavigated Australia, without sighting any of its eastern coastlines. Tasman named this new southern land Nova Hollandia.

- The Scotch College Library website of Scotch College Swanbourne, Western Australia declares:

Even though Dutch sailors had mapped much of its west and south-west coasts, the continent remained for the most part cloaked in mystery. (New Holland, the name given by Tasman to the continent, remained in use until at least 1817, when Australia, the name recommended by English navigator Matthew Flinders, was officially sanctioned.)

(‘Marine History and Archeology in WA’,

<https://library.scotch.wa.edu.au/marineandmaritimestudies/year11/marinehistoryandarcheologyinwa>)

- Although eschewing to attribute the name to Tasman, *The Australian National Dictionary*, the *Macquarie Dictionary*, and Morris’ *A Dictionary of Austral English* of 1898, offer a slightly different origins for the name:

New Holland *n.* [An anglicisation of Latin *Nova Hollandia*, a name given by Dutch navigators in the seventeenth century to that part of the Australian continent lying west of the meridian that passes through Torres Strait].

(Moore et al., 2016:1047)

New Holland *noun* the name given to Australia by the Dutch explorers of the 17th century. [Latin *Nova Hollandia*]

(*Macquarie Dictionary*, online <https://www.macquariedictionary.com.au>)

New Holland, *n.* the name, now extinct, first given to Australia by Dutch explorers.

(Morris, 1972 [1898]:319)

- Similarly, journalist Joel MacManus (2021) claims the continent was named by Dutch explorers after the Willem Janszoon expedition of 1606:

Later Dutch expeditions charted the Australian coastline further and dubbed the island continent “Nieuw Holland” (New Holland).

(www.stuff.co.nz/national/123806961/how-australia-was-almost-named-new-zealand)

- This erroneous claim is echoed by Cole (2013, p. 99) who states:

When the Dutch made the first landfall by Europeans on the Australian coastline in 1606, they gave it the name 'New Holland'.

Finally, various Wikipedia websites claim:

- **New Holland** (Dutch: *Nieuw Holland*) is a historical European name for mainland Australia. The name was first applied to Australia in 1644 by the Dutch seafarer Abel Tasman. The name came for a time to be applied in most European maps to the vaunted "Southern land" or *Terra Australis* even after its coastline was finally explored.
(*New Holland (Australia)*' Wikipedia, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_Holland_\(Australia\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_Holland_(Australia)))
- During the eighteenth century, today's Australia was not conflated with Terra Australis, as it sometimes was in the twentieth century. Captain Cook and his contemporaries knew that the fifth continent (today's Australia), which they called *New Holland*, was entirely separate from the imagined (but still undiscovered) sixth continent (today's Antarctica).
(*Terra Australis*' Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Terra_Australis)
- **Nieuw-Holland** is de historische naam voor het continent Australië dat door Nederlanders in kaart is gebracht. De naam werd in 1644 als eerste gebruikt door Abel Tasman die ook Nieuw-Zeeland zijn naam gaf; het was de bedoeling het hele gebied *Nieuw-Nederland* te noemen. Dat is niet gebeurd maar 'Nieuw-Holland' is daarna nog lange tijd gebruikt. Op verschillende kaarten uit de 19e eeuw werd de naam nog gebruikt om er het onontgonnen westen van Australië mee aan te duiden [...].
(*Nieuw-Holland (Australië)*', [https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nieuw-Holland_\(Australië\)](https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nieuw-Holland_(Australië)))

[Transl: '**New Holland** is the historical name for the continent of Australia charted by the Dutch. The name was first used in 1644 by Abel Tasman who also gave New Zealand its name; the intention was to call the entire region *New Netherland*. That did not happen, but 'New Holland' was used for a long time afterwards. On several maps from the 19th century the name was still used to indicate the unexplored west of Australia [...]]
- **Nouvelle-Hollande (Australie)**
Le nom de 'Nouvelle-Hollande' fut donné pour la première fois en 1644 par le navigateur hollandais Abel Tasman, et fut utilisé pendant plus de 150 ans, désignant d'abord la seule partie connue c'est-à-dire la côte occidentale de l'île-continent.
(*Nouvelle-Hollande (Australie)*', [https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nouvelle-Hollande_\(Australie\)](https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nouvelle-Hollande_(Australie)))

[Transl: 'The name 'New Holland' was first given in 1644 by the Dutch navigator Abel Tasman, and was used for over 150 years, initially designating the only known part of the west coast. of the island-continent.']

The citations above illustrate varying notions of who was responsible for the appellation 'New Holland'. Tasman is most favoured, followed by 'Dutch navigators' or 'explorers', and even 'Captain Cook and his contemporaries'. There is no documentary evidence to substantiate any of these claims. The disparity in opinions is perhaps testimony to the lack of this documentary evidence. This Occasional Paper will attempt to unravel the history of the bestowal of the name *Hollandia Nova* (aka *New Holland*).

2 THE EVIDENCE

2.1 Background

Tasman's journal and original chart of his 1644 voyage along the northern coasts of Australia are no longer extant. The only evidence we have of his sailing track and accompanying placenaming during this voyage appears to be on a small number of maps published in the mid- to latter-half of the 17th century. These maps amalgamate earlier maps and charts showing the Dutch discoveries along the coasts of the purported *Terra Australis* or *Great Southland* with those of Tasman's 1644 voyage.⁶ **Figure 1** shows the extent of Dutch cartographic knowledge of the Southland prior to Tasman's two voyages.⁷ This map is based on the charts made by earlier Dutch explorers: Janszoon (1606), Hartogh (1616), Houtman (1619), Carstenszoon (1623), van Coolsteerdt (1623), Nuyts and Thijsen (1627), de Wit (1628), Pieterszoon (1636), *inter alia*. As the map shows, there were substantial limits to their knowledge of the precise contours and extent of the Southland. The Councillors of the *VOC* (*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* 'United (Dutch) East India Company') in Batavia were eager to find out more about the extent of the Southland and were interested in ascertaining whether Nova Guinea (New Guinea) was joined to the Southland or not. After Tasman's charting of Van Diemensland (Tasmania), the *VOC* also wanted to know whether this land was connected to these two lands. Tasman was sent out in early 1644 to find out. **Figure 2** shows an extract of the instructions given to him for this expedition.

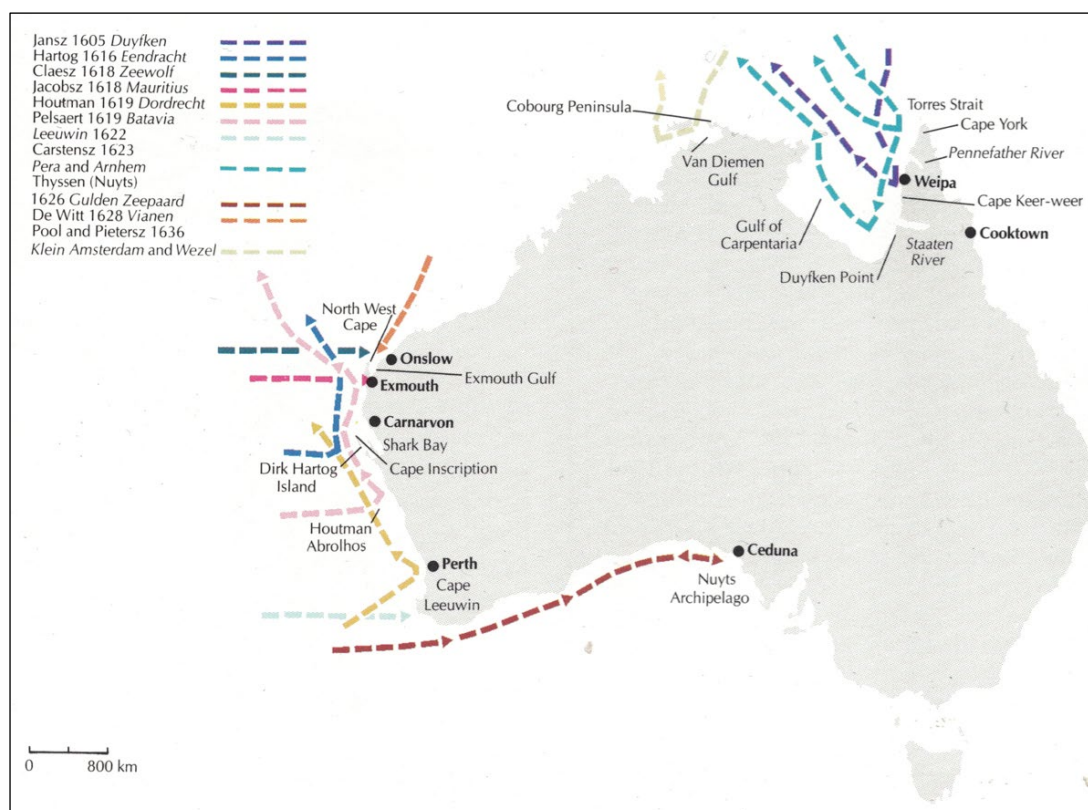


Figure 1

Approximate Dutch cartographic knowledge of the region based on explorations prior to Tasman's expeditions
(Source: Cannon, 1987, p. 27)

Om van de gedane / begonne en betrachte ontdeckinge
 van soo veel nieuwe grote landen / volgens des
 Comp^s. intentie en recommandatien van de Heeren
 onse Meesters tot volmaecten cuntschap te brengen
 resteert dooz verholch noch t'ondersoecken / off Nova
 Guinea aen 't grote Suijtlant vast ofte met canaale
 en tusschen gelegen Eijlanden gesepareerd zij / als-
 mede ofte 't nieuwe van Diemenslant / met dese
 twee grote landen / of een derselver gemeen ofte
 affgescheijden is / en wat onbekende Eijlanden tus-
 schen Nova Guinea / en 't bekende Suijtlant gele-
 gen mogen wesen / na welke onderbindinge / de
 nadere cuntschap van de hoedanigheden van alle de
 gemelte bekende en onbekende landen / met meerder
 bequaemheden t'ondersoecken sullen sijn.

Figure 2

Instructie of lastbrief voor den schipper commandeur Abel Jansen Tasman in 1644. Medegedeeld door Jacob Swart [‘Instruction or letter of charge for the skipper commander Abel Jansen Tasman in 1644. Communicated by Jacob Swart’]

(Source: Nat. Lib. of Australia. <https://nla.gov.au/443/tarkine/nla.obj-69102369>)

Om van de gedane / begonne en betrachte ontdeckinge van soo veel nieuwe grote landen / volgens des Comp^s. intentie en recommandatien van de Heeren onse Meesters tot volmaecten cuntschap te brengen resteert door vervolch noch t'ondersoecken / off Nova Guinea aent grote Suijtlant vast ofte met canaale en tusschen gelegen Eijlanden gesepareert zij / alsmede ofte 't nieuwe van Diemens lant / met dese twee grote landen / of een derselver gemeen ofte affgescheiden is / en wat onbekende Eijlanden tusschen Nova Guinea / en 't bekende Suijtlant gelegen mogen wesen / na welke ondervindinge / de nadere cuntschap van de hoedanigheden van alle gemelte bekende en onbekende landan / met meerder bequaemheden t'ondersoecken sullen sijn.

[Transl: ‘In order to obtain, in accordance with the Comp^s intention and recommendations of the Lords our Masters, a thorough knowledge of the completed, begun and attempted discoveries of so many new vast lands, it remains to be found whether Nova Guinea is connected with the Southland or separated by channels and Islands lying between them, also whether the new Van Diemens land is connected with those two vast lands or separated, and what unknown Islands may be situated between Nova Guinea and the known Southland, after which further knowledge of the commodities of all mentioned known and unknown lands shall be found with more ease.’]

Although the VOC Councillors were disappointed with the results of Tasman’s two voyages, he had nonetheless been able to fill in the missing northern and north-western coastlines of the Southland, establishing that a possible opening between Arnhem Land (charted by van Coolsteerdt in 1623) and the coastline of Cape Keerweer and Staaten Rivier (charted by Janszoon in 1606 and Carstenszoon in 1623 respectively) was in fact a gulf and not a strait leading to Van Diemensland or *I.S. Pieter* ‘Island of St. Peter’ and *I.S. François* ‘Island of St. Francis’ off the coast of ‘t Landt van P. Nuyts ‘P[ieter] Nuyts Land’ (south coast of South Australia) (Figure 3).

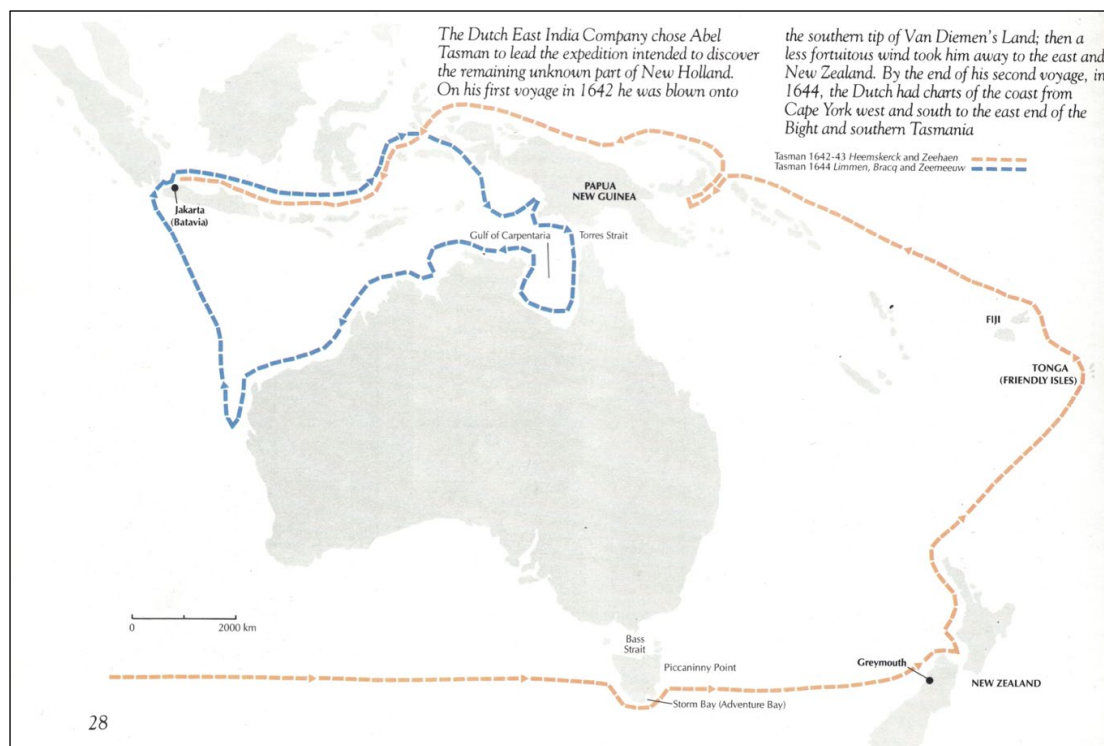


Figure 3
Approximate sailing tracks of Tasman's two voyages 1642-43 & 1644
(Source: Cannon, 1987, p. 28)

There are two main issues that need to be considered in examining the circumstances of the naming of *Hollandia Nova*~*New Holland*, which are interrelated and which have certain corollaries. One issue concerns which of the maps depicting Tasman's discoveries was the earliest; the other relates to the politics of the *VOC* regarding its placenaming practices. I consider each below.

2.2 Cartographic evidence

Since Tasman's original chart and journal of his second voyage are no longer extant, scholars have had to rely on copies of his original chart to substantiate his sailing track and placenaming. Researchers agree that the existing charts are either copies of the original, and/or of each other. There is some dispute surrounding which of these is the earliest and most accurately represents Tasman's original (see for instance: Destombes,, 1941; Wieder, 1942; Sharp 1968; Schilder, 1976; Anderson, 2001; Roeper and Wildeman, 2006; National Library of Australia, 2013; Hooker,, 2015; Burnet 2019; *inter alia*). I shall not enter into a detailed discussion on which is the earliest map representing Tasman's discoveries because the subject is immensely complex and is not the topic of this Occasional Paper.

Four early maps and a globe are of most interest here:⁸

- *Nova et Accvrata Totivs Terrarvm Orbis Tabula* [1645-46 [1619]] by Willem Janszoon Blaeu (henceforth 'Willem Blaeu'), held in the Maritiem Museum 'Prins Hendrik', Rotterdam

- The Blaeu terrestrial globe [c.1645-48], held in Winchester Cathedral
- Joan Blaeu's *Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis Tabula* (1648), held in the Nederlandsch Historisch Scheepvaart-Museum, Amsterdam
- The anonymous 'Tasman-Bonaparte Map' [c.1640s-1695], held in the Mitchell Library, NSW
- Joan Blaeu's *Archipelagus Orientalis, sive Asiaticus* (1663), held at the National Library of Australia



Figure 4

Willem Blaeu (L.) (Print by Jeremias Falck/Wiki Commons) & Joan Blaeu (R.) (Portrait by J. van Rossum/Wiki Commons)

(Source: University of Texas, Harry Ransom Center, 'How a famed astronomer paved the way for the Blaeu World Map' by Randi Ragsdale, *Ransom Center Magazine*, January 10, 2020.

<https://sites.utexas.edu/ransomcentermagazine/2020/01/10/how-a-famed-astronomer-paved-the-way-for-the-blaeu-world-map/>)

2.2.1 *Willem Blaeu's Nova et Accvrata Totivs Terrarvm Orbis Tabvla (1645-46 [1619])*

Schilder (1972, p. 42; 1976, pp. 364, 366, 370) and Zandvliet (1988, p. 80) believe the earliest printed cartographical record of both Tasman's voyages is Willem Blaeu's large-scale wall map of the world (2760 x 1730mm), published in 1645-46 and held in the Maritiem Museum 'Prins Hendrik', Rotterdam. Blaeu was map-maker for the *VOC* from 1633 until his death in 1638, so he personally could not have published this map. This was done by his son Joan, who took over his father's business and became the *VOC*'s official map-maker after his father's death. The first state of this map has the date 1619 which was retained on the 1645-46 state. The practice of retaining an earlier date and the original creator of the map was not an uncommon practice at the time, because it avoided the considerable expense of making the change. Schilder believes the Rotterdam map is the earliest extant map which assigns the name *Hollandia Nova* to Australia (Figure 5a).⁹



Figure 5a

Willem Blaeu's *Nova et Accvrata Totivs Terrarvm Orbis Tabvla* (1645-46 [1619])
(Source: courtesy of Collecties Maritiem Museum 'Prins Hendrik', Rotterdam, K259)

Schilder notes that '[...] the geographical features [of the map] suggest 1645/6 as the date of execution. The date can be fixed with the help of a sales catalogue' (p. 364).¹⁰ The geographical features Schilder mentions refer to results of Tasman's two voyages, and show *Hollandia Nova* (including *van Diemens land*) in the lower right-hand corner of the map (**Figure 5b**), and the west littoral of *Nova Zeelandia* on the map's lower left-hand corner (**Figure 5c**).



Figure 5b

Detail of Willem Blaeu's *Nova et Accvrata Totivs Terrarvm Orbis Tabula* (1645-46 [1619])
(Source: courtesy of Collecties Maritiem Museum 'Prins Hendrik', Rotterdam, K259)



Figure 5c

Detail of Willem Blaeu's *Nova et Accvrata Totivs Terrarvm Orbis Tabula* (1645-46 [1619])
showing *Zeelandia Nova* instead of *Staete landt*
(Source: courtesy of Collecties Maritiem Museum 'Prins Hendrik', Rotterdam, K259)

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2.2.2 *The Blaeu terrestrial globe (1645-48)*

Between 1645 and 1648, Joan Blaeu produced the seventh state of his father's great terrestrial globe (measuring 677mm in diameter) (**Figure 6a**). The globes were produced over three time periods: 1617, 1622, and 1645-48 (Campbell, 1976):

- three states of the 1617 edition, which do not show Tasmania or New Zealand, and very little of Australia
- three states of the 1622 edition, showing Jacob Le Maire's Cape Horn, the Le Maire Strait, and the narrow passage between Tierra del Fuego and Le Maire's *Staete landt*
- one state of the 1645-48 edition, showing the western three quarters of Australia, labelled *Hollandia Nova*, the southern coasts of Van Diemen's Land, and part of New Zealand's west coast, labelled *Nova Zeelandia* (**Figure 6b**)

The first two editions were produced by Joan's father, Willem. When Joan produced the 1645-48 edition he retained his father's name on it, ostensibly because of his father's irrefutable reputation, in addition to saving himself considerable expense by not changing the name. As of 1976, Campbell (1976:36) estimates there were 114 extant terrestrial Blaeu globes around the world, 85 of which are the 1645-48 edition.

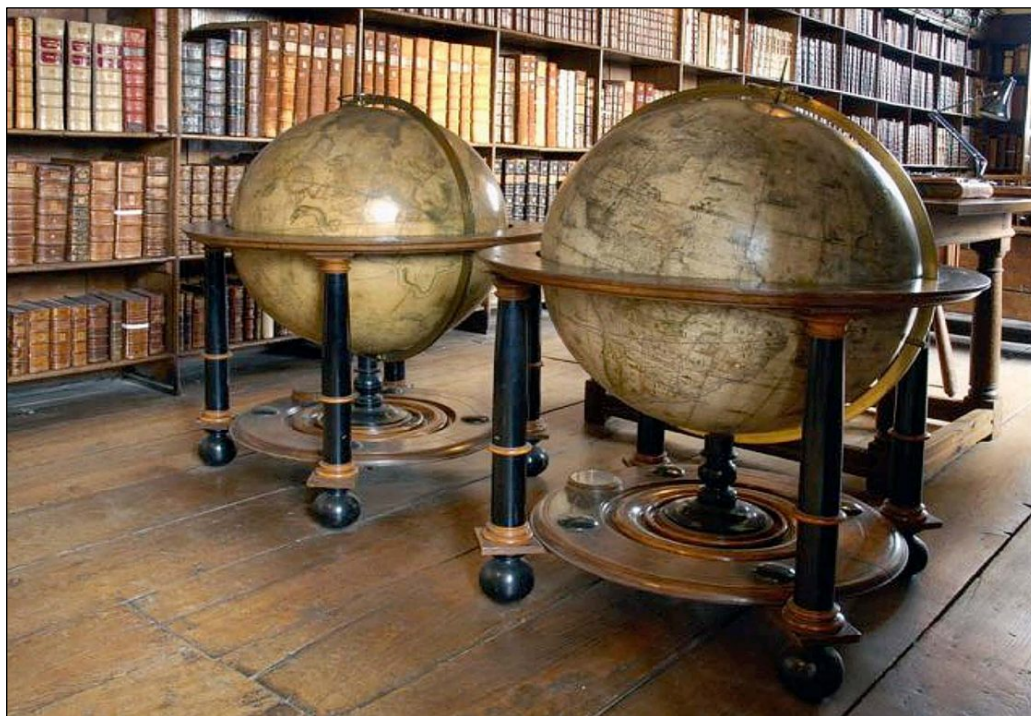


Figure 6a

The Winchester Cathedral's 1645-48 terrestrial and celestial Joan Blaeu globes
(Source: Payne [n.d.]. <http://www.winchester-cathedral.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/The-Winchester-Cathedral-Blaeu-Globes.pdf>)



Figure 6b

Detail of Joan Blaeu's 1645-48 terrestrial globe

(Source: Payne [n.d.]. <http://www.winchester-cathedral.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/The-Winchester-Cathedral-Blaeu-Globes.pdf>)

Given the uncanny similarity of the depictions of *Hollandia Nova* and *Zeelandia Nova* on both this globe and the 1645-46 [1619] map *Nova et Accurata Totius Terrarum Orbis Tabula* (cf. **Figure 6b** with **5b** & **5c**) it seems reasonable to speculate that this map may have served as a model for the globe.

2.2.3 Joan Blaeu's 'Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis Tabula' (1648)

This large wall map of the world (3030 x 1710mm) (**Figures 7a, 7b & 7c**) was published at the conclusion of the Treaty of Westphalia in October 1648 (which put an end to the Thirty Years War) and was dedicated and presented to the Spanish ambassador Gaspar de Bracamonte y Guzmán at that peace conference. Schilder (1976, p. 370) asserts it '[...] represents the most significant monument of Dutch cartography at a time when it had reached the zenith of its development' and that it was printed from completely new copperplates. Schilder goes on to say that although its predecessor, *Nova et Accurata Totius Terrarum Orbis Tabula* (1645-46 [1619]), was the first to show Tasman's discoveries, this new map is significant because '[...] through it the knowledge of these discoveries was made accessible to a wider circle of interested people' (p. 370), played a '[...] decisive part in the dissemination of knowledge of Tasman's discoveries' (p. 197), and was '[...] quickly copied and imitated by cartographers in many countries' (p. 370). This map, no doubt, would have served as an archetype for future maps of the New Holland/New Zealand region. Given the map's purported influence, it is intriguing that—unlike the 'Tasman-Bonaparte Map' (section 2.2.4) (c. 1644-1695), Blaeu's *Archipelagus Orientalis, sive Asiaticus* (2.2.5) (1659-1663), Thevénot's *Hollandia Nova detecta 1644* (1663), or Bowen's *A Complete Map of the Southern Continent* (1663-1744)—it does not feature more prominently in the canon of the cartographic history of Australia.

Who named New Holland?

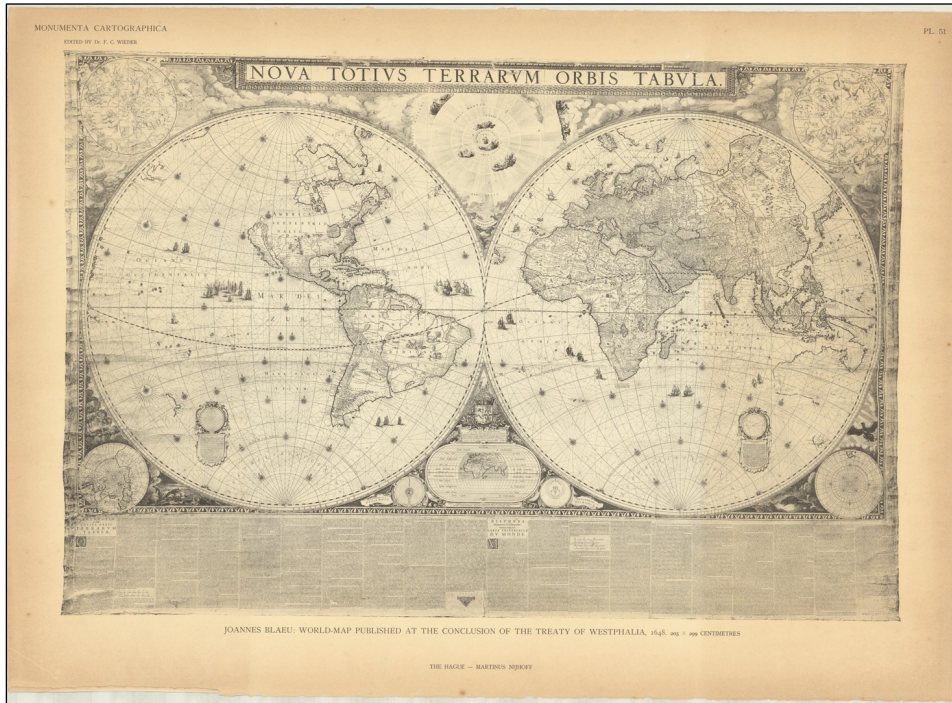


Figure 7a

Joan Blaeu's *Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis Tabula* of 1648
(Source: National Library of Australia, MAP Ra 265 Vol. 3, Plates 51-71.
<https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-2878373354/view>)



Figure 7b

Detail of Joan Blaeu's *Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis Tabula* of 1648 showing
Hollandia Nova
(Source: National Library of Australia, MAP Ra 265 Vol. 3, Plates 51-71.
<https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-2878373354/view>)

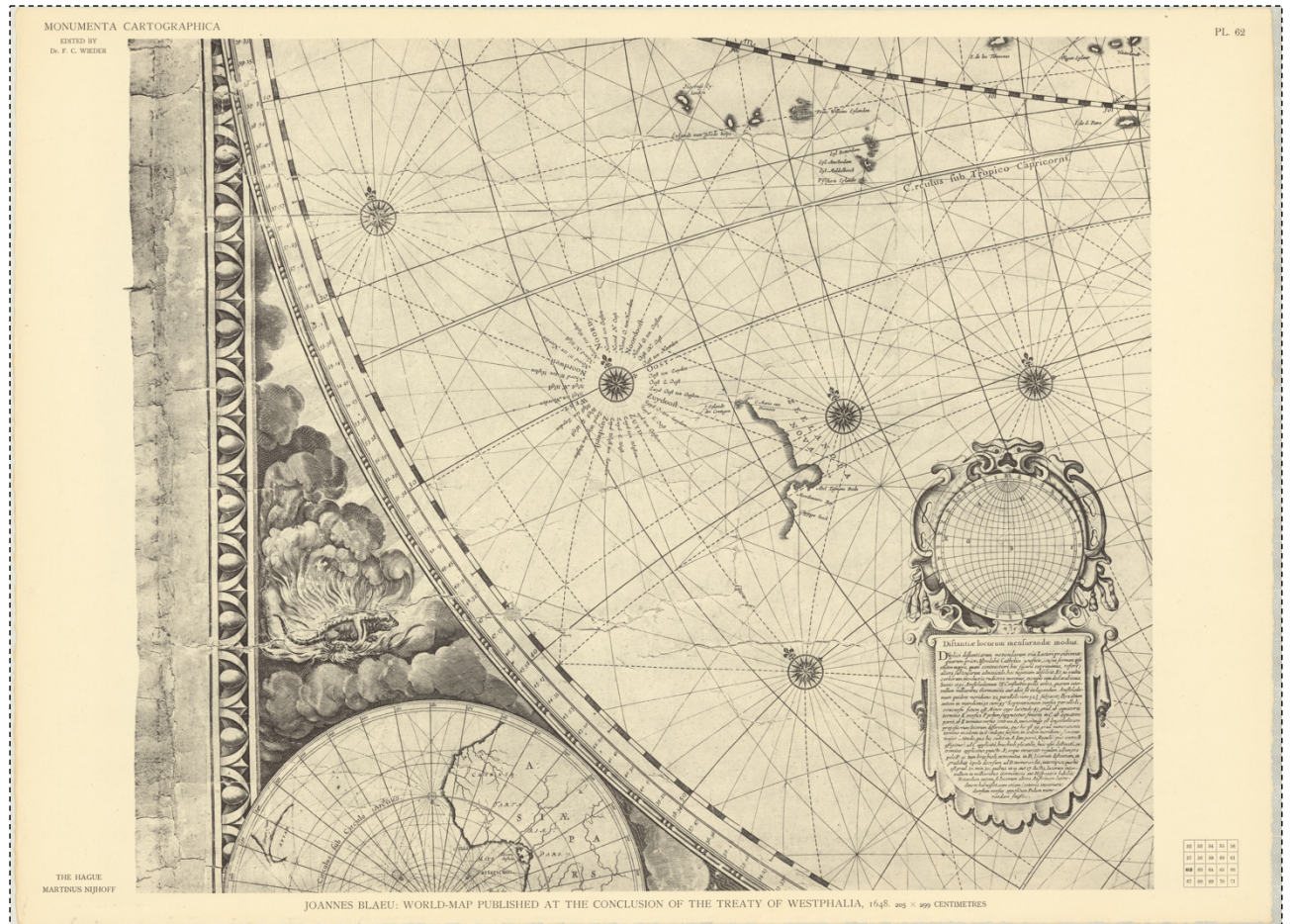


Figure 7c

Detail of Joan Blaeu's *Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis Tabula* of 1648, showing
Hollandia Nova

(Source: National Library of Australia, MAP Ra 265 Vol. 3, Plates 51-71.

<https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-2878373354/view>)

2.2.4 The 'Tasman-Bonaparte Map'

A map whose historic value and origin has been a contentious subject among scholars since the map was brought to light in the mid-19th century is the so-called 'Tasman-Bonaparte Map' (Anon.) (measuring 945 x 715mm) (**Figure 8a**), which is held in the Mitchell Library of NSW. It is sometimes claimed to be the first to depict Tasman's voyages (e.g. Robert, 1973; Hooker, 2015). It is reckoned to have been created between 1644 and 1695. Destombes (1941, pp. 77-79), Schilder (1976, p. 354), and Roeper & Wildeman (2006, p. 32) estimate it was published as late as 1695. Schilder acknowledges that it may have been published as late as this, but believes its origin to be earlier: 'It is much more likely to be a copy made during the last decade of the seventeenth century'. He views it as being of great importance, 'for it is one of the few sources of Tasman's second voyage, [...]' (p.3 54). The Mitchell Library, in contrast, has its publication date catalogued as 1644.



Figure 8a

Anon. ‘Tasman-Bonaparte Map’ showing Tasman’s sailing track along the northern coasts of *Hollandia Nova* indicated by dotted line and the legend *Abel tasman passagie*.
(Source: State Library of NSW, ML863. <https://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/stories/tasman-map>)

Questions also remain as to who created the ‘Tasman-Bonaparte Map’. Anderson (2001, pp. 42ff.) notes that four different styles of handwriting and various spellings of names (especially toponym generics) are to be seen on the map—suggesting more than one contributor or creator. According to Anderson (p. 157), the handwriting of Isaac Gilsemans occurs as one of those appearing on the map. This is significant, because Gilsemans was Tasman’s supercargo (chief merchant), cartographer and illustrator on his two voyages. If Gilsemans did have a hand in the map’s compilation, he would have been a valuable advisor and contributor. Patton (2013, p. 140) notes that ‘[r]ecent research suggests it was based on mapping by Isaac Gilsemans [...]’, though she does not reveal what this research may be. Perhaps she is referring to Anderson (2001)? Gilsemans died in Batavia in 1646, and if Anderson is correct that Gilsemans’ handwriting is on the map, then Schilder’s view that the map was published circa 1695 cannot be sustained.

Finally, the concluding remarks to Hooker’s 2015 article ‘New light on the origin of the Tasman-Bonaparte Map’ illustrate the enduring lack of consensus regarding the compilers and date of publication of this map:

The facts reviewed, the comments by earlier cartographic historians quoted and the explanations given in this article consolidate a view that the Tasman-Bonaparte map was prepared in Amsterdam by an unknown professional artist in or about 1645. Impressed with van Diemen's achievements, and the map, the councillors of the Amsterdam Chamber commissioned an artist to make an embellished copy.

(Hooker, 2015, p. 7)

If Gilsemans had a hand in producing the 'Tasman-Bonaparte Map', then Hooker's assertion that it was prepared in Amsterdam also cannot be upheld.

Robert (1973, p. 130) provides an extract of an intriguing letter from Anthonio van Diemen (the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies) and the Councillors of the East Indies to the *Heren XVII* of the *VOC*, dated December 23, 1644. It clearly states there was a chart and journals of the 1644 voyage enclosed with the letter. It is not known which chart it was. Perhaps it was just a draft chart to be properly drawn once it arrived in Amsterdam. The said journals have been lost.

Gemelte jachten sijn 29 Februari uijt Banda genavigeert ende hebben de cust vervolgt doch geen doorgaende canael tussen het half-bekent Nova Guniea ende t'bekende lant van d'Eendracht off Willems riviere ter zuider breete van 22 40 ende lengte van 119 graden bevonden, maer wel een groote spatieuze bocht off Golphe, gelijk de caerte ende journalen bij desen gaende uitwuijsen.

[Transl: '[...] Said yachts [*Limmen*, *Zeemeew* and *de Bracq*] sailed from Banda on February 29 and sailed along the coast but found no channel between the half-known Nova Guinea and the known land of the Eendracht or Willems river in the southern latitude of 22 40 and longitude of 119 degrees, but they did find a large, spacious bight or Gulf, as enclosed chart and journals reveal. [...]]

(Robert 1973, p. 130)

There are a number of interesting features of the 'Tasman-Bonaparte Map' worth considering:

- It shows a different appellation for the continent compared to all other maps of the period which show *Hollandia Nova*. The legend on the 'Tasman-Bonaparte Map' shows the appellation as COMPAGNIS ✧ NIEV ✧ NEDERLANDt (**Figure 8b**).

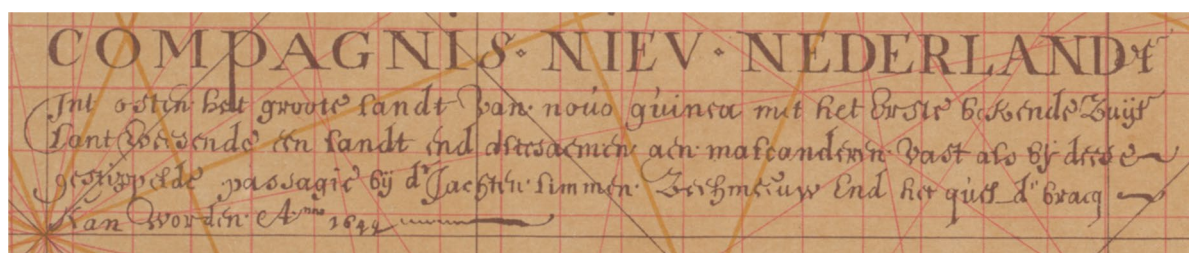


Figure 8b

Detail of the 'Tasman-Bonaparte Map' showing its legend.

(Source: Nat. Lib. of Australia, MAP NK 1791. <https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230600464/view>)

The legend reads:

COMPAGNIS ✧ NIEV ✧ NEDERLANDt
Int osten het groote landt van nouó guínea met het eerste bekende Zuijt
Landt weesende een landt end altesaemen aen malkanderen vast als bij deese ~
gestippelde passagie bij d'Jaechten • limmen • Zeemeeuw End het quéel d'Bracq ~~
kan worden • A^{nno} 1644 ~~~~~

[Transl: 'Company's New Netherland
In the east the great land of Nova Guinea with the first known South
Land being one land and all joined together as can be (seen) by this ~
dotted track by the yachts Limmen, Zeemeeuw and the quel d'Bracq ~~
A^{nno} 1644 ~~~~~]

where 'COMPAGNIS' refers to the *VOC*. Perhaps this reference, is indicative of the company having had a say in the new name for the Southland (see section 2.3 '*VOC* politics & its placenaming practices' for further discussion on this).

- The second is that it differs from other maps of the period in that it shows Tasman's sailing tracks of *both* Tasman's voyages, and includes depth soundings along the coastlines he explored on the second expedition (**Figure 8c**).¹¹ The inclusion of the depth soundings may also be indicative of Gilsemans' contribution.
- The third feature is its inclusion of all the purported toponyms bestowed by Tasman along the coasts of the Gulf of Carpentaria (see **Figure 8c**). Indeed, the map shows more cartographic detail of Tasman's voyages and placenaming than any other extant maps of the era, which only list a small proportion of Tasman's toponyms. This may also be indicative of Gilsemans' contribution.
- The fourth characteristic concerns the labelling of New Zealand as *Staete landt*. If, as Schilder believes, the map was produced as late as 1695, why had this appellation been retained, and indeed that of COMPAGNIS ✧ NIEV ✧ NEDERLANDt? By that time, most maps had changed their appellations from *Staete landt* to *Zeelandia Nova*~*Nieuw Zeeland* and COMPAGNIS ✧ NIEV ✧ NEDERLANDt to *Hollandia Nova*~*Nieuw Holland*. This may not be a very compelling argument because the so-called 'Bowrey Map' (Anon. c.1687) still bears the part name *States La[...]* for *Zeelandia Nova*, as do some other maps.¹² However, this may simply indicate they were copying earlier maps.

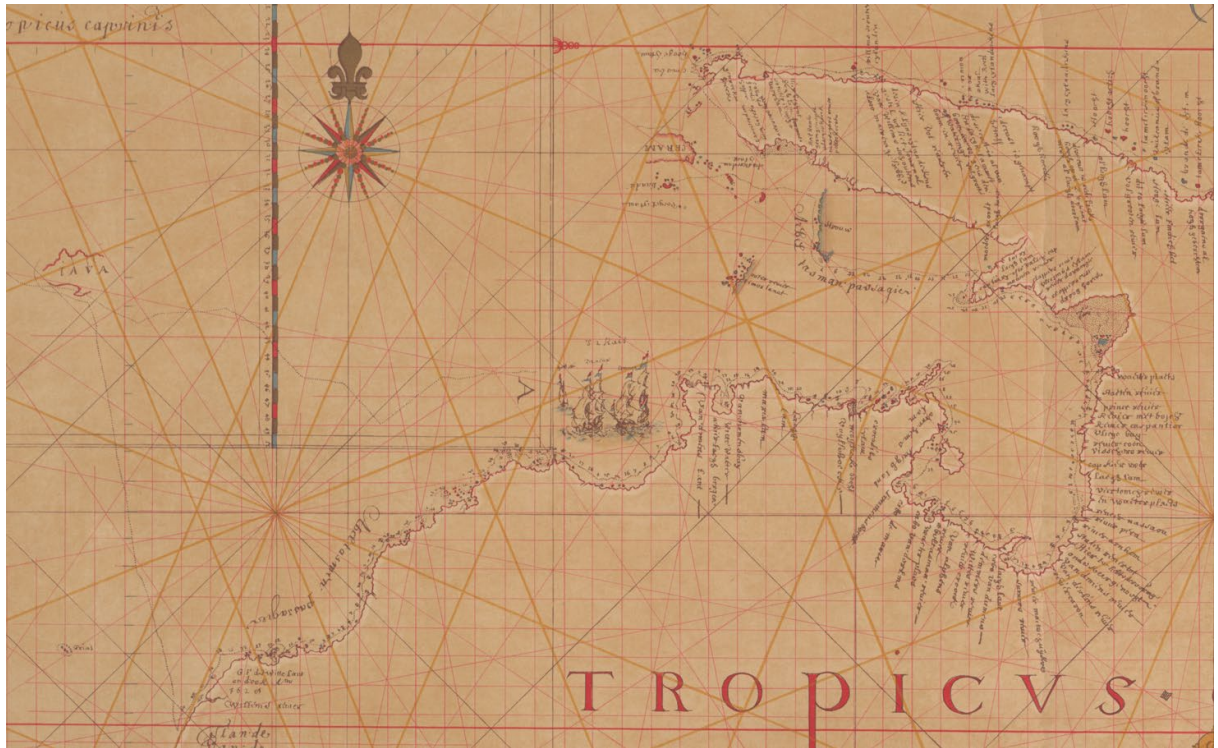


Figure 8c

Detail of the ‘Tasman-Bonaparte Map’ showing Tasman’s sailing track along the northern coasts of *Hollandia Nova* indicated by dotted line, depth soundings, and the legend *Abel tasman passage*.

(Source: Nat. Lib. of Australia, MAP NK 1791. <https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230600464/view>)

The change of name from *Staete Landt* to *Zeelandia Nova* came about a year after Tasman charted the western littoral of New Zealand in December 1642. In the following year, the Dutch Republic put Hendrik Brouwer (explorer and former Governor of the Dutch East Indies) in charge of an expedition to the abandoned Spanish town of Valdivia in southern Chile to establish a base and trading post. When Brouwer rounded the southern tip of South America he noted that Le Maire’s *Staten Landt* (charted in 1616) was in fact a small island, and not the eastern tip of the purported *Terra Australis* (Mackay 1986, pp. 52-54) (**Figures 9a & 9b**). According to MacKay, Joan Blaeu changed Tasman’s *Staete landt* to *Zeelandia Nova* as a result of Brouwer’s discovery, and this can be seen on his revised version of his father’s *Nova et Accrvata Totivs Terrarvm Orbis Tabvla* (**Figure 5a**).¹³ This approximate dating is confirmed by the anonymous map *Orbis terrarum typus de integro in plurimis emendatus auctus et icunculis illustratus* [c.1648?] (**Figure 17**).¹⁴ The former national archivist at the National Archives in the Hague, B.J. Slot, claims this was the first map to show the name *Zeelandia Nova*. Some ten years later, and in the ensuing years, Jansson [c.1657a], Visscher [c.1658], Joan Blaeu (1663, [1664]), Anon. published by De Witt [c.1666], Duval [c.1688], Goos [c.1672], and Anon. published by Jansson [c.1676], all produced maps with the new appellation.

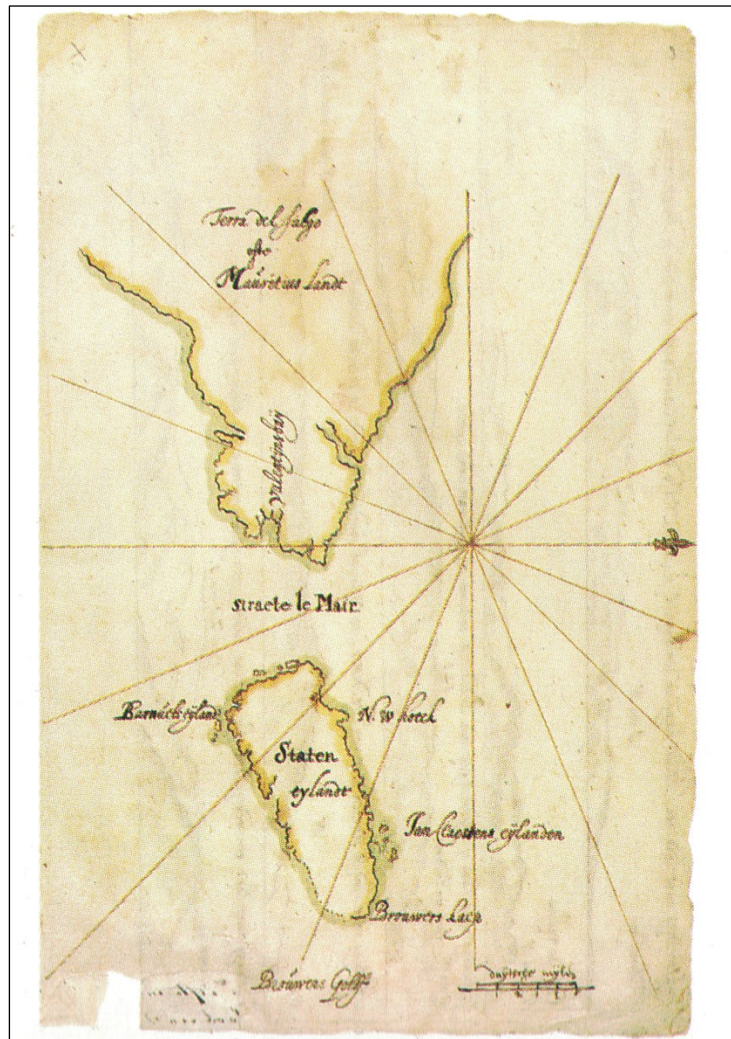


Figure 9a

Map of Staten Landt as *Staten eylandt*, drawn on Brouwer's expedition of 1643, held in the National Archives, The Hague (eerste Afdeling. Oude WIC 44). (Source: Slot, 1992, p. 69)

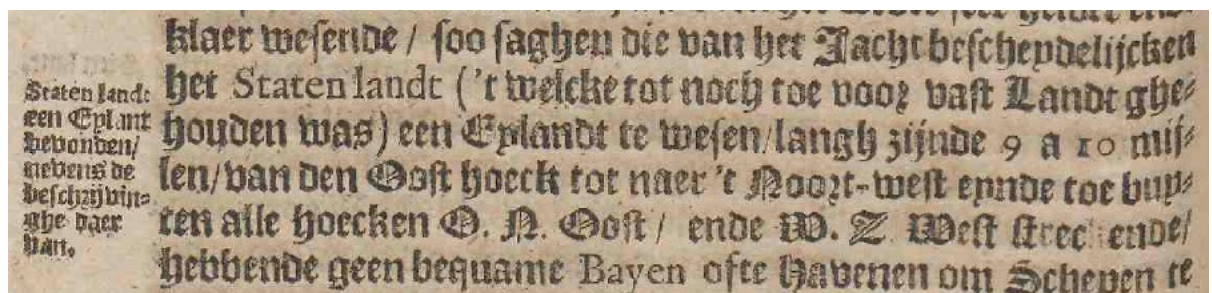


Figure 9b

Detail from the journal kept on the Brouwer expedition of 1642-43 (Source: [Brouwer] 1646:16)

[Transl: "The 5th ditto [March 1643] / [...] Thus those on the yacht [*Dolphijn van Hoorn*] saw that the modest *Staten landt* (which up until now has been considered as mainland) was an island / length being 9 to 10 miles from the eastern point up to the north-west [...]"]¹⁵

One explanation for the tardiness in renaming *Staete Landt* to *Zeelandia Nova* on a number of maps is offered by Keuning (1973, p. 27), who asserts cartographers in the employ of the *VOC* were prohibited from ‘publishing or divulging anything directly or indirectly without informing the Company and obtaining written permission.’ This prohibition, at least in regard to the Southland, was lifted after Tasman’s 1644 voyage, because the *VOC* gave up all interest in the continent since it was considered to be commercially worthless (Campbell, 1976, p. 9). However, other maps of the era and dated as late as the late-17th–early-18th centuries still retained Tasman’s original name *Staete landt*~*Staten Land(t)* (e.g. van Loon, 1661; van Keulen, 1697; and Loots, 1709). What is interesting is that at least three of Jansson’s maps—c.1650, c.1657b, and 1659—still have no name for *Hollandia Nova*, instead retaining the name *Terra Del Zur*, and still show all the gaps in the coastline prior to the Willem Blaeu’s map of 1645-46 [1619] and the ‘Tasman-Bonaparte Map’. Therefore, the reliance on when particular toponyms appear on maps cannot be seen as a dependable method of determining the date of their publication.

2.2.5 Joan Blaeu’s ‘*Archipelagus Orientalis, sive Asiaticus*’ (1659-1663)

The third map of interest is Joan Blaeu’s large-scale wall map (1185 x 1520 mm) *Archipelagus Orientalis, sive Asiaticus* (**Figures 10a & 10b**). Schilder (1976:402-503, Map 80) dates its publication at 1659, whereas the National Library of Australia dates it at 1663. Schilder declares it is possibly the best general map of Dutch sea power in South-East Asia executed in the 17th century, and probably the most important map of the Dutch East Indies of the era.¹⁶ Although Schilder seems to be specifically referring to South-East Asia and the Dutch East Indies, the map also includes (though understandably in less detail) the western three quarters of Australia and part of the western littoral of New Zealand. The Curator of Maps at the National Library of Australia, Martin Woods (2013, p. 39), however, adds:

- Tasman’s discoveries were not seen in any detail until they were published on Blaeu’s 1663 wall map (i.e. the *Archipelagus Orientalis, sive Asiaticus*),
- that ‘[t]hereafter, all maps of Australia were emblazoned with the name “New Holland”, [...]’, and
- that it is ‘[...] the map on which all subsequent maps of New Holland are based.’

The first of Woods’ statements cannot be easily accepted, given the other maps published before *Archipelagus Orientalis, sive Asiaticus* show considerable cartographic detail of Tasman’s discoveries, while others much less. Nevertheless, many show the appellations *Hollandia Nova* and *Zeelandia Nova*. These maps include:

- Joan Blaeu’s terrestrial globe (1645-48) (see section 2.2.2 above) (Schilder, 1976, pp. 372-73, Map 65)
- Joan Blaeu’s *Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis Tabula* (1648) (Schilder, 1976, pp. 370-71, Map 64) (see section 2.2.3 above)
- The original marble map world map (1648-50) (now destroyed) in the Burgerzaal of the Amsterdam City Hall (Schilder, 1976, pp. 374-75, Map 66)
- Joan Blaeu’s *Pascaerte van de Zuydt-Zee* (c.1650) (Schilder, 1976, pp. 380-81, Map 69)
- Arnold Florent van Langren’s terrestrial globe (c.1650) (Schilder, 1976, pp. 382-83, Map 70)

Who named New Holland?

- Petrus Plancius & Hugo Allard's *Orbis Terrarum Typus de Integro Multis in Locis Emendatus* (c.1650) (Schilder, 1976, pp. 386-87, Map 72)
- Petrus Plancius & Cornelis Danckerts' *Universi Orbis tabula De-Integro Delinnea A^o MDCVII* (1651 [1607]) (Schilder, 1976, pp. 388-91, Maps 73 & 74)
- Hugo Allard's *India quae Orientalis dicitur, Et Insulae Adiacentes* (1652) (Schilder, 1976, pp. 392-93, Map 75)
- Edward Wright & Joseph Moxon's *A Plat of all the World [...]* (1655) (Schilder, 1976, pp. 394-95, Map 76)
- Joannes Janssonius' *Pollus Antlanticus* (1657) (Schilder, 1976, p. 398, Map 78)
- Michele Antonio Baudrand's *Nova et Esatta Tavola del Mondo o Terra Vniversale [...]* (1658) (Schilder, 1976, pp. 400-401, Map 79)
- Hendrick Doncker's *'t Ooster Deel van Oost Indien* (1660) (Schilder, 1976, pp. 404-405, Map 81)
- Frederick de Wit's *Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis Tabula* (1660) (Schilder, 1976, pp. 406-407, Map 82)
- Pieter van Alphen's *Nieuwe Waßende Graade Paskaert van 't Zuydeyckste deel van Asia* (1660) (Schilder, 1976, pp. 408-409, Map 83), and
- Nicolaas à Wassenauer's World map in two hemispheres (1661) Schilder, 1976, pp. 410-411, Map 84)

Woods' third claim that it is '[...] the map on which all subsequent maps of New Holland are based' is a rather categorical claim, and will need further investigation before this can be verified.

Although *Archipelagus Orientalis, sive Asiaticus* is indeed a very significant map, it nevertheless post-dates Willem Blaeu's *Nova et Accvrata Totius Terrarvm Orbis Tabula* published between 1645-46 and Joan Blaeu's *Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis Tabula* published in 1648 (see Schilder, 1976, pp. 364, 370, Maps 61 & 64), and therefore cannot be the first map to have the inscriptions *Hollandia Nova* and *Zeelandia Nova*.



Figure 10a

Archipelagus Orientalis, sive Asiaticus. Amsterdam: Apud Joannem Blaeu, 1663.
(Source: Nat. Lib. of Australia, MAP RM 4701. <https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-232510007/view>)



Figure 10b

Detail (lower right quadrant) of Joan Blaeu's *Archipelagus Orientalis, sive Asiaticus* showing *Hollandia Nova* and *Zeelandia Nova*

Who named New Holland?

Clearly, there is no agreement as to which of the extant maps was the first map to depict the appellations *Hollandia Nova* and *Zeelandia Nova*. Whether we accept Schilder's view that it was Willem Blaeu's map, *Nova et Accvrata Totivs Terrarvm Orbis Tabvla*, of 1645-46 [1619]—which to me seems the most convincing—or the 'Tasman-Bonaparte Map' as reckoned by the NSW State Library, Wieder (1942), and Hooker (2015), *inter alia*, is really a moot point. What is clear, however, is that the names were applied reasonably soon after Tasman's second voyage of 1644. The only question that remains is, 'Who actually conferred the name *Hollandia Nova*?' The answer may lie in the *VOC* politics and its placenaming practices at the time.

2.3 *VOC* politics & its placenaming practices

The *VOC* was governed a body known as the *Heren XVII* ['Gentlemen Seventeen'] (**Figures 11a & 11b**), which comprised representatives from the company's six constituent chambers, located in cities and towns where previously separate precursor companies had been established. Eight of the *Heren XVII* were from Amsterdam, four from Middelburg, and one each from the four smaller chambers—Rotterdam, Delft, Hoorn, and Enkhuizen. With the exception of Middelburg (located in the province of Zeeland), all the chambers were located in the province of Holland. This, I believe had a significant influence on copied placenames conferred within the *VOC*'s sphere of influence.¹⁷ Both Holland and Zeeland are conveniently situated on the west coast of the Netherlands, abutting the North Sea, thus providing ready access for their maritime pursuits (**Figure 12**).

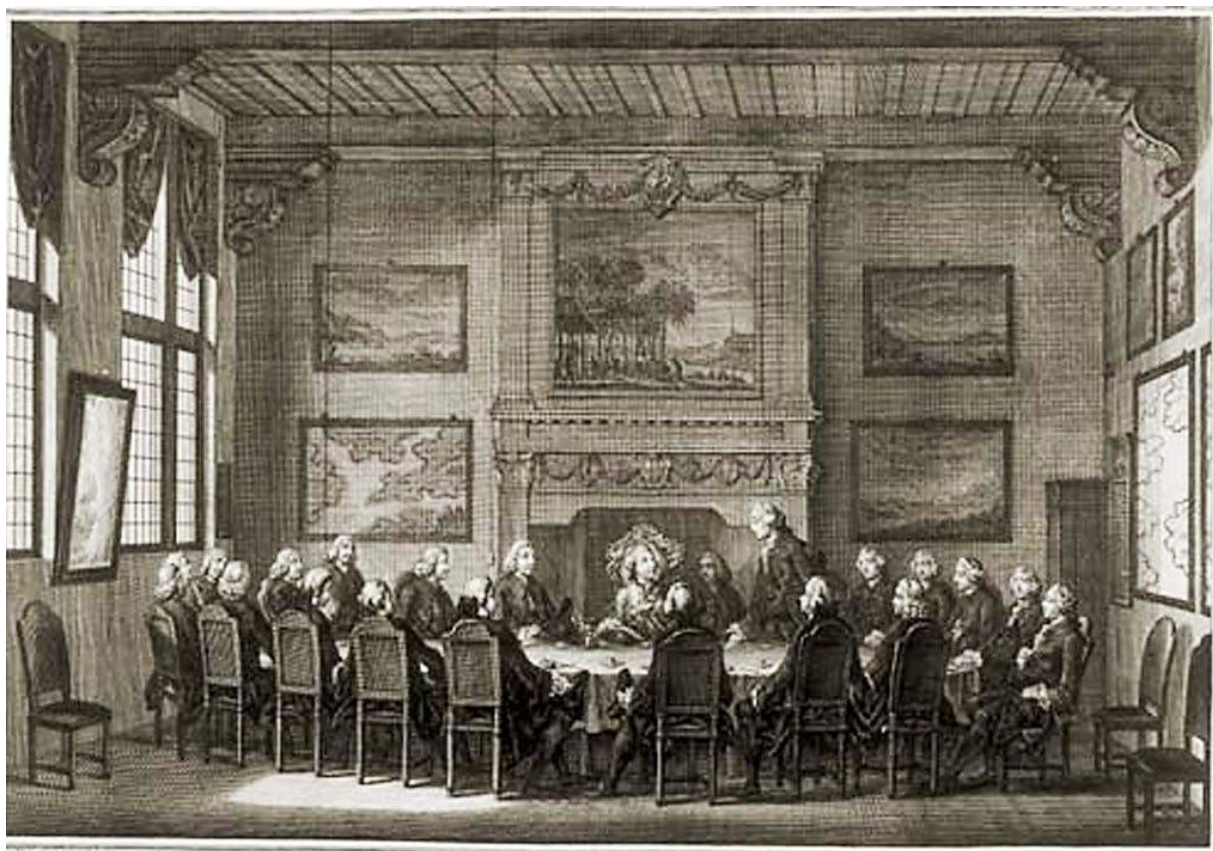


Figure 11a

The meeting room of the *Heren XVII*

(Source: <https://beritaradar.com/uploads/2020/01/7-0.jpg>)



Figure 11b

The restored meeting room of the *Heren XVII*

(Source: Andrea Huntjens UvA-geheimen | Wat heeft de VOC-zaal in het Bushuis met de VOC te maken? Photo: Rob Bronshoff (UvA) <https://www.folia.nl/actueel/129917/uva-geheimen-wat-heeft-de-voc-zaal-in-het-bushuis-met-de-voc-te-maken>)



Figure 12

The seven provinces of the Dutch Republic (1581-1795): *Holland* (shaded in a greenish hue), *Zeeland* (shaded mauve), *Gelderland*, *Utrecht*, *Friesland*, *Overijssel* and *Groningen*.

Bachiene (1752) *De Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden*.

(Source: Alex Kussendrager, <http://www.loodjes.nl>)

The first issue that needs consideration is the difference in appellation on the ‘Tasman-Bonaparte Map’ compared to all the others (*Compagnis Niev Nederlandt* vs *Hollandia Nova*). The renowned Dutch historian Reinier Posthumus Meyjes seems to be the only one to have commented on these appellations. He states:

Na Tasman’s reizen van 1642/3 en 1644, wordt het werelddeel [...] voor het eerst met den naam **compagnis niev nederlandt** aangeduid. Reeds vrij spoedig veranderde deze in **Nieuw-Holland** of *Hollandia Nova* en bleef aldus tot in de 2^e helft der 19^e eeuw op alle niet-Engelsche kaarten gehandhaafd.

(Posthumus Meyjes, 1919, p. xxxvi)

[Transl: ‘After Tasman’s voyages of 1642/3 and 1644, the continent [...] is referred to for the first time by the name **company’s new netherland**. Quite soon it changed into **New-Holland** or *Hollandia Nova* and was thus retained on all non-English maps until the second half of the 19th century.’]

The use of *Niev Nederlandt* on the ‘Tasman-Bonaparte Map’ should not be considered all that irregular or unusual given the name *Nieuw Nederland* (or *Nova Belgica* on various contemporary maps) also appeared on maps of the east coast of North America in the first quarter of the 17th century. This name was assigned by the States General, who issued patents in 1614 for the establishment of the colony in the New World as a private, commercial venture under the auspices of the *GWC* (*Geoctrooieerde Westindische Compagnie* ‘Chartered (Dutch) West India Company’, 1621-1792). The colony included the town of New Amsterdam (now New York), and covered parts of the present-day states of New York, Connecticut, Delaware, and New Jersey.

The actual name, *Nederland* [‘Nether/Low land’], came into general Dutch usage at least two centuries prior to the 17th century, and was first a geographic feature term (i.e. a generic). By extension, the concept was also applied to the delta of the Scheldt, Meus and Rhine rivers, known as the *Nederrijn* [‘Nether/Lower Rhine’] in the province of Gelderland (shaded pink in **Figure 12**), where it appeared in the plural form, *Nederlanden*. The *Nederlanden*, however, did not at that time form the political entity it is today; rather it was a collection of districts between the estuaries of the Somme in the south-west, and the Ems rivers in the north-east. Due to the increased importance of the so-called ‘Low countries’ (present-day Belgium and the Netherlands), the name was used more and more to specify this area. Besides *Flanders*, *Nederland(en)* was probably the most used name from by the mid-16th century (Blom & Lamberts, 2006). The designation *Niev Nederlandt*, on the ‘Tasman-Bonaparte Map’, is therefore not remarkable.

The question arises as to why *Hollandia Nova*~*Nieuw Holland* was used on all maps other than the ‘Tasman-Bonaparte Map’. There are two possible answers, the first being unlikely.

The name *Holland*, from the late 16th century onwards, has often been used as a *pars pro toto* (or metonym)¹⁸ for *Nederland*. The Dutch etymological dictionary, the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* [‘Dictionary of the Dutch Language’] (Instituut voor de Nederlandse Taal & de Geïntegreerde Taalbank, 2007-2018), provides the following definitions for *Holland*:

Holland

1. Eigenlijk. De naam van het bekende Nederlandsche Graafschap (oorspronkelijk alleen van de landstreek rondom Dordrecht); onder de Republiek de naam van eene der Geünieerde

Provinciën; later van een der Departementen van de Bataafsche Republiek (1801) en vervolgens van het Koninkrijk Holland (1806); van eene der Provinciën van de Vereenigde Nederlanden (1814) en in het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden (1815); sedert 1840 van twee onderscheidene provinciën (*Noord- en Zuid-Holland*) binnen laatstgenoemd gebied.

2. Bij uitbreiding, als naam voor geheel (Noord-) Nederland; vooral in Zuid-Nederland gebruikelijk. Verg. fra. *la Hollande*, ital. *Olanda*, eng. *Holland* enz., in deze toepassing, welke haar oorsprong heeft in de voorname positie van het gewest Holland tijdens de Republiek.

[Transl: '1. Actually. The name of the well-known Dutch Earldom/county (originally only the region around Dordrecht); under the Republic, the name of one of the United Provinces; later of one of the Departments of the Batavian Republic (1801) and then of the Kingdom of Holland (1806); of one of the Provinces of the United Netherlands (1814) and in the Kingdom of the Netherlands (1815); since 1840 form two distinct provinces (North and South Holland) within the latter area.

2. By extension, as a name for the entire (Northern) Netherlands [i.e. excluding current-day Belgium]; especially common in the south of the Netherlands. Cf. Fr. *la Hollande*, It. *Olanda*, Eng. *Holland* etc., this application has its origin in the prominent position of the province of Holland during the Republic.]

Likewise, the *Oxford English Dictionary* offers the following definition:

Holland

1. a. The name of a province of the Northern Netherlands, formerly a county or 'graafschap' (*comitatus*) of the German Empire; now usually extended to the kingdom of the Netherlands. Also *figurative*.

Hence, it could be argued that *Holland* may have been used as a figurative name for *Nederland*, just as *England* often is for *Great Britain*. However, this is doubtful because cartographers are unlikely to use a *pars pro toto* to name a country or region on their maps; such names are only used colloquially. Moreover, when the naming practices of *VOC* mariners (including mariners from other companies), are considered, we see that they likewise do not engage in this practice. Instead, the evidence points to *Hollandia Nova*~*Nieuw Holland* being a copied name from the province of *Holland*, since it was a common practice for Dutch toponyms to be copied and conferred upon geographic features within the *VOC*'s spheres of influence.

In an examination of Dutch naming within these spheres, Ormeling (2009) notes that the most common types of names conferred were those referring to geographical features in the home country, especially the towns from which mariners came. He counted approximately 265 examples of such names. In the Bay of Batavia (now Jakarta), for example, small coral islands were given the names *Middelburg*, *Amsterdam*, *Schiedam*, *Haarlem*, *Rotterdam*, *Hoorn*, *Edam*, *Alkmaar*, *Enkhuizen*, *Purmerend*, and *Leiden*; all but *Middelburg* were in the province of Holland (p.786). Numerous islands in other parts of the East Indies were also given names from the Dutch Republic, mostly from the province of Holland. These naming patterns correlate nicely with the makeup of the *VOC*'s constituent chambers and the *Heren XVII*. Ignoring the erroneousess of his first sentence (see above, section 2.2.5), Zandvliet (1988:80) draws the same conclusion:

Blaeu's map [Joan Blaeu's wall map of 1663] of the world was the first to use the name *Nova Hollandia* and *Nova Zeelandia* (New Holland and New Zealand). This may be interpreted as confirmation of the particularist polity of the [Dutch] Republic. The *VOC* Directors and/or Blaeu himself gave precedence to the two leading provinces, which were represented in the *VOC*, above the Republic as such or the family of the Stadholder.¹⁹

Ormeling includes a useful figure in his study that shows the frequency of Dutch town names being copied to islands in the East Indies (see **Figure 13**). He notes:

Of the 265 occurrences in which one of 80 towns in the Netherlands was named for, Amsterdam and Middelburg scored most (20 and 26 references), while Hoorn (16), Enkhuizen (16), Rotterdam (14) and Haarlem (10) occurred also on many maps. Amsterdam, Middelburg, Hoorn, Enkhuizen and Rotterdam all were regional headquarters of the Dutch East India Company; Haarlem wasn't. The other remaining regional headquarters was Delft, and it only gave its name 7 times. The general picture is that it was mainly the towns in the provinces in Holland and Zeeland that were named for in these nostalgia archipelagos. It is astonishing that the two other sizeable towns in the Netherlands after Amsterdam – Utrecht and Groningen – were not named for.

(Ormeling, 2009, p. 787)

Ormeling's astonishment that the sizable towns of *Utrecht* and *Groningen* (both starred for this reason in **Figure 13**) do not feature as copied names in the *VOC*'s sphere of influence, is a little surprising given the data and evidence he presents. Neither of the provinces of Utrecht or Groningen had representation in the chambers of the *VOC*, hence there would have been scant incentive or inclination to copy toponyms from there.

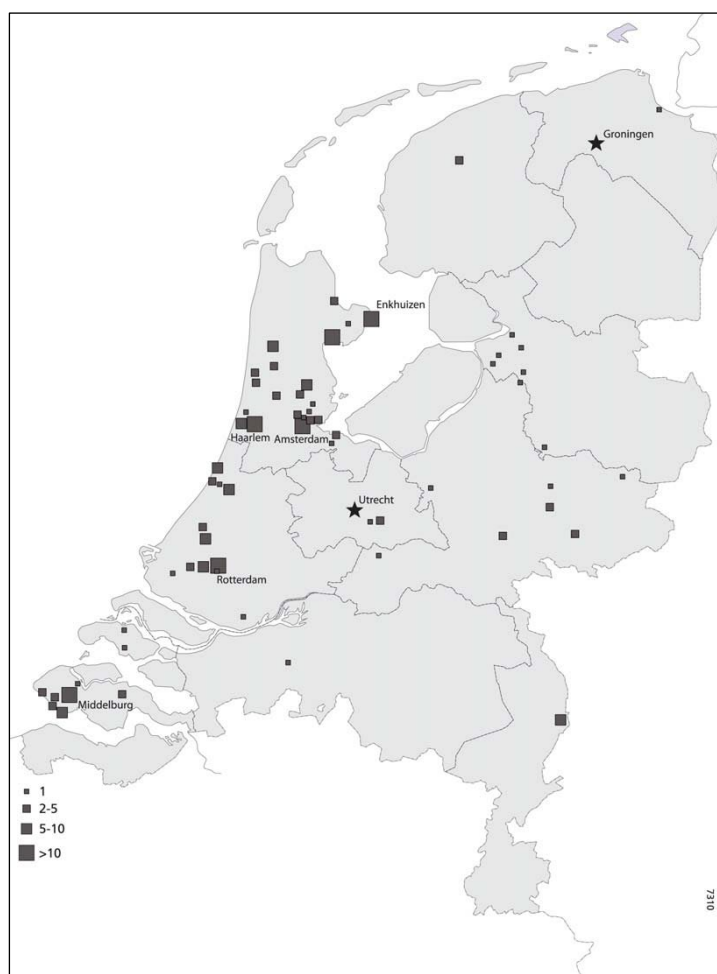


Figure 13

Copy of Ormeling's Figure 8 (2009, p. 788) showing the location in the Netherlands of the towns named in his 'nostalgia archipelagos'.

It is also worthwhile noting that the Dutch explorers of the South Pacific similarly tended to follow the pattern of bestowing copied Dutch toponyms to islands they encountered. These are presented in **Table 1**.

Table 1
Copied Dutch toponyms in the South Pacific

| Explorer | Name bestowed | Translation | Source | Current name |
|---------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| Le Maire (1616) | <i>Cabo Hoorn</i> | ‘Cape Horn’ | Le Maire’s ship < <i>Hoorn</i> in Holland | <i>Cape Horn</i> ~ <i>Cabo de Hornos</i> (Chile) |
| | <i>Hoornsche Eilanden</i> | ‘Horn Islands’ | Ditto | <i>Futuna</i> & <i>Alofi~Wallis</i> (Horne Islands) |
| | <i>Marcken</i> | ‘Marken’ | <i>Marken</i> in Holland | <i>Taumu Islands</i> (Bougainville, PNG) |
| | <i>’t Eijlandt Middelburg</i> | ‘The Is. Middelburg’ | <i>Middelburg</i> in Zeeland | <i>Eua</i> (Tonga) |
| Tasman (1643) | <i>’t Eijlandt Amsterdam</i> | ‘The Is. Amsterdam’ | <i>Amsterdam</i> in Holland | <i>Tongatapu</i> (Tonga) |
| | <i>’t Eijlandt Rotterdam</i> | ‘The Is. Rotterdam’ | <i>Rotterdam</i> in Holland | <i>Nomuka</i> (Tonga) |
| | <i>Heemskerck Droochten</i> | ‘Heemskerck Shoals’ | Tasman’s ship < <i>Heemskerck</i> in Holland ²⁰ | <i>Nanuku Reefs</i> (Fiji) |
| Roggeveen (1722) | <i>Eyland Thienboven</i> | ‘Thienhoven Island’ | Roggeveen’s ship < <i>Tienboven</i> in Holland | <i>Tutuila</i> (Am. Sāmoa) |
| | <i>Eyland Groningen</i> ²¹ | ‘Groningen Island’ | <i>Groningen</i> in Groningen | <i>Upolu</i> (Sāmoa) |

Apart from Roggeveen’s naming, the relevance of Le Maire’s and Tasman’s naming patterns lies in the pre-eminence of the provinces of Holland and Zeeland.²² It seems, then, not all that surprising that the province names *Holland* and *Zeeland* were conferred upon the two significant landmasses of the Southern Ocean. The inclusion of the antecedent possessive COMPAGNIS [‘Company’s’], a direct reference to the VOC, on the ‘Tasman-Bonaparte Map’ adds some credence to this notion.

2.3.1 The naming of NZ

We cannot examine the naming of *Hollandia Nova* without revisiting the naming of *Zeelandia Nova* (*Nieuw Zeeland*). Gilsemans’ chart (**Figure 14**) shows Tasman named it *Staete landt*, assuming it was connected to the *Staten Landt* which Le Maire had sighted near Cape Horn off the southern tip of South America in 1616 (**Figure 15**).²³ Tasman’s journal entry for 19 December, 1642 states:

Dit Landt is het tweede landt dat bij ons bezeylt is ende ontdeckt dit Landt hebben wij de naem gegeven van het **Staten landt**, ter eeren vande Hoog M^o H^{ren} staten alsoo wel conde wesen, dat dit landt aen het state Landt vaste Zoude wesen, doch onzeecker [...]
(Posthumus Meyjes 1919:43-44)

[Transl: ‘This country is the second one that we have navigated and discovered. We have given it the name of *Statenland*, in honour of the high-powered gentlemen of the States-General and because it could well be, although this is not certain, that this land is connected to the *Statenland*.]’²⁴

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Figure 14

Isaac Gilsemans' chart of the west coast of New Zealand
 (Source: Roeper & Wildeman, 2006:104)

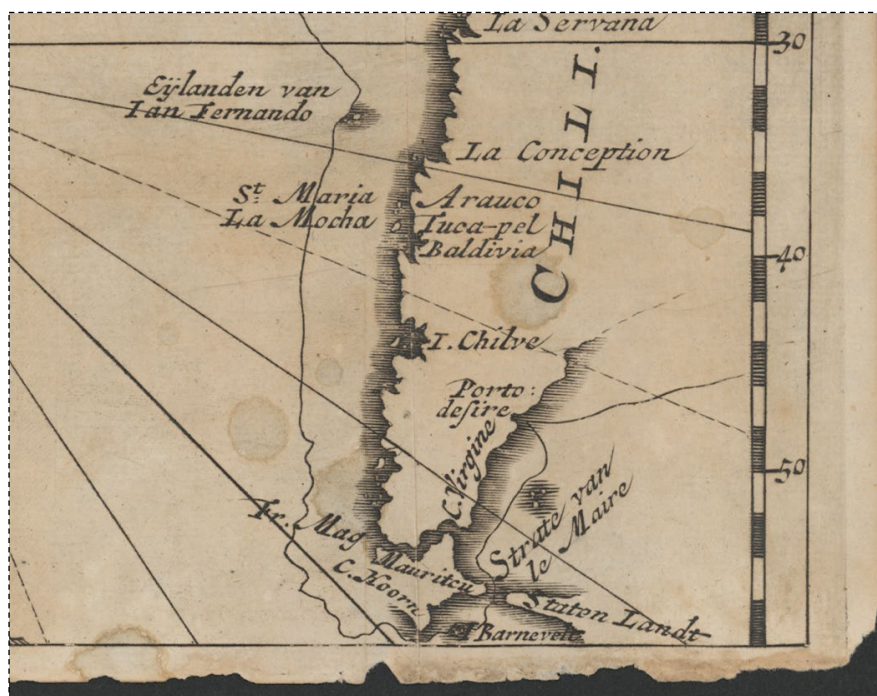


Figure 15

Detail of Jacob Le Maire's map [c.1625] showing *Staten Landt* off the eastern tip of South America.

(Source: Nat. Lib. of Australia, MAP RM 533. <https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-231270823/view>)

The year after Tasman sighted New Zealand (as noted in section 2.2.4), Hendrik Brouwer established that Le Maire's *Staten Landt* was in fact a small island, and not the eastern tip of a vast undiscovered continent (Mackay 1986, pp. 52-54). Joan Blaeu subsequently changed the name from *Staten Landt* to *Zeelandia Nova* between 1645-48 (**Figure 9b**) on a version of his father's earlier globe of 1622 (Campbell 1976; Payne n.d.). Perhaps this change of appellation precipitated the change of name from *Nieuw Nederland* to *Hollandia Nova*~*Nieuw Holland*, thereby creating an apposite toponymic symmetry for the two significant land masses in the Southern Ocean.

The citation of McHugh (2006, p. 94) in my Introduction has an interesting concluding remark which I had omitted:

It is also from Tasman's second voyage that the South Land gained a new name. On his 1644 chart of the Australian coast, which includes the discoveries of all earlier voyages, the continent is referred to as New Holland. The inspiration of the name is unclear, particularly since the two places have almost nothing in common.

This is, in my view, a rather naïve judgement. I doubt whether many toponyms copied from the namer's homeland would bear much resemblance to said homeland and the newly named place. Does Cook's *New Wales* (later *New South Wales*) have any commonality with Wales in Great Britain? Appleton and Appleton's (1992, p. 219) entry for **New South Wales** and its naming says it may: '[...] presumably because of some resemblance, real or fancied, to the British Principality of Wales [...]'. I suggest this proposition is in itself 'fancied', for Cook gives no indication in his journal of the motivation for naming the entire east coast of Australia *South Wales*.²⁵ His journal merely states:

[22/8/1770]

Having satisfied myself of the great Probability of a passage, thro' which I intend going with the Ship, and therefore may land no more upon this Eastern coast of *New Holland*, and on the Western side I can make no new discovery, the honour of which belongs to the Dutch Navigators; but the Eastern Coast from the Latitude of 38° South down to this place I am confident, was never seen or Visited by any European before us, and Notwithstand[ing] I had in the Name of his Majesty taken possession of several places upon this coast, I now once More hoisted English Coulers, and in the Name of His Majesty King George the Third took possession of the whole Eastern Coast from the above Latitude down to this place by the Name of *New South Wales*, together with all the Bays, Harbours, Rivers, and Islands, situate upon the said coast; after which we fired 3 Volleys of small Arms, which were Answered by the like number from the Ship.

(Beaglehole, 1955, pp. 387-388)

Cook's journal entries on the naming of *New Caledonia* and the *New Hebrides* in 1774, also do not provide any reasons for their naming. In footnotes to Cook's entries on the naming of these, Beaglehole remarks on the sheer improbability of any resemblances of these places with Scotland.²⁶

My contention is that the motivation for copying a toponym from the homeland does not explicitly lie in the similarity of the places to one another, rather it is partly motivated by, as Ormeling (2009, pp. 785 ff.) so aptly puts it, 'nostalgia'. We may add to this affective motivation a more potent one: a political one, conveyed in a symbolic expression and appropriation of the newly 'discovered' territory (Berg & Kearns, 1996; Birch, 1992; Carter, 1987; Crocombe, 1991; Herman, 1999). Conferring a name derived from the homeland is

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not only an effective way to (metaphorically) appropriate new territory, it also indicates which nation named it and took possession of it.

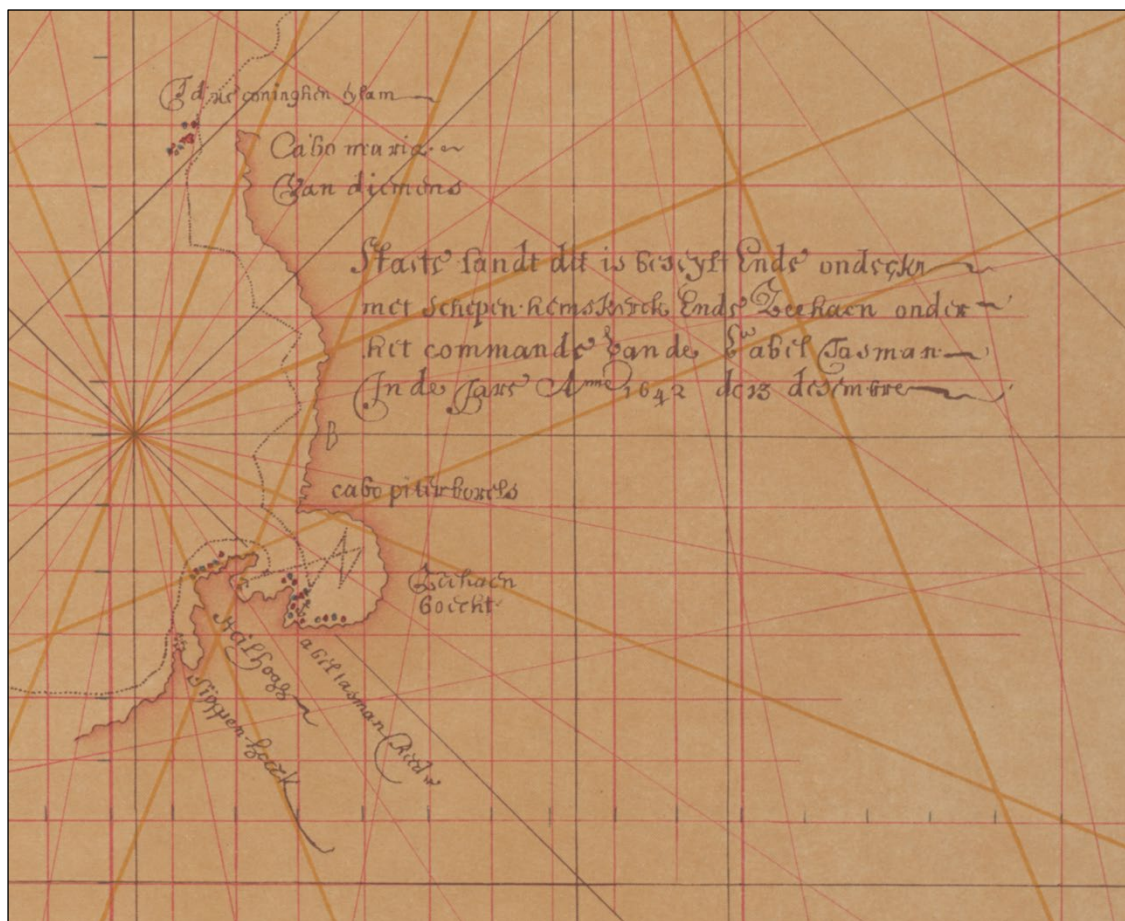


Figure 16

Detail of the ‘Tasman-Bonaparte Map’ showing parts of the west coasts of New Zealand

(Source: Nat. Lib. of Australia, MAP NK 1791. <https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230600464/view>)

The legend for *Staele landt* in **Figure 16** reads:

Staele landt dit is beseylt Ende ontdeckt ~~~~~
met schepen heemskerck Ende Zeehaen onder ~~~
het commande van de E^d Abel Tasman ~~~~~
in de jaere A^{nno} 1642 de 13 december ~~~~~

[Transl: ‘**Staten Land** (which was) navigated and discovered
with (the) ships Heemskerck and the Zeehaen under
the command of the H^{on}. Abel Tasman
in the year Anno 1642 the 13(th) December’]

The anonymous map [c.1648?] *Orbis terrarum typus de integro in plurimis emendatus auctus et icunculis illustrates* (**Figure 17**), shows *Staele Landt* having been changed to *Zeelandia Nova*, however, interestingly Australia remains unnamed.



Figure 17

Anon. [c.1648?]. *Orbis terrarum typus de integro in plurimis emendatus auctus et icunculis illustrates*. [Amstelredam: Gedruckt by Theunis Jacobsz. ende Jan Fredericksz. Stam] showing *Zeelandia Nova* on the left and an unnamed Australia on the right.

(Source: Nat. Lib. of Australia, MAP RM 3451. <https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-232279814/view>)

King (2003, pp. 99-100) notes that an anonymous cartographer in the Dutch East India Company renamed Tasman's line of coast *Zeelandia Nova*, which '[...] was clearly intended as a matching name for "Hollandia Nova", by which the western coast of Australia was at the time known (Holland and Zeeland being neighbouring Dutch maritime provinces).' This view is also suggested, though conjecturally, by McCormick (1959, p. 11), who declares:

The reason [why 'Zeelandia Nova' was chosen in preference to other possible alternatives] is probably bound up with the naming of the western coast of Australia, called by Tasman 'Compagnies Nieuw Nederland' and later rechristened 'Hollandia Nova', a term gradually extended to the whole continent. For the sake of symmetry and to honour the second great maritime province of the Netherlands, is it not probable that 'Zeelandia Nova' was selected to describe the other southern land (one which, for all the geographers knew, might exceed Hollandia Nova in extent)?

Hooker (1972:166-167), however, throws some doubt on the exclusivity of the symmetry theory, and believes part of the motive in selecting the name *Zeelandia Nova* was merely to compliment the province of Zeeland. No documentary evidence exists to verify the precise reasons for the name pair. In any case, the reason or reasons hardly seem significant enough to concern us here.

3 CONCLUSION

The ‘Tasman-Bonaparte Map’ concludes its COMPAGNIS ✧ NIEV ✧ NEDERLANDt legend with the inscription *A^{mo} 1644*. Indeed, many of the post-1640s maps of *Hollandia Nova* include the inscription *detecta 1644* [‘disclosed/revealed 1644’] below the appellation. This is most likely referencing the earlier use of *nondvm detecta* [‘not yet revealed’] or *nondvm cognita* [‘not yet known’] to refer to imagined undetermined Southland on maps such as Ortelius (1570 & 1589) and Metellus [c.1598]. The *detecta 1644* inscription on many of the *Hollandia Nova* maps was a way of claiming the Southland had now been found. The 1644 date is of course a clear reference to the year of Tasman’s second voyage. It would have been a small step to conclude Tasman therefore bestowed the name. In support of this, we find on Joan Blaeu’s map of 1663 the inscription *detecta 1642* with the appellation *Zeelandia Nova* (even though Tasman initially had conferred the name *Staete Landt*). It is, I believe, the presence of the inscriptions *detecta 1642* and *detecta 1644* corresponding to Tasman’s two voyages that has led to the unsubstantiated belief that Tasman named *New Holland*.

Of course all this does not imply that Tasman did *not* have had a hand in naming *New Holland* because it is unclear of whether his original manuscript chart had the legend *Compagnis Niev Nederlandt*, or indeed *Nova Hollandia*. We shall perhaps never know. The name seems in all likelihood to have been applied by a person or persons unknown who were in the employ of the VOC. What we see is that the change in name from *Staete Landt* to *Zeelandia Nova* for New Zealand was effected at the same time as *Hollandia Nova* appeared on maps of the Australian mainland. These names were entirely commensurate with the naming practices of the VOC at the time. Moreover, the symmetrical naming of these two obviously large land masses with the names of the VOC’s two home provinces seems then entirely appropriate.

When the French cartographer Melchisédec Thévenot published his map *Hollandia Nova detecta 1644; Terre Australe decouverte l’an 1644* in 1663 (**Figure 18**), he included a prominent vertical line at longitude 135°E, which corresponds to the western limit of Spanish claims in the South Pacific as dictated by the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494. The land west of this meridian he labelled *Hollandia Nova*, and the land to the east *Terre Australe* [‘Southern Land’]. This cartographic divide remained until 1770 when Cook conferred the name *New South Wales* on the eastern half of the continent. It was not until after Flinders’ circumnavigation of the continent that it obtained the name *Australia*.



Figure 18

Thévenot's map (1663) *Hollandia Nova detecta 1644; Terre Australe decouverte l'an 1644.*

(Source: Nat. Lib. of Australia, MAP RM 689A. <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-231299866/view>)

Nonetheless, the name *New Holland* still survives in a number of flora and fauna names, e.g. the *New Holland daisy* (genus *Vittadinina*), the *New Holland honeyeater* (*Phylidonyris novahollandiae*) (**Figure 19**), and the *New Holland mouse* (*Pseudomys novahollandiae*).



Figure 19

New Holland honeyeater (*Phylidonyris novahollandiae*)

(Source: Australian Museum <https://australian.museum/learn/animals/birds/new-holland-honeyeater/>)

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I do not claim to have solved the question of who named *New Holland*. My principal aim in this Occasional Paper has been to raise a note of caution when declaring the namer of a geographic feature. In Occasional Paper 14 (Tent, 2022), I question the popularly held belief that Tasman also named *Groote Eylandt*, and show that there is likewise no cartographic or documentary evidence to support that claim either. The island remained unnamed on the ‘Tasman-Bonaparte Map’ and did not receive its current name until Sayer’s map of 1787. Only two mid-17th century maps and one mid-18th century map prior to this give the island a name, viz. *Vander Lyns Eyl*.

And as with many investigations into the origin of a placename, this one currently does not have a totally satisfactory conclusion. Until supplementary documentary and cartographic evidence comes to light, the naming of *New Holland* will remain somewhat enigmatic.

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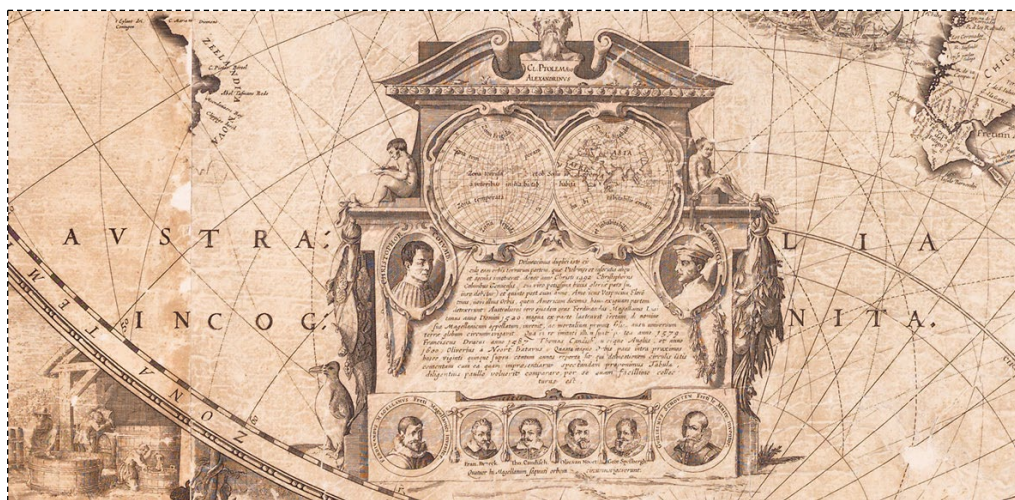
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ENDNOTES

- ¹ This appellation can be seen on the 'Tasman-Bonaparte Map' (refer to sections 2.2.4 & 2.3; **Figures 8a & 8b**).
- ² Reed was neither a scholar nor a gifted writer. He wrote commercially successful books which were based on simplified and popularised secondary sources which, unsurprisingly, often resulted in factual inaccuracies.
- ³ Bricker's second observation is quite perplexing. He implies that Tasman had charted 'the north and west coasts as well as long stretches of the south coast' of the continent. Apart from charting the north coast, he only partially charted the west coast to a latitude of approximately 21°7' S. (near Old Onslow, at the mouth of the *Willems Rivier* (Ashburton River?), just north of Exmouth), only part of the south coast of Tasmania, and none of the continent's southern coastlines.
- ⁴ McHugh does not directly reference Tasman's '1644 chart of the Australian coast'; however, an image between pages 88 and 89 shows a detail of the mosaic map in the foyer of the State Library of NSW, and describes it as a reproduction of the original chart of 1644 by Tasman.
- ⁵ Palusci's paper is highly subjective, speculative and replete with factual errors (e.g. Tasman's taking possession of the northern coast of Australia) so it is perhaps not surprising he believes Tasman named New Holland.
- ⁶ The term 'discovery' is a controversial one in the context of European exploration. I use the term here purely in reference to Europeans finding geographic spaces previously unknown to them, even where these were already known to and/or inhabited by other people for millenia.
- ⁷ Although relatively crude and not entirely accurate, Figures 1 and 3 nevertheless give fairly good impressions of the extent of Dutch knowledge before and after Tasman's two expeditions.

Who named New Holland?

- 8 I do not include the three well-known maps of: M. Melchisédec Thévenot's *Hollandia Nova detecta 1644 Terre Australe découverte l'an 1644* (1663) (Figure 18); François Jacobsen's chart of Tasman's voyages 1642-43 and 1644, aka 'the Eugene map' (c.1666); or Emaaniel Bowen's map *A Complete Map of the Southern Continent* (1663-1744), since they were all published well after the two relevant Blaeu maps and globe.
- 9 On either side of the cartouche on the left hemisphere of this map, we see the inscription *Australia Ingonita*. Could this be the first use of the name form *Australia*?



- 10 This is confirmed by the Maritiem Museum's catalogue description of the map, which states that the map is an improved edition of the world map by Willem Janszoon Blaeu from 1619, and was offered for the first time in the 1646 sales catalogue of Joan Blaeu, who left the title with the address of his father and the date 1619 unchanged.
- 11 The van Braam map (1726) depicts Tasman's sailing track of his 1642-43 voyage. The Bowrey Map (c.1687) also shows Tasman's sailing track of 1644 and the part appellation for New Zealand *States La[...]*, perhaps indicating it was a direct copy of the 'Tasman-Bonaparte Map'; however, the depth soundings differ. Another difference between the Bowrey Map and the 'Tasman-Bonaparte Map' is that the former does not have an appellation for the Australian mainland (see Hooker, 2015, p. 5, fig. 2).
- 12 The Bowrey Map's bottom righthand corner has been torn off and only part of the appellation for *Staete Landt* remains.
- 13 Although this is disputed by Hooker (1972, p. 166), who declares *Staete landt* was renamed *Zeelandia Nova* simply to honour the VOC's second most important chamber.
- 14 The NLA notes the map was found in the Bible, *Het Nieuwe Testament ofte alle Boeken des Nieuwen Verbondts onses Heeren Jusu Christi*. Amstelredam: Gedrukt by Theunis Jacobsz. ende Jan Fredericksz. Stam, Anno 1648?
- 15 The term *jacht* 'yacht' is used in the old Dutch sense of 'a small, fast reconnaissance vessel'.
- 16 The map is framed on three sides by text in Latin, Dutch and French. Schilder (1976, p. 402) notes that the names *Hollandia Nova* and *Zeelandia Nova* also appear for the first time in their Dutch form *viz: Nieuw Hollant* and *Nieuw Zeelandt*.
- 17 A 'copied' placename refers to the re-use of an existing toponym, in whole or in part. In other words, using a toponym from one place and conferring it upon another.

18 A ‘metonym’ is a figure of speech in which a word or expression normally or strictly used of one thing is used of something physically or otherwise associated with it, e.g. *wheels* for a ‘car’; *Fleet Street* (strictly a street) when used for the British press.

19 *Stadholder* (Du. *Stadthouder*) ‘steward’ (lit. ‘place holder’ < *stede* ‘stead’ & *houder* ‘holder’).

20 Mundle (2015, p. 163) claims the *Heemskerck* was named after the ‘earlier Dutch explorer Jacob van Heemskerck (1567-1607).’ Even though Heemskerck made several trips to the East Indies establishing a number of trading posts, it is most unlikely Tasman’s ship was named after him because, as *De VOC Site* (<https://www.vocsite.nl/schepen/index.html>) explains, its ships were largely named after geographical names, personal names (often women’s names), animal names, or names of governors’ country estates. It was unusual to name ships after high-ranking VOC officials.

21 *Eyland Groningen* does not conflict with Ormeling’s observation—that *Groningen* and *Utrecht* did not feature as copied toponyms in the VOC’s sphere of influence—because it lies outside that sphere, since it was charted by Roggeveen who sailed under the flag of the *GWC*. The city of Groningen was one of the five chambers of the *GWC*, so it is not surprising the name was bestowed upon an island Roggeveen charted. *Eyland Thienhoven*, named after Roggeveen’s ship, which in turn was named after the village of *Tienhoven*, situated in the province of Utrecht, which also was not a VOC province.

22 Le Maire sailed under the flag of the *Australische Compagnie* [‘Australian Company’] set up by his father Isaac Le Maire (a former Governor of the VOC) in 1614 in order to circumvent the monopoly of the VOC on routes to the East Indies via the Cape of Good Hope and through the Strait of Magellan. His company was purely set up to discover a passage south of the Strait of Magellan, which would fall outside the VOC monopoly. Le Maire’s copied toponyms, nevertheless, derive from his home province of Holland.

23 Cf. New York’s *Staten Island* named by Henry Hudson in 1609 *Staeten Eylandt* after the *Staeten Generaal* (‘States General’), the governing body of the Netherlands in the 17th century.

24 That is, Le Maire’s *Staten Landt*.

25 Cook had initially written *New Wales*. In a footnote to Cook’s entry, Beaglehole writes:

But why this particular name? The obvious guess is that as there was already a New Britain and a Nova Scotia, New Wales might come not unnaturally to Cook’s mind. There was also Carteret’s New Ireland, but Cook did not yet know that. But then there was a New Wales—named also New South Wales—in existence on eighteenth century maps: what corresponds to the present north Ontario, abutting on Hudson’s Bay. Why South when it was so very much north? [...] It looks as if Cook settled on this name, New Wales; remembered that it was already taken; and then, forgetting that New South Wales was also taken, inserted South to make the distinction, some time [*sic*] after 24 October, on which date he had sent off M from Batavia.

(Beaglehole, 1955 Vol. 1:388, fn. 1)

26 Regarding the naming of the *New Hebrides*, Cook writes:

[31/8/1774]

[...] we, not only, ascertained the extent and situation of these islands, but added to them several new ones which were not known before and explored the whole, I think we have obtained a right to name them and shall for the future distinguish them under the name of the New Hebrides.”

(Beaglehole, 1961 Vol. 2:521)

In a footnote to this journal entry, Beaglehole muses:

Why this particular name? One may ask. [...] Nothing could be more violently unlike the Hebrides than this dispersed group of islands, with their heavy covering of tropical rain-forest and their volcanoes. I can only suggest that he named the New Hebrides and New Caledonia in conjunction, and that their contiguity gave him the solution for two problems in nomenclature at once: just as the Hebrides lay off the coast of Scotland, so did the New Hebrides lie off the coast (or at least near enough to it not to make the analogy absurd) of New Scotland. In any case we get a pleasant name for islands which have had, since Cook's day, a rather unpleasant history.

(Beaglehole, 1961 Vol. 2:521, fn. 1)

Note, Beaglehole's explanation makes no sense if the date is right, because Cook had then not yet seen New Caledonia, but it is possible that the entry was added or modified later.

Regarding the naming of New Caledonia, Cook merely states: [1/10/1774] 'I called the land we had lately discovered New Caledonia.' (Beaglehole, 1961, Vol. 2, p. 562).

In a footnote to that entry, Beaglehole declares:

It has been said that Cook gave the name because the country reminded him of Scotland; but so far as we know he had never seen Scotland, though no doubt he knew it was a hilly country. Certainly he knew that not so far to the north were a New Britain and New Ireland; and to the south-west he had himself added a New South Wales to the map; so why not round out the United Kingdom with a New Scotland? True, there was a Nova Scotia already in existence; but that was in a different hemisphere, and the fact could anyhow be side-stepped by using a different name for Scotland, even if another Latin one; and New Caledonia certainly tripped more easily off the tongue than Nova Caledonia, and perhaps sounded better than New Scotland. Anyhow it completed the circle well enough. And it helped with the island group he had so recently come from.

However, like various other sources, page 18 of the *Institut d'Émission d'Outre-Mer* ['Overseas Emissions Institute'] 2010 *Rapport annuel* for Nouvelle-Calédonie, claims that Cook named New Caledonia because the island reminded him of his native Scotland (both of which are factually incorrect):

Les Européens « découvrent » la Nouvelle-Calédonie le 4 septembre 1774, lors du second voyage dans l'océan Pacifique du capitaine James Cook. Il nommera ce territoire Nouvelle-Calédonie, par référence à son Écosse natale, qui lui rappelait le nord-est de l'île.

[Institut d'Émission d'Outre-Mer, 2011:18]

[Europeans "discovered" New Caledonia on September 4 1774, during Captain James Cook's second voyage in the Pacific Ocean. He named this territory New Caledonia, as a reference to his native Scotland, that the north-east of the island reminded him of.]

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am indebted Marcel Kroon, Registrar at the Maritiem Museum 'Prins Hendrik', Rotterdam for forwarding a TIFF image of Willem Blaeu's *Nova Et Accvrata Totivs Terrarvm Orbis Tabvla* (1645-46). A 'thank you' also to Paul Geraghty for forwarding the Beaglehole citations.