

## CRITICAL SURVEY

# Naming ‘Polynesia’: Cartography, Geography, and Toponymy of the ‘Fifth Part of the World’

BRONWEN DOUGLAS

### ABSTRACT

This paper is a narrative history of European placenaming in the ‘fifth part of the world’ or ‘Oceania’, focusing on the ambiguous toponym ‘Polynesia’. The ‘Southern World’ remained little known and undifferentiated in 1756 when Charles de Brosses partitioned it into the geographical regions ‘Polynesia’, ‘Australasia’ (both neologisms), and ‘Magellanica’. The term Polynesia is traced through its chameleon usages in Euro-US cartographies and geographies and shifting relationships with Australasia/Australia and Oceania, to its 20th-century global standardization to label the Polynesian triangle. The paper draws on the rich, ever-burgeoning resources of online map collections, especially in the National Library of Australia and the David Rumsey Map Collection. It also outlines the author’s forensic efforts to identify innovation, genealogy, and anachronism in the historical trajectories of the toponym Polynesia.

Key words: Polynesia, Australasia/Australia, toponymy, cartography, geography

**Bronwen Douglas** – School of Archaeology & Anthropology, College of Arts & Social Sciences, The Australian National University. [bronwen.douglas@anu.edu.au](mailto:bronwen.douglas@anu.edu.au)

*Acknowledgements:* I thank the Narratives & Documents editors for their very helpful reading of drafts of this article and two anonymous referees for useful critique and suggestions. Martin Woods invited me to deliver an early version to ‘Mapping Pacific Places’, the Australian and New Zealand Map Society 2020 conference held online at the National Library (NLA) of Australia, 10 September 2020. I thank him for his interest in and support of my research since I held a Harold White Fellowship to work on the NLA’s incomparable Oceanic map collection in 2010. I thank Matthew Spriggs for appointing me an honorary professor in his Australian Research Council (ARC) Laureate Project on the Collective Biography of Archaeology in the Pacific (2015–20). I am hugely grateful to Hilary Howes and Ricardo Roque for help in translating German and Latin and Portuguese texts, respectively, and thank Rolf DuRietz for spirited conversation on the alleged Portuguese naming of Polynesia.

*Funding:* This work was supported by Australian Research Council [grant number DP1094562].

This article is a narrative history of European placenaming in the vast maritime and insular zone stretching from Island Southeast Asia and Australia, in the west, to Aotearoa-New Zealand, Rapa Nui, and Hawai‘i, at the corners of the Polynesian triangle. Conceived in Europe from the mid-16th century as the ‘fifth part of the world’, the zone was felicitously called *Océanie* (Oceania) in 1816 by the French royal geographer Adrien-Hubert Brué (see [Figure 19](#)).<sup>1</sup> My particular focus is the historically ambiguous toponym ‘Polynesia’ (from Greek *poly-*, many, and *nēsos*, island), proposed by the Burgundian savant Charles de Brosses in 1756.<sup>2</sup> This inquiry spans a broad suite of toponymic strategies, ranging from nominalist description to regional classification and subdivision of an entire segment of the globe.

Pacific Islanders today often represent the great ocean as an overlapping series of lived-in ‘native seas’ constituting a ‘Sea of Islands’.<sup>3</sup> At least 30–65,000 years ago, seaborne modern human beings began to occupy the expanded Pleistocene land mass known to archaeologists as Sahul (Australia, New Guinea, and Tasmania) and the islands of Near Oceania (Bismarck Archipelago, Bougainville, and the main Solomons chain). Seafaring coastal dwellers commenced their epic spread through the far-flung islands of Remote Oceania about 4,000 years ago ([Figure 1](#)).<sup>4</sup> The larger islands, archipelagoes, and the ocean as a whole were unnamed until encompassed by European toponyms. But everywhere named Indigenous places and communities were interlinked in overlapping patterns of travel, ritual, trade, and exchange.

## OCEAN NAMED, IMAGINED LAND

In stark contrast to such deep histories of embodied Indigenous knowing, Europeans over nearly two millennia imagined the southern antipodes only as cosmographic myth – a theoretical counterweight to the great northern land masses of a spherical earth.<sup>5</sup> The last major sector of the world to be comprehensively mapped, Oceania has been known empirically to Europeans for only five centuries and in detail for

<sup>1</sup> Brué, ‘Océanie ou cinquième partie du monde comprenant l’Archipel d’Asie, l’Australasie, la Polynésie, &c’, in *Grand atlas universel ...* (Paris: Desray, 1816), plate 36, David Rumsey Map Collection (DRMC), David Rumsey Map Center, Stanford Libraries, <http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/view/search?q=4614044>. All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

<sup>2</sup> [Brosses], *Histoire des navigations aux terres australes ...*, 2 vols (Paris: Durand, 1756), vol. 1, 80.

<sup>3</sup> Epeli Hau‘ofa, ‘Our Sea of Islands’, in *A New Oceania: Rediscovering Our Sea of Islands*, ed. Eric Waddell, Vijay Naidu, and Epeli Hau‘ofa (Suva, Fiji: School of Social and Economic Development, University of the South Pacific, 1993), 2–16; Damon Salesa, ‘The Pacific in Indigenous Time’, in *Pacific Histories: Ocean, Land, People*, ed. David Armitage and Alison Bashford (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 44–50.

<sup>4</sup> Chris Clarkson et al., ‘Human Occupation of Northern Australia by 65,000 Years Ago’, *Nature* 547 (20 July 2017): 306–10; Patrick V. Kirch, ‘Peopling of the Pacific: A Holistic Anthropological Perspective’, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 39 (2010): 131–48.

<sup>5</sup> Alfred Hiatt, *Terra Incognita: Mapping the Antipodes before 1600* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008); Lawrence C. Wroth, ‘The Early Cartography of the Pacific’, *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 38, no. 2 (1944): 91–125; see also Bronwen Douglas, ‘Terra Australis to Oceania: Racial Geography in the “Fifth Part of the World”’, *Journal of Pacific History (JPH)* 45, no. 2 (2010): 179–83.

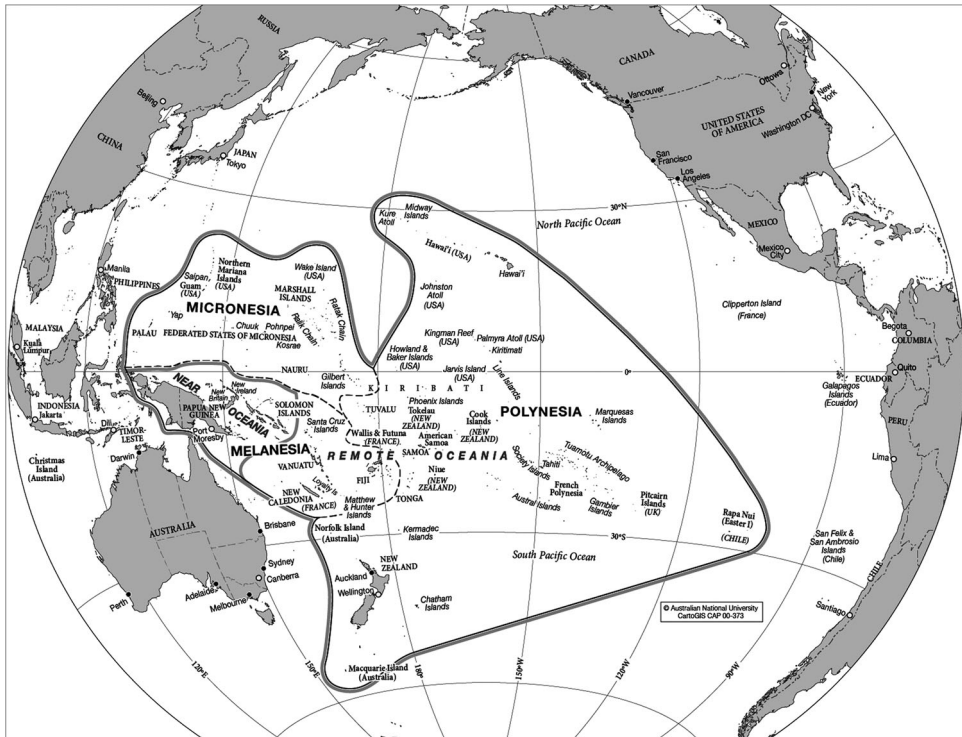


FIGURE 1: CartoGIS, *Oceania Sub-Regions* (2020), CartoGIS CAP 00-373, Australian National University, Canberra, <http://asiapacific.anu.edu.au/maponline/base-maps/oceania-sub-regions>

barely two. During that period, cosmographers, cartographers, and travellers imposed a plethora of oceanic, continental, and insular toponyms as they strove to comprehend the outlines of the zone.

### *Ocean*

The earliest umbrella appellations were oceanic and cardinal or directional. *Oceanus Orientalis* (Eastern Ocean), a staple of post-Marco Polo European geography, is exemplified in the so-called ‘Carta del Cantino’ of 1502 (Figure 2), a manuscript planisphere copied illegally from the Portuguese *padrão de el-Rei* (royal master map) and smuggled to Italy.<sup>6</sup> By 1511, Portuguese mariners sailing from Malacca (Melaka), guided by local pilots, had made contact with the Spice Islands of Maluku, learned of still unnamed New Guinea, and approached the *Mar do Levante* (Eastern Sea).<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Anon., [Carta del Cantino] (1502), C.G.A.2, Gallerie Estensi – Biblioteca Estense Universitaria (BEU), Modena, Italy, <https://n2t.net/ark:/65666/v1/13655>; Armando Cortesão and Avelino Teixeira da Mota, eds, *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica* (Lisboa: Comemorações do V centenário da morte do Infante D. Henrique, 1960), vol. 1, 7.

<sup>7</sup> Diogo do Couto, *Da Asia: Dos feitos que os Portugueses fizeram na conquista e descobrimento das terras, & mares do Oriente ...* (Lisboa: Pedro Crasbeeck, 1602), decada 4, folio 135v.

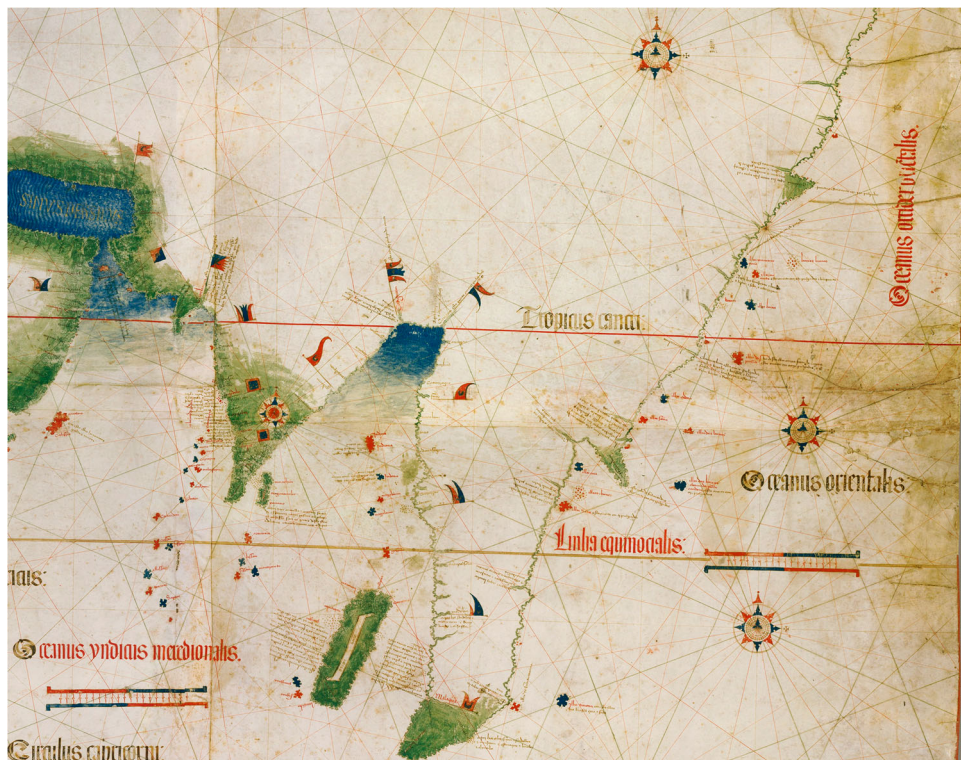


FIGURE 2: Anon., [Carta del Cantino] (1502), detail, manuscript, Gallerie Estensi – Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Modena, Italy, with permission of the Ministero della Cultura, <https://n2t.net/ark:/65666/v1/13655>

In 1513, Indigenous guides led the Spaniard Vasco Núñez de Balboa to a great sea south of the isthmus at Darien (Panama) which he named the *Mar del Sur*,<sup>8</sup> otherwise *Zuydzee*, *Mer du Sud*, or South Sea. Balboa's term reigned until the late 18th century and retained popular currency long thereafter, despite acknowledgement of the cardinal incongruity of applying it to an ocean that stretched nearly to the Arctic Circle.<sup>9</sup>

In 1520, the Spanish expedition of Portuguese Ferdinand Magellan entered and named the *Mar Pacifico* (Pacific Sea).<sup>10</sup> First printed on a woodcut map in Sebastian Münster's much disseminated 1540 re-edition of Ptolemy's *Geographia*

<sup>8</sup> Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas i Tierra firme del mar Oceano ...*, 4 vols (Madrid: Iuan Flamenco and Iuan de la Cuesta, 1601–15), vol. 1 (1601), 41.

<sup>9</sup> O.H.K. Spate, "South Sea" to "Pacific Ocean": A Note on Nomenclature', *JPH* 12, no. 4 (1977): 205–11.

<sup>10</sup> [Antonio Pigafetta], *Le voyage et navigation, fait par les Espaignolz ...* (Paris: Simon de Colines, [1525]), folio 13v.



FIGURE 3: Sebastian Münster, 'Novae insulae, XVII: Nova tabula' (1540), David Rumsey Map Collection, Stanford Libraries, <https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~296592~90067973>

(Figure 3),<sup>11</sup> Magellan's descriptive label ultimately prevailed, notwithstanding ongoing usage of South Sea and serious 19th-century competition from the duller but more exact *der große Ocean* or *grand Océan* (Great Ocean). This term was recommended by German geographers from at least the 1770s, influentially endorsed by the French hydrographer-politician Charles-Pierre Claret de Fleurieu, and preferred in both national cartographies for much of the 19th century.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Münster, 'Novae insulae, XVII: Nova tabula', in *Claudius Ptolemy, Geographia universalis, vetus et nova ...*, trans. Willibald Pirckheimer, ed. Münster (Basileae: Henricum Petrum, 1540), plate 17, DRMC, <https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~296592~90067973>; see Thomas Suárez, *Early Mapping of the Pacific: the Epic Story of Seafarers, Adventures and Cartographers who Mapped the Earth's Greatest Ocean* (Singapore: Periplus Editions, 2004), 49–50.

<sup>12</sup> Johann Christoph Gatterer, *Abriß der Geographie* (Göttingen: Johann Christian Dieterich, 1775), 70; Claret de Fleurieu, 'Observations sur la division hydrographique du globe, et changemens proposés dans la nomenclature générale et particulière de l'hydrographie', in Etienne Marchand, *Voyage autour du monde, pendant les années 1790, 1791, et 1792 ...*, ed. Claret de Fleurieu (Paris: Imprimerie de la République, 1799), vol. 4, 12–13.

*Land*

The long-lived mirage of a necessary great land mass in the south spawned a rich array of continental designations: notably *Terra Australis*, *Zuytlandt*, *Terres australes*, or South Land, but also *Terres antarctiques* (Antarctic Lands) and *India meridional*, *Indes méridionales*, *Südindien*, or South Indies. The earliest known uses of *Terra Australis* to label an imagined unknown southern continent – optimistically branded ‘recently discovered [by Magellan], but not yet fully known’ – is in Johann Schöner’s globe of 1523–4 and Oronce Fine’s cordiform hemispheric map of 1531.<sup>13</sup> *Australia*, the nominal form of the Latin adjective *Australis*, appears in a mid-16th-century woodcut map.<sup>14</sup> It was later a variant of *Austrialia del Espiritu Santo*, the name applied in 1606 by the Portuguese-born Spaniard Pedro Fernández de Quirós to a land mass he believed to be the southern continent, but which is actually the island of Espiritu Santo in north Vanuatu. Quirós himself sometimes used *Australia* and it appears in at least two published translations of his ‘Eighth Memorial’ of 1610, including an English version by the chronicler Samuel Purchas.<sup>15</sup>

*Fifth part of the world*

Amid this terminological surfeit, the only common European denominator was the phrase ‘fifth part of the world’: variously *quinta orbis terrarum pars* (Latin), *cinquième partie du monde* (French), *der fünfte Erdtheil* or *Welttheil* (German), *Pyataya chast sveta* (Russian), and *Quinta Parte del Mondo* (Italian). The existence of an unknown ‘fourth part’ of the world ‘in the south’, beyond the three known parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa, had been hypothesized by the seventh-century bishop and saint Isidore of Seville. However, with ‘America’ designated the *quarta pars* (fourth part) of the globe and its fourth continent in the early 16th century, logically any imagined southern land must henceforth have been the fifth part or fifth continent, paralleling

<sup>13</sup> Schöner, ‘Terrestrial Globe of Johannes Schöner, 1523/4’, in F.C. Wieder, *Monumenta Cartographica ...* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1925), vol. 1, plates 1–3; Fine, *Nova, et integra universi orbis descriptio* (Paris: Christian Wechel, 1531), State Library of NSW, Sydney, [https://search.sl.nsw.gov.au/permalink/f/lg5tom/SLNSW\\_ALMA7196826970002626](https://search.sl.nsw.gov.au/permalink/f/lg5tom/SLNSW_ALMA7196826970002626).

<sup>14</sup> [Johannes Honter], ‘Sphere der Winde von den vier Winde und irer zwölf Ecken’, in *Astronomia: Teutsch Astronomiei* (Frankfurt: Cyriaco Jacob zum Barth, 1545), folio 28v, National Library of Australia (NLA), Canberra, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230899009>; see Damian Cole, ‘Australia in 1545’, in NLA, *Mapping our World: Terra Incognita to Australia* (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2013), 99.

<sup>15</sup> Quirós, *Descubrimiento de las regiones australes*, ed. Roberto Ferrando Pérez (Madrid: Dastin, 2000), 258; Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes ...*, 4 vols (London: Henrie Fetherstone, 1625), vol. 4, 1423; Carlos Sanz, *Australia su descubrimiento y denominación: con la reproducción facsimil del memorial número 8 de Quirós en español original, y en las diversas traducciones contemporáneas* (Madrid: Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1973), 37, 71, 168, 177; see Rupert Gerritsen, ‘A Note on “Australia” or “Austrialia”’, *Globe* 72 (2013): 23–30.



FIGURE 4: Gerard Mercator, [Terrestrial Globe] (1541), MAP-LC G3170 1541.M4, Harvard University Map Collection, Cambridge, MA, image no longer online

the Old World of Europe, Asia, and Africa and the New World of the Americas.<sup>16</sup> In Gerard Mercator's terrestrial globe of 1541 (Figure 4), the label *Quinta hæc, & quidem amplissima pars* (This fifth, & indeed greatest part) describes a huge conjectural land mass stretching well north of the Antarctic Pole.<sup>17</sup> But a decade later, reporting the growth in empirical knowledge of 'so many thousand islands adjacent to this land of Asia', the Portuguese chronicler João de Barros designated 'these and other discovered islands' as a 'fourth part into which the whole of the earth can be divided'.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Douglas, 'Terra Australis', 183–5; Edmundo O'Gorman, *The Invention of America: An Inquiry into the Historical Nature of the New World and the Meaning of its History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961), 117–33, 167–8; Wroth, 'Early Cartography', 167.

<sup>17</sup> Mercator, [Terrestrial Globe] (Louanij: Gerardus Mercator, 1541), MAP-LC G3170 1541.M4, Harvard University Map Collection, Cambridge, MA.

<sup>18</sup> Barros, *Asia: Dos factos que os Portugueses fizeram no descobrimento & conquista dos mares & terras do Oriente* (Lisboa: Germão Galharde, 1552), decada 1, folio 91r, my emphasis. I thank Ricardo Roque for invaluable assistance in translating this passage.

Confusion over the numerical classification of the globe continued into the 17th century. The Spanish title of Quirós's 'Eighth Memorial' refers to *Austrialia incognita* as *la quarta parte del mundo* (the fourth part of the world). However, Quirós's text may differ subtly: *Aquella parte oculta es quarto de todo el globo* (that unknown part is a quarter of all the globe). The title of the Latin translation of the Eighth Memorial published by Hessel Gerritsz in 1612 quietly replaces 'fourth part' with 'fifth', while German (1613), French (1617), and English (1617) versions all say 'fifth part of the world'.<sup>19</sup> Purchas tackled the seeming anomaly of Quirós's wording in a marginal note to his English translation of 1625: 'the *Spanish* hath the fourth [part], perhaps accounting the East *Indies* for a second, *America* the third, and this the fourth, reckoning all the first knowne parts for the first'.<sup>20</sup> Whatever its precise delimitations, the term fifth part of the world was in regular use by the late 16th century,<sup>21</sup> became the norm from the 1770s to the 1830s, as in Brué's above-mentioned map of *Océanie* (see Figure 19),<sup>22</sup> and was still current in the 1870s.<sup>23</sup>

### *Islands found and lost*

Magellan's vast watery Pacific contained only four islands, which are already inscribed on a Spanish manuscript planisphere of 1525 (Figure 5):<sup>24</sup> two tiny, uninhabited dots in modern Polynesia, probably Puka-puka (named *San Pablo*) and Flint (named *los Tiburones*, the Sharks); and Guåhan (Guam) and Luta (Rota) in modern Micronesia, the southernmost islands of the Mariana archipelago, thus named by Spanish colonizers in 1668.<sup>25</sup> Because Indigenous CHamoru people 'plundered all sorts of things' from the Spanish ships, Magellan labelled their homelands as *Islas de los Ladrones* (Islands of Thieves).<sup>26</sup> That derogatory toponym was standard in global cartography well into the 19th century and persisted until at least the 1930s, eventually in tandem with Mariana Islands.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Sanz, *Australia*, 37–8, 83, 97, 119, 137.

<sup>20</sup> Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus*, vol. 4, 1423, original emphasis.

<sup>21</sup> E.g. Cornelis de Jode, 'Novæ Guineæ Forma, & Situs', in Gerard and Cornelis de Jode, *Speculum orbis terræ* (Antwerp: Cornelis de Jode, 1593), NLA, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-231244136>.

<sup>22</sup> Brué, 'Océanie'.

<sup>23</sup> Brué and Pierre Emile Levasseur, 'Carte générale de l'Océanie cinquième partie du monde', in *Atlas universel de géographie physique, politique, ancienne et moderne ...* (Paris: Charles Delagrave, 1875), plate 48, DRMC, <http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/view/search?q=4607047>.

<sup>24</sup> [Diogo Ribeiro], [Carta Castiglioni] (1525), C.G.A.12, BEU, <https://n2t.net/ark:/65666/v1/13656>.

<sup>25</sup> H.E. Maude and G.H. Heyen, 'Spanish Discoveries in the Central Pacific: A Study in Identification', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 68, no. 4 (1959): 287–94; Robert F. Rogers and Dirk Anthony Ballendorf, 'Magellan's Landfall in the Mariana Islands', *JPH* 24, no. 2 (1989): 193–208.

<sup>26</sup> [Pigafetta], *Le voyage*, folios 15r–16v.

<sup>27</sup> E.g. Alexander Gross, 'Australia and Oceania', in *Geographia: Atlas of the World* (New York: 'Geographia' Map Co., 1935), 30, DRMC, <https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~253319~5518835>.





FIGURE 5: [Diogo Ribeiro], [Carta Castiglioni] (1525), detail, manuscript, Gallerie Estensi – Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Modena, Italy, with permission of the Ministero della Cultura, <https://n2t.net/ark:/65666/v1/13656>

For nearly 250 years after Magellan's voyage, Europeans knew little of the great ocean, save for the Spanish galleon routes linking Acapulco and Manila and the erratic tracks of sporadic voyages, which 'discovered' specks of land and lost them due to technical incapacity to determine accurate longitude at sea. Limited facts and vast gaps are patent in Nicolas de Fer's lavishly adorned 'Carte de la Mer du Sud' of 1713 (Figure 6).<sup>28</sup> Fer confidently, if inaccurately, traced the return galleon route and those of several trans-Pacific expeditions, notably Magellan's and that of Willem Corneliszoon Schouten and Jacob Le Maire in 1615–16. He made distorted geographical sense of patchy sightings and fragmentary mapping by 16th- and 17th-century Spanish or Dutch voyagers along the coasts of New Guinea, New Holland (Australia), Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania), and New Zealand. He tried to correlate them with the 'discoveries' reported by Alvaro de Mendaña in 1567–9 and Quirós in 1606.<sup>29</sup> But Fer grossly enlarged Mendaña's elusive Solomon Islands and mislocated them to the eastern Pacific. Quirós's *Espíritu Santo* becomes *Terre de Quir*, uncertainly positioned near the east coast of New Holland with Mendaña's *Isle Isabelle* hovering above it; and *Isle Isabelle* is duplicated in the Solomons. Justly renowned for its

<sup>28</sup> Fer, *Carte de la Mer du Sud et des costes d'Amerque [sic] et d'Asie, situées sur cette mer* (Paris: I.F. Benard, 1713), Biblioteca Digital, Universidade de São Paulo, Brazil, [http://www.mapashistoricos.usp.br/index.php?option=com\\_jumi&fileid=14&Itemid=99&idMapa=63](http://www.mapashistoricos.usp.br/index.php?option=com_jumi&fileid=14&Itemid=99&idMapa=63).

<sup>29</sup> 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; idem, 'Mapping the Once and Future Strait: Place, Time, and Torres Strait from the Sixteenth Century to the Pleistocene', *History and Anthropology* (2019), doi:10.1080/02757206.2019.1607849.

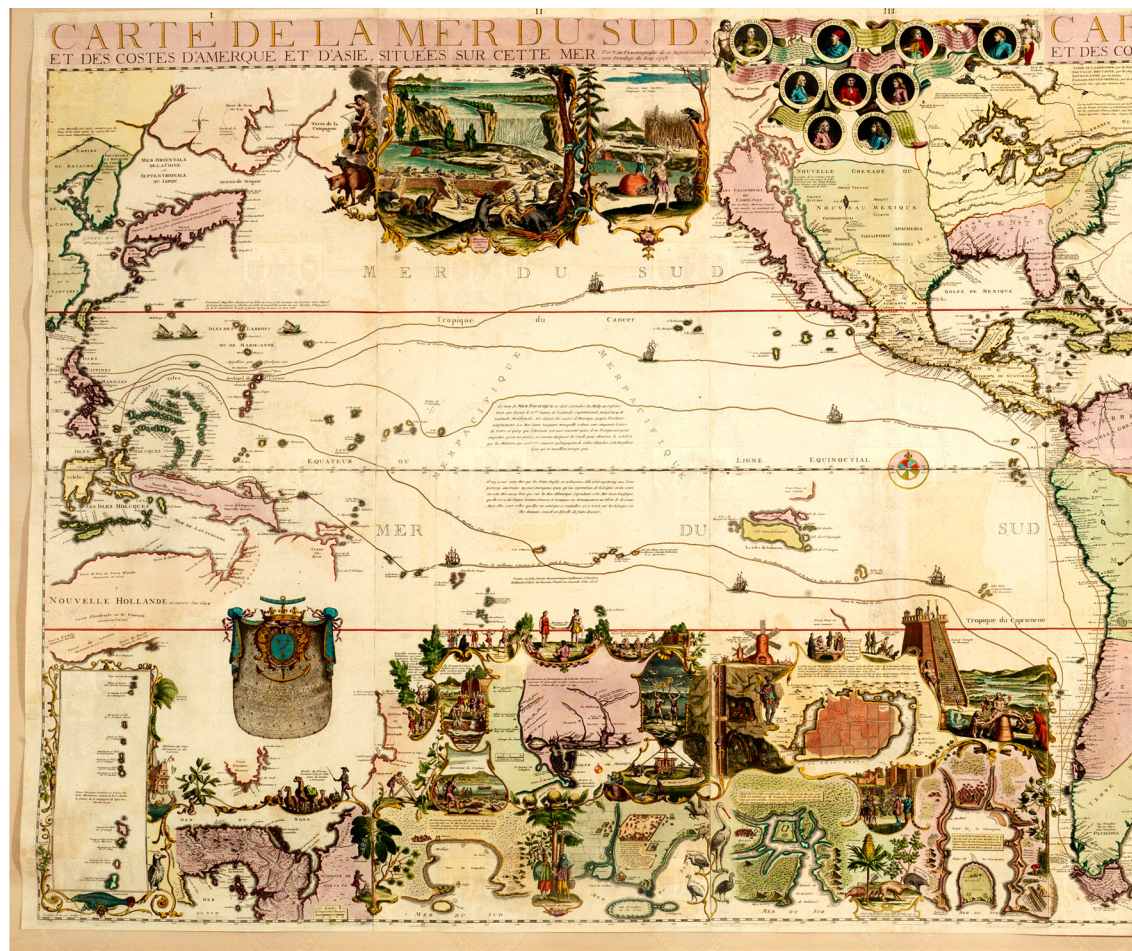


FIGURE 6: Nicolas de Fer, *Carte de la Mer du Sud et des costes d'Amerique [sic] et d'Asie, situées sur cette mer* (1713), Biblioteca Digital, Universidade de São Paulo, Brazil, [http://www.mapashistoricos.usp.br/index.php?option=com\\_jumi&fileid=14&Itemid=99&idMapa=63](http://www.mapashistoricos.usp.br/index.php?option=com_jumi&fileid=14&Itemid=99&idMapa=63)

decorative qualities, Fer's map was copied by Henri Abraham Chatelain and Hendrik de Leth.<sup>30</sup>

## POLYNESIA INVENTED

### *Brosses, 1756*

By the mid-18th century, the fifth part of the world remained undifferentiated in European cartography. Its subsequent regional classification and nomenclature were mainly French, but also German initiatives. Brosses, who believed the counterweight theory of a southern continent, argued for the need to 'fix' our errant vision by clearly subdividing the 'unknown' *cinquième partie du monde*, known generically as the *Terres australes* (South lands). Brosses paired two novel toponyms implying the relative size or position of land areas: the topographic term *polynésie* (Polynesia) denoted 'the multiplicity of islands' in the 'vast Pacific Ocean'; and the cardinal term *australasie* (Australasia, from Latin *australis*, south) designated a partly speculative land mass 'south' of Asia, supposedly manifest in places reported by travellers in New Holland, New Zealand, and the western Pacific Islands.<sup>31</sup> Given varied span or meaning, Polynesia and Australasia have loomed large in Oceanic toponymy ever since, as counterparts, synonyms, or alternatives, with and without racial inflection. A third region in Brosses's taxonomy, the long-established eponym *magellanique/magellanie* (Magellanica/Magellania), labelled a purely conjectural continent mainly in the south Atlantic and was soon abandoned. His treatise was plagiarized in English by John Callander and translated into German by Johann Christoph Adelung.<sup>32</sup>

Brosses's regions, drawn from still sketchy voyagers' narratives, are geographically vague in both his text and Gilles Robert de Vaugondy's general illustrative map (Figure 7).<sup>33</sup> However, Robert de Vaugondy's 'Carte réduite de la Polynésie australe' (Figure 8) shows that Brosses's idea of *Polynésie* clearly encompassed much of modern Island Melanesia, as well as modern Polynesia.<sup>34</sup> The Scottish hydrographer

<sup>30</sup> Chatelain, *Carte très curieuse de la Mer du Sud ...* ([Amsterdam: s.n., 1719]), NLA, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-231174530>; De Leth, *Carte nouvelle de la Mer du Sud ...* (Amsterdam: And. en Hend. de Leth, [1740]), NLA, <https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-232611826>.

<sup>31</sup> [Brosses], *Histoire*, vol. 1, 13–15, 76–80.

<sup>32</sup> [Brosses], *Terra Australis Cognita, or, Voyages to the Terra Australis, or Southern Hemisphere ...*, ed. and trans. Callander, 3 vols (Edinburgh: A. Donaldson, 1766–8); Brosses, *Vollständige Geschichte der Schifffarthen nach den noch größtentheils unbekanten Südländern ...*, ed. and trans. Adelung (Halle: Johann Justinus Gebauer, 1767).

<sup>33</sup> Robert de Vaugondy, 'Carte générale qui représente les mers des Indes, Pacifique, et Atlantique, et principalement le monde australe, divisé en Australasie, Polynésie et Magellanie, pour servir à l'Histoire des terres australes', in [Brosses], *Histoire*, vol. 2, plate 1, NK 6956 Map plate 1 (v. 2), NLA, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-601843057>.

<sup>34</sup> Robert de Vaugondy, 'Carte réduite de la Polynésie australe, ou des isles de la Mer du Sud', in [Brosses], *Histoire*, vol. 2, plate 2.



FIGURE 7: Gilles Robert de Vaugondy, 'Carte générale qui représente les mers des Indes, Pacifique, et Atlantique, et principalement le monde austral, divisé en Australasie, Polynésie et Magellanie ...' (1756), detail, National Library of Australia, Canberra, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-601843057>

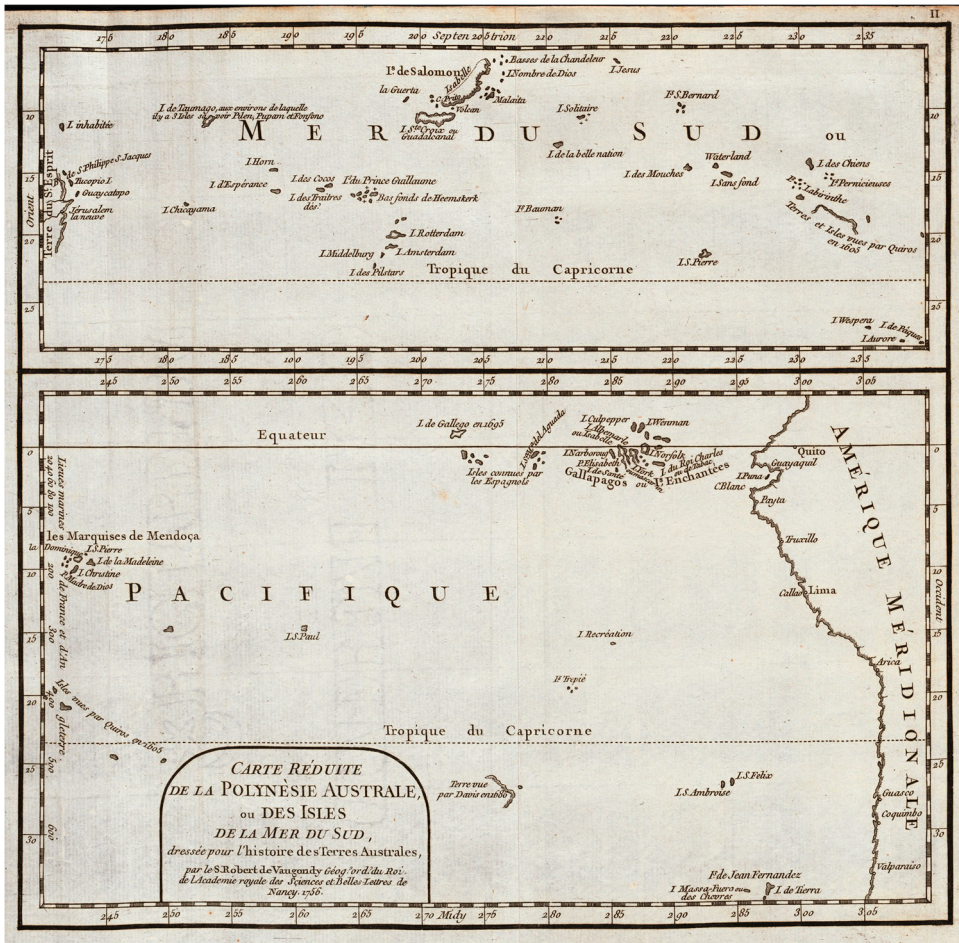


FIGURE 8: Gilles Robert de Vaugondy, 'Carte réduite de la Polynésie australe, ou des isles de la Mer du Sud' (1756), NK 6956 Map plate 2 (v. 2), National Library of Australia, Canberra

Alexander Dalrymple endorsed Brosses's categories in 1770 but Polynesia was little used for two decades after its invention.<sup>35</sup> Its subsequent spatial referents and relationship with Australasia or Australia vary widely in European and United States (US) cartographies at least until 1900.<sup>36</sup> Cognates of Brosses's *Polynésie* include Polynesia (English), *Polynesien* (German, Swedish), *Polinesia* (Italian), and *Polinezija* (Russian). Equivalents or translations of his twin terms are German *die Inselwelt* (Island world) for *Polynesien*, Russian *Mnogoostrov'nye* (Manyislandia) for *Polinezija*, and German *Austral-Land* (Southland) for *Australien* (Australia). German geographers and cartographers consistently preferred *Australien* to Brosses's *Australasie*, though his

<sup>35</sup> Dalrymple, *An Historical Collection of the Several Voyages and Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean* (London: the Author, 1770), vol. 1, xv.

<sup>36</sup> Bronwen Douglas, 'Geography, Raciology, and the Naming of Oceania', *Globe* 69 (2011): 1–28.



FIGURE 9: Matthew Flinders, 'Australia or Terra Australis' (1804), manuscript, y 46/1 Shelf Xr, UK Hydrographic Office, Taunton

German translator used *Australasien*.<sup>37</sup> The English navigator Matthew Flinders favoured the substantive Australia over *Terra Australis* to name the island continent (Figure 9),<sup>38</sup> and Australia in this sense was officially adopted by the British government in the mid-1820s. *Australie* (Australia) supplanted *Australasie* in French mapmaking in the 1820s but *Australasia*, in Brosse's sense, was a common usage in British and especially US maps throughout the 19th century.

### Polynesien: *German and Swedish*

From the mid-1770s, as the contours of the fifth part of the world became steadily better known to Europeans, *Polynesien* featured in several German and Swedish geography texts or maps, its scope and import widened into an overarching label

<sup>37</sup> Brosse, *Vollständige Geschichte*, 52.

<sup>38</sup> Flinders, 'Australia or Terra Australis' (1804), y 46/1 Shelf Xr, UK Hydrographic Office, Taunton, UK; idem, 'General Chart of Terra Australis or Australia; Showing the Parts Explored between 1798 and 1803', in *A Voyage to Terra Australis ... Atlas* (London: G. and W. Nicol), plate 1, MAP T 570, NLA, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-232588549>; idem, *A Voyage to Terra Australis ...*, 2 vols (London: G. and W. Nicol, 1814), vol. 1, iii, note \*.

for the entire zone. *Polynisien* thereby displaced Brosse's 'generic name' of *Terres australes*, which he had admitted to be 'very unsuitable', given the great 'extension' of these lands 'from the antarctic pole'.<sup>39</sup> In 1775, in an 'Outline' of global physical geography, the Göttingen historian Johann Christoph Gatterer listed *Australien oder die Südwelt* (Australia or the South world) as the fifth and final category in his 'Natural classification of all new and old lands on earth'.<sup>40</sup> He noted that this part of the world 'does not consist of a coherent piece of solid land, like the other 4 parts, but of scattered larger and smaller islands. One could therefore also call it *die Inseln-Welt* [Islands-World] or, as others have long termed it, *Polynisien*'.<sup>41</sup> Gatterer himself opted for *Australien* but located the East Indies (Island Southeast Asia) and the Caroline and Mariana Archipelagoes within Asia, perhaps to avoid the anomaly of a 'southern' world that extended north of the equator.<sup>42</sup>

In a *Geografie* of 1776 and a map of 1780 with twin titles in Swedish and French (Figure 10), revised in 1790, the eccentric Swede Daniel Djurberg definitively expanded the term *Polynisien* to name the whole 'fifth part of the globe'.<sup>43</sup> Djurberg's *Polynisien* includes New Holland, labelled 'Ulimaroa' and classed as an island.<sup>44</sup> A line marked 'Boundaries of Asia and Polynesia' runs west of the Philippines and Borneo and through the Sunda Strait, thus positioning all the East Indies except Sumatra within *Polynisien*. Djurberg's map was copied in Wien by the Austrians Franz Anton Schraembl and Franz Johann Joseph von Reilly, who rehearsed his categorical usage of *Polynisien* but added the translated equivalent *Inselwelt*.<sup>45</sup> Georg Forster's austere manuscript map of 1790 – meticulous product of deep scholarship built on wide personal experience in the 'Great Ocean' during James Cook's second voyage of 1772–5 – is simply labelled 'Die Inselwelt' and also omits Sumatra (Figure 11).<sup>46</sup>

<sup>39</sup> [Brosse], *Histoire*, vol. 1, 77–9.

<sup>40</sup> Gatterer, *Abriß*, xii–xiii, 141–64.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 162.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 147–8.

<sup>43</sup> Djurberg, *Geografie, sammandragen utur de nyaste och tilförliteligaste auctororer* (Stockholm: Segerdahl, 1776), vol. 1; *idem*, *Karta över Polynisien eller Femte Delen af Jordklotet / Carte de la Polynésie ou la Cinquième Partie de la Terre* (Stockholm: Holmberg, 1780); 2nd edition (1790), MAP T 446 and MAP RM 2284, NLA, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-232577488> and <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-231769882>; see Rolf E. DuRietz, *Daniel Djurberg and 'Polynesia': Some Notes on Australia and Oceania in Swedish and German Cartography 1772–1831* (Uppsala, Sweden: Dahlia Books, 2018), 9–14, 32–43, 149–64.

<sup>44</sup> Jan Tent and Paul Geraghty, 'Where in the World is Ulimaroa?', *JPH* 47, no. 1 (2012): 1–20.

<sup>45</sup> Schraembl, *Polynisien (Inselwelt) oder der fünfte Welttheil verfasst von Herrn Daniel Djurberg* (Wien: [Joseph Philipp Schalbacher], 1789), MAP T 447, NLA, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-232577705>; Reilly, 'Karte von der Inselwelt, Polynisien oder dem Fünften Welttheile, nach Djurberg und Roberts', in *Grosser Deutscher Atlass* (Wien: Reilly'schen Landkarten und Kunstwerke Verschleiss Komptoir, 1796), plate 7, DRMC, <https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~278973~90052038>. Schraembl and Reilly were partners who published the earliest Austrian world atlases. Schraembl's map of 'Polynisien' was republished in his *Allgemeiner grosser Schrämblicher Atlass* (Wien: Joseph Philipp Schalbacher, 1800), plate 114.

<sup>46</sup> Forster, 'Die Inselwelt' (1790), R 20060, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin; DuRietz, *Daniel Djurberg*, 77–81. I thank Rolf DuRietz for bringing this map to my attention.

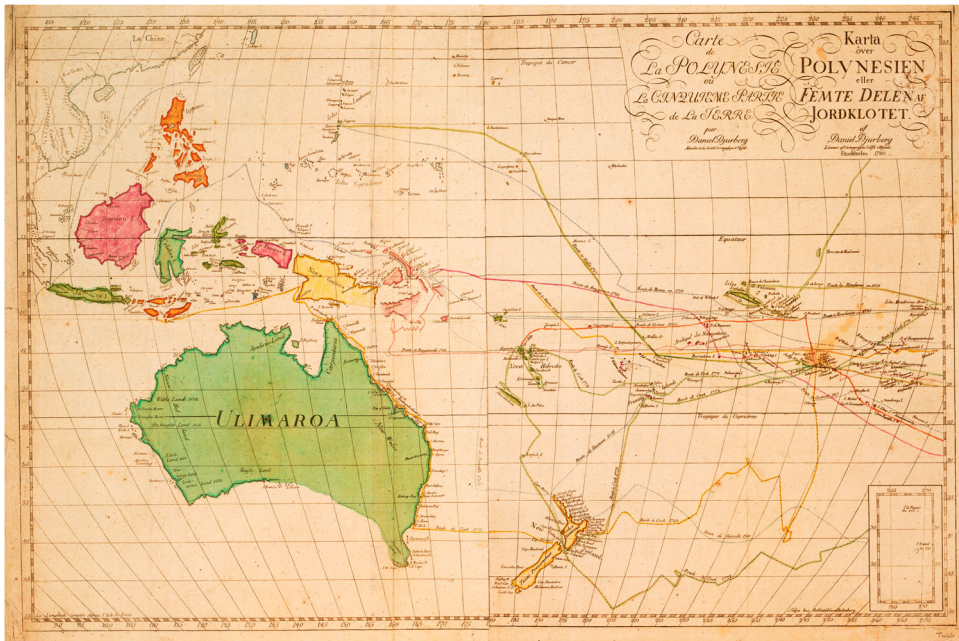


FIGURE 10: Daniel Djurberg, *Karta över Polynesien eller Femte Delen af Jordklotet/ Carte de la Polynésie ou la Cinquieme Partie de la Terre* (1780), National Library of Australia, Canberra, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-232577488>

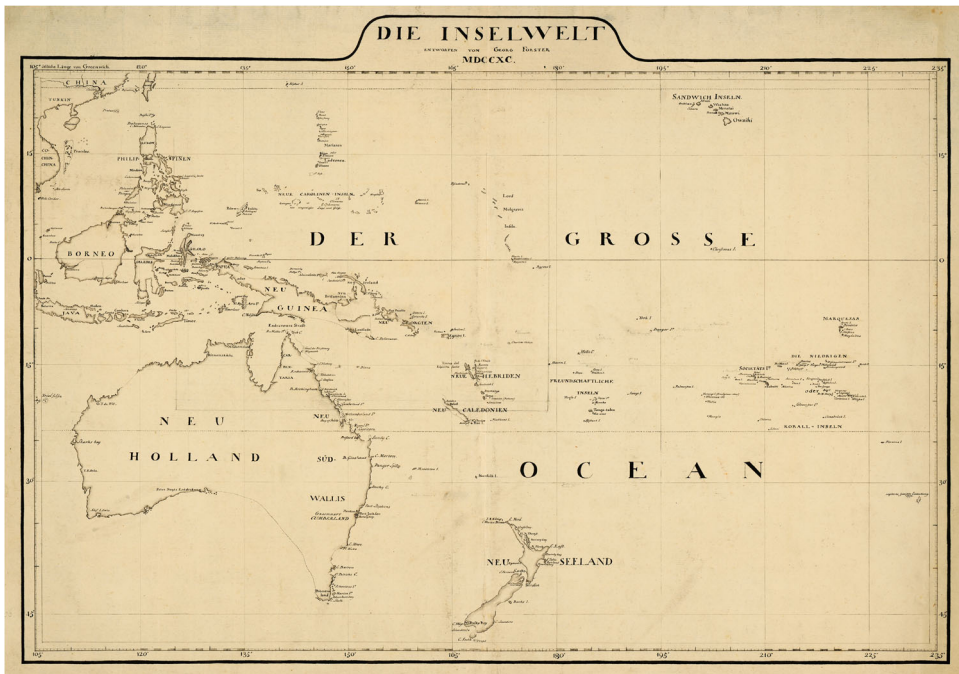


FIGURE 11: Georg Forster, 'Die Inselwelt' (1790), manuscript, R 20060, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin



The cartouches of an exemplary sequence of maps published in various cities reveal how *Polynesien* waxed and waned in German cartography as the umbrella toponym for *der fünfte Welttheil* (Figure 12). A shift from late 18th-century terminological excess to a more economical mode parallels a general decline in the decorative flamboyance of maps in favour of a more utilitarian style. Before 1812, the novel inclusive sense of *Polynesien* is complemented by *Australien* and sometimes *Südindien*. Subsequently, *Australien* displaces *Polynesien* as the preferred term for several decades,<sup>47</sup> notwithstanding its echo of Brosses's 'unsuitable' *Terres Australes*.

In 1793 in Leipzig, the littérateur Johann Traugott Plant published the first of a projected two-volume 'complete geography and history' of the fifth part of the world, to which he applied the 'clear', 'appropriate' designation *Polynesien*. In a brief general introduction, Plant outlined a new geographical division into the cardinal regions West, Middle, and East *Polynesien*.<sup>48</sup> The first volume is solely concerned with West *Polynesien*, comprising the East Indies. The second, written by two other scholars after Plant's death, deals with Middle and East *Polynesien*.<sup>49</sup> A map inserted at the end of the first volume differentiates the subdivisions using tinted coastal outlines indexed in a legend. Green denotes *West oder Alt* (West or Old)-*Polynesien*, or the East Indies including Sumatra. Yellow signals *Mittel* (Middle)-*Polynesien*, grouping New Holland, New Guinea, and nearby islands (in modern Melanesia) with the Carolines and Marianas (in modern Micronesia). Red defines *Ost oder Neu* (East or New)-*Polynesien* which conjoins New Caledonia, the New Hebrides, and Fiji (in Melanesia) with New Zealand and all the central and eastern Pacific Islands (in modern Polynesia and eastern Micronesia) (Figure 13).<sup>50</sup> Such indicative use of colours was not uncommon in cartography – for instance, a map of *Australien oder Polynesien* published in

<sup>47</sup> For the maps by Schraembl and Reilly, see note 45; for Plant's, see note 50; for Stülpnagel's, see note 56. The other cartouches featured are: Anon., *Karte von Australien oder Polynesien ...* (Nürnberg: Weigel und Schneiderschen Handlung, 1792), MAP T 1331, NLA, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-232656634>; Freidrich Gottlieb Canzler, *Karte vom Fünften Erdtheil, oder Polynasien-Inselwelt, oder Australien od. Südindien* (Nürnberg: Homanns Erben, 1795), MAP NK 2456/63, NLA, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230620541>; Johann Walch, *Australien (Südländ) auch Polynesien oder Inselwelt, insgemein der fünfte Welttheil genannt ...* (Augsburg: Iohanes Walch, 1802), MAP NK 1546, NLA, <https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230590984>; Matthaus Albrecht Lotter, *Südindien, Australien oder Polynesien insgemein der fünfte Welttheil* (Augsburg: s.n., 1812), MAP T 875, NLA, <https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-232613143>; Canzler, *Karte vom Fünften Erdtheil oder Australien ...* (Nürnberg: Christoph Fembo, 1813), MAP NK 1549, NLA, <https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230591627>; Friedrich Wilhelm Streit, 'Charte von Australien ...', in C.G.D. Stein, *Neuer Atlas der ganzen Welt ...* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1827), plate 7, DRMC, <http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~249500~5516694>.

<sup>48</sup> Plant, *Handbuch einer vollständigen Erdbeschreibung und Geschichte Polynesiens oder des fünften Erdtheils* (Leipzig: Wilhelm Heinsius, 1793), vol. 1, xxix–lxiv.

<sup>49</sup> Theophil Friedrich Ehrmann and Johann Heinrich Gottlieb Heusinger, *Johann Traugott Plant's Handbuch einer vollständigen Erdbeschreibung und Geschichte Polynesiens oder des fünften Erdtheils*, vol. 2, *Mittel- und Ost-Polynesie* (Leipzig und Gera: Wilhelm Heinsius, 1799).

<sup>50</sup> Plant, 'Karte des Fünften Welttheils Polynesien oder Inselwelt', in *Handbuch*, vol. 1, endpiece, MAP RM 4271, NLA, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-232449743>.





Nürnberg the previous year divides *Asien*, coloured red and including the East Indies, from *Australien* coloured yellow.<sup>51</sup> However, in a significant innovation, Plant also inscribed his regions on the map's fabric via coloured hatching lines, the earliest such graphic demarcation of the fifth part of the world that I have seen. Plant's visual system was followed by Freidrich Gottlieb Canzler in Nürnberg in 1795, minus the hatching lines and with coloured wash on land areas as well as coastal outlines.<sup>52</sup>

In a personal twist on these usages, the Braunschweig geographer Eberhard August Wilhelm von Zimmermann defined *Australien* as a 'subdivision' of the umbrella toponym *Polynesien*, citing the varied demarcations of that term by Brosse, Gatterer, Djurberg, and Plant. Zimmermann's *Australien* is confined to 'the great ocean alone', specifically those parts explored by European voyagers after 1750 (modern Australia, New Guinea, New Zealand, and the Pacific Islands).<sup>53</sup> Daniel Friedrich Sotzmann's illustrative map gives clear graphic and written expression to this conception of *Australien*, using a yellow line to separate it definitively from the Indian Archipelago (East Indies), but nowhere mentioning *Polynesien* (Figure 14).<sup>54</sup>

From the early 19th century to the mid-20th, a notable genre in German cartography was the *Hand-Atlas*, produced in successive editions by publishing houses in several cities. Long genealogies of maps of particular locations can be identified by tracking toponymic shifts in cartographic series over time. By 1850, the anomalous use of *Australien* to denominate a major north-south slice of the globe was compromised by further ambiguity. As widening British colonial possession entrenched Australia to name the island continent, the standard German appellations *Neu Holland* or *Austral-Land* seemed increasingly anachronistic, though they by no means disappeared.

A systematic survey of half a dozen such atlas series shows that some German mapmakers retained the umbrella usage of *Australien* throughout the 19th century, while making it do double duty to designate the continent as well.<sup>55</sup> However, it is

<sup>51</sup> Anon., *Karte von Australien oder Polynesien*.

<sup>52</sup> Canzler, *Karte vom Fünften Erdtheil*.

<sup>53</sup> Zimmermann, *Australien in Hinsicht der Erd-, Menschen- und Produktenkunde: nebst einer allgemeinen Darstellung des großen Oceans gewöhnlich das Südmeer genannt ...* (Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1810), vol. 1, part 1, 16–20.

<sup>54</sup> Sotzmann, 'Karte des Grossen Oceans gewöhnlich das Süd Meer genannt, nebst allen neuen Entdeckungen in Australien', in Zimmermann, *Australien*, vol. 1, part 1, endpiece, NLA, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-528411564>.

<sup>55</sup> See, for example, Heinrich Kiepert, 'Australien' [the zone], cf. 'Continent von Australien und Neuseeland', in *Neuer Hand Atlas über alle Theile der Erde*, 2nd edition (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1871), plates 31, 32, <https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~303800~90074512> and <https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~303801~90074511>, DRMC; Anon., 'Australien' [the zone], cf. Carl Ferdinand Weiland, 'Australien in Mercators Projection' [the continent], in *Grosser Hand-Atlas des Himmels und der Erde*, 49th edition (Weimar: Geographisches Institut, 1886), plates 66, 67, DRMC, <https://www.davidrumsey.com>.

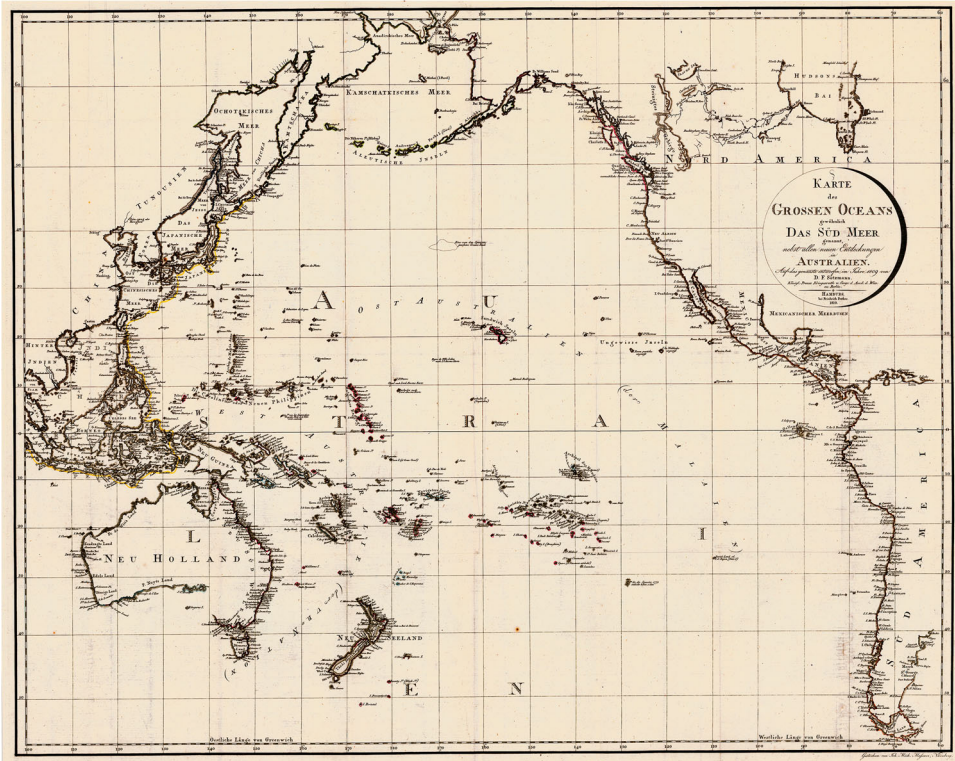


FIGURE 14: Daniel Friedrich Sotzmann, 'Karte des Grossen Oceans gewöhnlich das Süd Meer genannt, nebst allen neuen Entdeckungen in Australien' (1810), National Library of Australia, Canberra, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-528411564>

significant for this article that others reserved *Australien* for the colonized continent and variously recuperated *Polynesien*. One method echoed Brosse's by restoring the appellation *Polynesien* to the insular Pacific and restricting *Australien* to the now shrunken southern continent. Evident from 1850 in Friedrich von Stülpnagel's map of 'Australien und Polynesien' (Figure 15), published in Gotha in the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th editions of Adolf Stieler's *Hand-Atlas*, this nomenclature also features in Karl Spruner von Merz's historical map of 'Australia und Polynesia', also published in Gotha.<sup>56</sup> In a reversion to earlier German usage, a second tactic reinstated *Polynesien*

[www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~277080~90050064](http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~277080~90050064) and <https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~277081~90050063>.

<sup>56</sup> Stülpnagel, 'Australien und Polynesien in Mercators Projection', in Adolf Stieler, *Hand-Atlas über alle Theile der Erde ...*, 2nd edition (Gotha: Justus Perthes, [1851]), plate 50a, DRMC, <https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~244079~5513699>; Spruner von Merz, 'Australia und Polynesia zur Übersicht der Entdeckung und Colonisation', in *Hand-Atlas zur Geschichte Asiens, Afrika's, Amerika's und Australiens*, 2nd edition (Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1855 [1851]), plate 18, MAP T 948, NLA, <https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-232624724>.

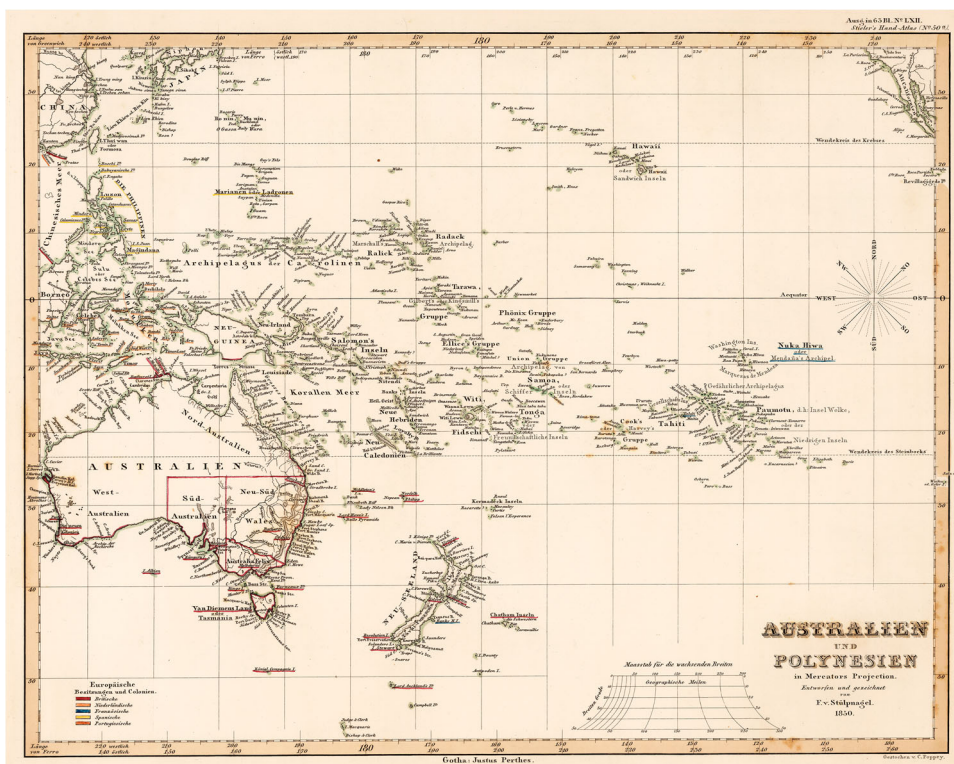


FIGURE 15: Friedrich von Stülpnagel, ‘Australien und Polynesien in Mercators Projection’ (1850), David Rumsey Map Collection, Stanford Libraries, <https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~244079~5513699>

as the overarching label. This shift is evident in the changing titles of maps published in successive atlases by the Meyer family in Hildburghausen: from ‘Neueste Karte von Australien’ in 1860 to ‘Karte von Polynesien’ in 1872.<sup>57</sup> But the best known example is August Heinrich Petermann’s twin maps of ‘Polynesien und der Grosse Ocean’ which limit *Australien* to the continent. First published in Gotha in 1875 in the 6th edition of Stieler’s *Hand-Atlas*, this map was recycled at least until the 8th edition of 1892 (Figure 16).<sup>58</sup> Ironically, in the final editions

<sup>57</sup> Carl Christian Franz Radefeld, ‘Neueste Karte von Australien ... 1846’, in Joseph Meyer, *Grosser Hand-Atlas über alle Theile der Erde* (Hildburghausen: Verlag des Bibliographischen Instituts, 1860), plate 120, DRMC, <https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~21945~690043>; Ernst Georg Ravenstein, ‘Karte von Polynesien’, in Herrmann Julius Meyer, *Hand-Atlas der neuesten Erdbeschreibung*, ed. Ludwig Ravenstein (Hildburghausen: Verlag des Bibliographischen Instituts, 1872), DRMC, <https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~319793~90088701>.

<sup>58</sup> Petermann, ‘Polynesien und der Grosse Ocean (Westliches Blatt)’ and ‘(Östliches Blatt)’, in Adolf Stieler, *Hand Atlas über alle Theile der Erde un über das Weltgebäude*, 6th edition (Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1872), plates 76 and 77, DRMC, <https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/>

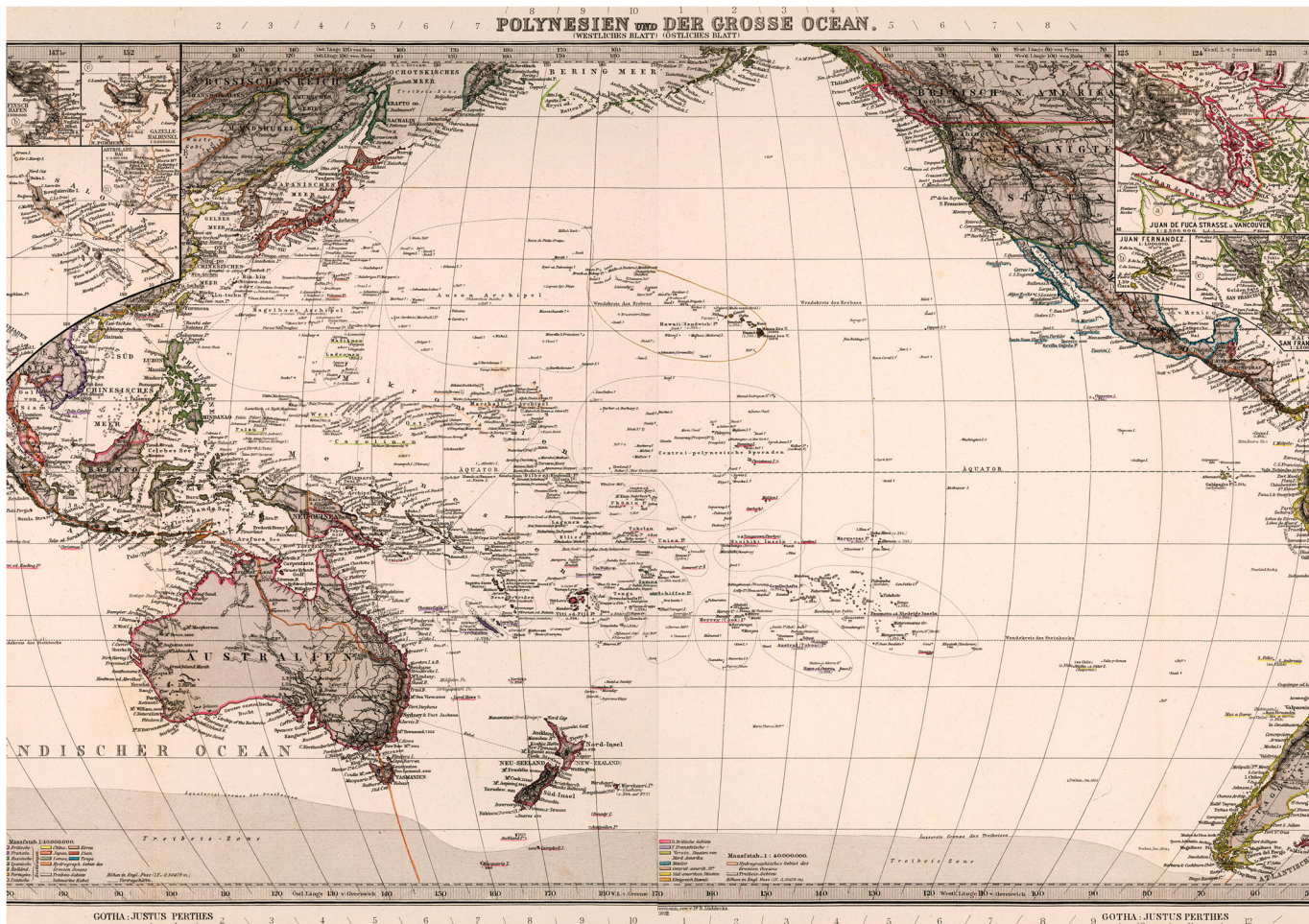


FIGURE 16: August Heinrich Petermann and Richard Carl Lüddecke, 'Polynesien und der Grosse Ocean' (1892), composite, detail, David Rumsey Map Collection, Stanford Libraries, <https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~314628~90083215>

of this very long-lived series – ten editions appeared from 1816 to 1945 – Hermann Haack eschewed Petermann by reprising Stülpnagel (and ultimately Brosse) in a map of ‘Australien und Polynesien’ that partitions the zone between the continent of *Australien* and the islands of *Polynesien*.<sup>59</sup> Recurrent ambiguity was ultimately resolved by supplanting *Polynesien* with *Ozeanien* (Oceania) as the umbrella label, as in the 3rd edition of *Meyers Hand-Atlas* in 1905 and the 7th edition of *Andrees Handatlas* in 1921.<sup>60</sup> The French genesis of Oceania that initiated this usage is mentioned in passing in the introduction and charted in the following section.

### Polynésie: *French*

In France, where Brosse’s terminology was more or less in abeyance for half a century, rival cartographers vied to name or classify the fifth part of the world. In the process, they redeployed or revived *Polynésie*. In 1803–5, Conrad Malte-Brun, a young Danish radical exiled in France, published a multi-volume global geography in collaboration with the aging French savant Edme Mentelle.<sup>61</sup> Malte-Brun proposed *Océanique* (Oceanica) as the master toponym for the *cinquième partie du monde*, jettisoned Brosse’s dual regional geography and the cardinal term *Australasie*, and reversed the Swedish-German expansion of *Polynesien* by contracting *Polynésie* to the ‘small islands of the South Sea’, divided at the equator into ‘north’ and ‘south’ sectors.<sup>62</sup> However, this novel toponymy is not represented in successive atlases illustrating Malte-Brun’s geographic texts. Neither *Océanique* nor the twin *Polynésies* feature in Jean-Baptiste Poirson’s sparse 1804 map of the *grand Océan*,

detail/RUMSEY~8~1~288721~250021 and <https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~288722~250022>; Petermann and Richard Carl Lüddecke, ‘Polynesien und der Grosse Ocean’, composite, in *Stielers Hand-Atlas*, 8th edition (Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1892), plates 75–6, DRMC, <https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~314628~90083215>.

<sup>59</sup> Haack, ‘Australien und Polynesien’, in *Stielers Hand-Atlas*, 9th edition (Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1907), plate 76, Biodiversity Heritage Library, <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.61653>; ‘Australien – Polynesien’, in *Stielers Atlas of Modern Geography*, vol. 2, 10th edition (Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1925), plate 88, DRMC, <https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~265662~90040045>.

<sup>60</sup> Anon., ‘Ozeanien’, in *Meyers Geographischer Hand-Atlas*, 3rd edition (Leipzig and Wien: Verlag des Bibliographischen Instituts, 1905), plate 112; M. Endlich and A. Soeder, ‘Australien und Ozeanien, Übersicht’, in Ernst Ambrosius, *Andrees allgemeiner Handatlas*, 7th edition (Bielefeld und Leipzig: Verlag von Velhagen & Klasing, 1821), plates 216–17.

<sup>61</sup> Mentelle and Malte-Brun, *Géographie mathématique, physique et politique de toutes les parties du monde* ... , 16 vols (Paris: Henry Tardieu et Laporte, 1803–5).

<sup>62</sup> Malte-Brun, ‘Avis au lecteur’; ‘L’Océanique: cinquième partie du monde’, in Mentelle and Malte-Brun, *Géographie mathématique* (1804), vol. 12, vii, 361–3, 379–82, 463.



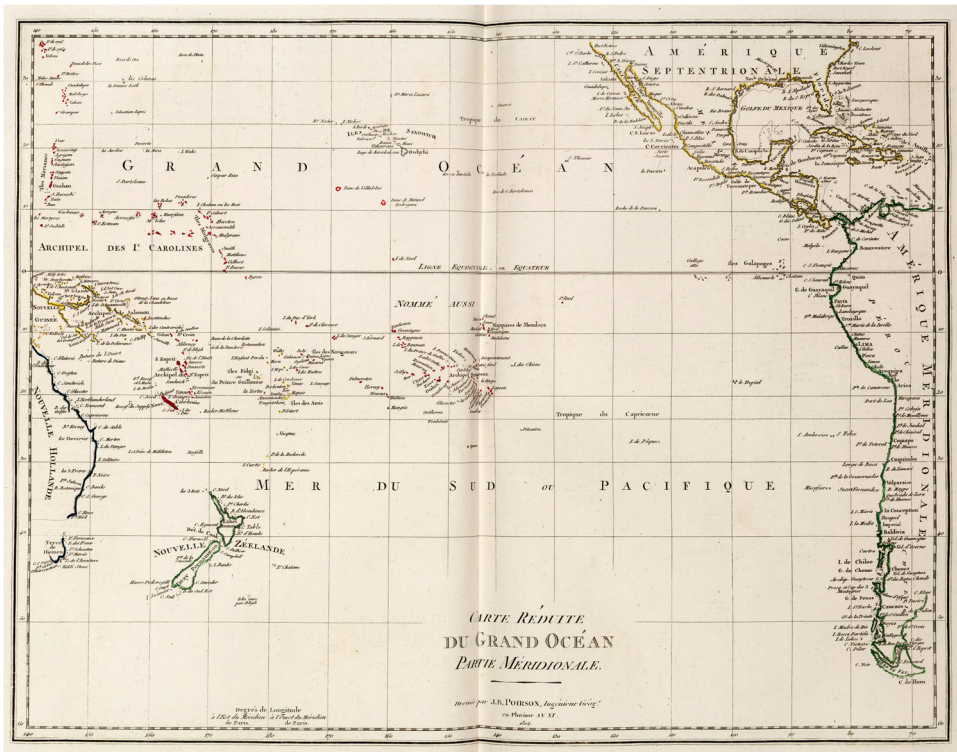


FIGURE 17: Jean-Baptiste Poirson, 'Carte réduite du grand Océan: partie méridionale' (1804), David Rumsey Map Collection, Stanford Libraries, <http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~289937~90068479>

which only differentiates named islands and archipelagos (Figure 17).<sup>63</sup> *Océanique* finally appears in a map published by Malte-Brun in 1810, but solely in the cartouche.<sup>64</sup>

Unlike Malte-Brun, most French mapmakers in the three decades after 1800 reinstated Brosse's geographic categories, initially inspired by the Scot John Pinkerton's *Modern Geography* which was translated into French in 1804 by the polymath Charles-Athanase Walckenaer. Pinkerton allowed only four principal divisions of the earth (Europe, Asia, America, Africa) and subsumed Australasia and Polynesia within Asia as part of the Asiatic Islands. But he calculated exact boundaries for Brosse's regions, incorporated in Australasia all the islands 'circumjacent' to New

<sup>63</sup> Poirson, 'Carte réduite du grand Océan: partie méridionale', in Mentelle, Malte-Brun, and Poirson, *Géographie mathématique, physique et politique de toutes les parties du monde ... Atlas* (Paris: Henry Tardieu and Laporte, 1804), plate 25, DRMC, <http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~289937~90068479>.

<sup>64</sup> Pierre M. Lapie, 'Océanique', in Malte-Brun, *Précis de la géographie universelle ... Collection de cartes géographiques ...* (Paris: François Buisson, 1810), [plate 19], MAP T 841, NLA, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-232610435>.



FIGURE 18: Eustache Hérisson, ‘Australasie et Polynésie’ (1806), National Library of Australia, Canberra, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-232596111>

Holland, as far east as the New Hebrides and New Zealand, and assigned Fiji to Polynesia. Pinkerton also identified the ‘characteristic feature’ underpinning Brosse’s terminology: ‘innumerable small islands’ for Polynesia and island ‘size’ for Australasia.<sup>65</sup> Aaron Arrowsmith’s illustrative maps name but do not delineate the regions.<sup>66</sup> In 1806, the geographical engineer Eustache Hérisson endorsed Pinkerton’s ‘system’ and acknowledged Brosse’s precedence in his text. His map differentiates *Australasie* (including New Zealand) from *Polynésie* (including Fiji) with coloured coastal outlines (Figure 18).<sup>67</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Pinkerton, *Modern Geography* ... , 2 vols (London: T. Cadell Jun. and W. Davies and T.N. Longman and O. Rees, 1802), vol. 2, 432–6, 464–7; idem, *Géographie moderne* ... , ed. and trans. Walckenaer, 6 vols (Paris: Dentu, 1804), vol. 5, 239–52, 308–13.

<sup>66</sup> Arrowsmith, ‘Pacific Ocean’, in Pinkerton, *Modern Geography*, vol. 2, facing 493, MAP T 67, NLA, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-232540645>; idem, ‘Grand Océan’, in Pinkerton, *Géographie moderne* ... Atlas (Paris: Dentu, 1804), plate 30, MAP T 68, NLA, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-232540755>.

<sup>67</sup> Hérisson, *Atlas portatif contenant la géographie universelle ancienne et moderne* (Paris: Desray, 1806), 142–5, plate 39, MAP T 711, NLA, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-232596111>.

In 1815 and 1818, Walckenaer proposed his own global subdivision into 'three Worlds' comprising eight sections, thus disputing the widely accepted notion of a world of five 'parts'. Positioning the *Monde maritime* (Maritime World) alongside the Old and the New Worlds, he partitioned it between Brosses's *Australasie*, abridged to *Australie* ('New Holland, and the large islands facing the east coasts of this continent'); Brosses's *Polynésie* ('the islands of the great ocean'); and the *Archipel d'Orient* (Eastern Archipelago or East Indies).<sup>68</sup> However, Walckenaer's classification was largely ignored, not least perhaps because his promised magnum opus on the entire *monde maritime* stalled after four volumes that cover only the Eastern Archipelago.

Beginning in 1816, a key series of maps by Brué redefine the toponymy of the 'fifth part of the world' by amending Malte-Brun's *Océanique* to *Océanie* (Figure 19).<sup>69</sup> With varying parameters, the neologism *Océanie*/Oceania has long persisted, including in modern Indigenous usages.<sup>70</sup> As a young midshipman on Nicolas Baudin's voyage of 1801–3, Brué was trained in the marine cartography practised in the Pacific by the authors of celebrated French voyage atlases: the eminent hydrographer Charles-François Beautemps-Beaupré and Brué's shipmate Louis de Freycinet.<sup>71</sup> Brué further refined the accuracy of his maps by drawing them directly on copper plates.<sup>72</sup> Like Plant, he imprinted his regional synthesis in the maps' graphic structure, rather than simply in words or colours – the first French mapmaker to do so. In 1816, Brué used hatching lines to mark the boundaries of the three great regions into which he divided *Océanie*: the *Grand archipel d'Asie* (Great Asian Archipelago) and Brosses's *Polynésie* and *Australasie*. In 1828, in the second edition of his magnum opus the *Atlas universel*, Brué somewhat modified this schema in maps of *Océanie* and its regions reworked in the light of 'recent voyages'. He too abbreviated

<sup>68</sup> Walckenaer, *Cosmologie, ou description générale de la terre ...* (Paris: Deterville, 1815), 75–6; idem, *Le monde maritime, ou tableau géographique et historique de l'Archipel d'Orient, de la Polynésie, et de l'Australie*, 4 vols (Paris: Nepveu, 1818), vol. 1, vi, xxxi–xlvi.

<sup>69</sup> Brué, 'Océanie ou cinquième partie du monde', in *Grand atlas universel*, plates 36–40, DRMC, [http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/view/search?q=pub\\_title=%22Grand%20atlas%20universel](http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/view/search?q=pub_title=%22Grand%20atlas%20universel); idem, 'Carte de l'Océanie ou cinquième partie du monde', in *Atlas universel de géographie physique, politique et historique, ancienne et moderne ...* (Paris: l'Auteur et Ch<sup>les</sup>. Simonneau, 1822), plate 30, MAP T 248, NLA, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-232565276>; idem, 'Carte générale de l'Océanie ou cinquième partie du monde ...', in *Atlas universel de géographie physique, politique, ancienne & moderne ...* 2nd edition (Paris: l'Auteur et Ch<sup>les</sup>. Piquet, 1828), plate 47, DRMC, <http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~33948~1170101>.

<sup>70</sup> Hau'ofa, 'Our Sea of Islands'.

<sup>71</sup> Beautemps-Beaupré, *Atlas du voyage de Bruny-Dentrecasteaux ... en 1791, 1792 et 1793 ...* (Paris: Dépôt Général des Cartes et Plans de la Marine et des Colonies, 1807), MAP Ra 82 (Copy 1), NLA, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-ra82>; Freycinet, *Voyage de découvertes aux terres australes: Historique. Atlas*, 2<sup>e</sup> partie (Paris: [Imprimerie impérial], 1811), MAP RaA 1, NLA, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230971104>; idem, *Voyage de découvertes aux terres australes ... pendant les années 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, & 1804: Partie navigation et géographie. Atlas* (Paris: s.n., 1812), MAP RaA 2, NLA, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230973504>.

<sup>72</sup> Philippe de La Renaudière, 'Nécrologie: Mort de M. Brué', *Nouvelles annales des voyages et des sciences géographiques* 13 (1832): 159.

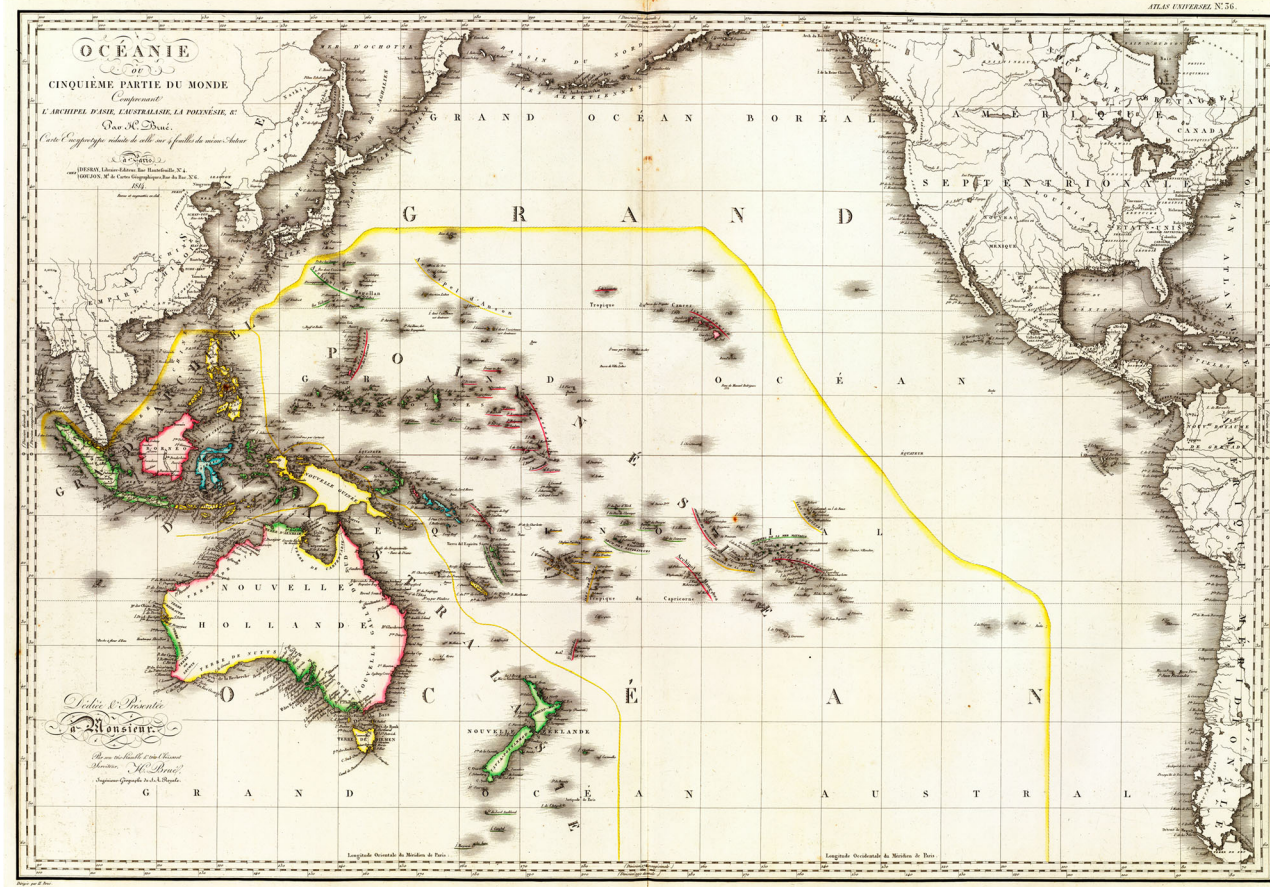


FIGURE 19: Adrien-Hubert Brué, 'Océanie ou cinquième partie du monde' (1816), David Rumsey Map Collection, Stanford Libraries, <https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~25585~1040021>

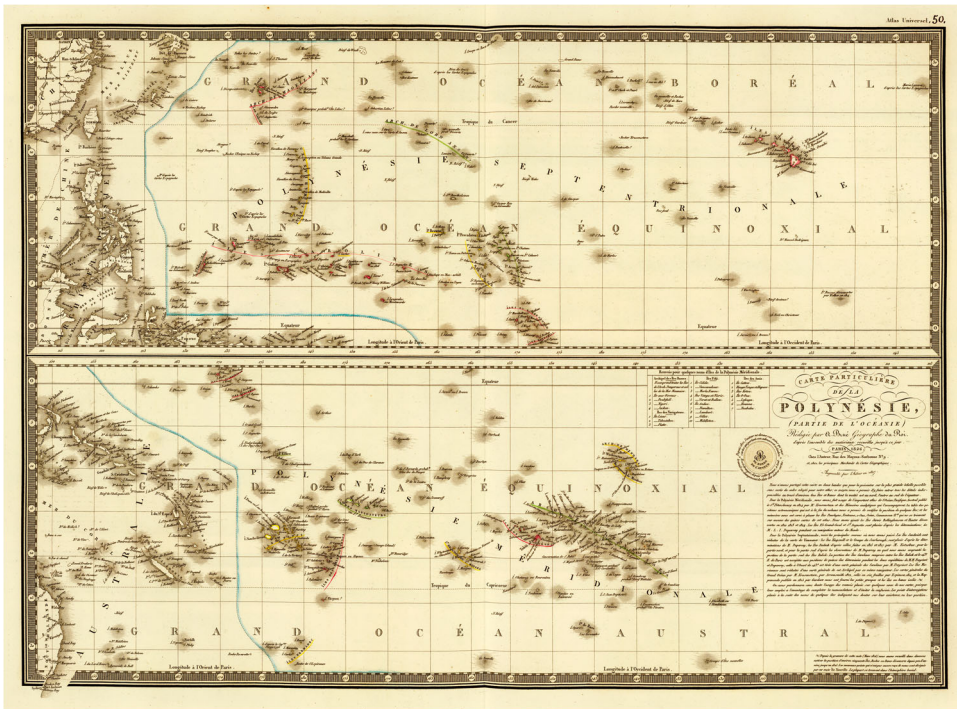


FIGURE 20: Adrien-Hubert Brué, 'Carte particulière de la Polynésie, (partie de l'Océanie)' (1828), David Rumsey Map Collection, Stanford Libraries, <https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~33951~1170104>

*Australasie* to *Australie* and, in a pragmatic gesture to achieve 'the largest possible scale', split *Polynésie* at the Equator into southern and northern segments, reminiscent spatially of Malte-Brun's twin Polynésias (Figure 20).<sup>73</sup>

Apart from Malte-Brun, the subdivision of insular *Polynésien* into two 'chief provinces' was also anticipated by the German naturalist Adelbert von Chamisso, who accompanied the Russian expedition of Otto von Kotzebue to the eastern and northern Pacific in 1815–18. Chamisso's 'first province of *Polynésien*' spans the small islands of the north Pacific (modern Micronesia) while the second comprises the islands and archipelagoes 'of eastern *Polynésien*', with outliers in the Hawaiian Islands and New Zealand (modern Polynesia).<sup>74</sup> In 1830, Poirson formally added 'north' and 'south' *Polynésie* to a map published in an atlas illustrating a geographical treatise by the now late Malte-Brun (Figure 21). But ironically, far from celebrating Malte-Brun's cartographic legacy, Poirson endorsed Brué's rival terminology by

<sup>73</sup> Brué, 'Carte générale de l'Océanie'; 'Carte de l'Australie, (partie sud-ouest de l'Océanie)'; 'Carte particulière de la Polynésie, (partie de l'Océanie)', in *Atlas universel* (1828), plates 47, 49, 50, DRMC, <http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/view/all/who/A.+Brue/what/World+Atlas>.

<sup>74</sup> Chamisso, 'Bemerkungen und Ansichten von dem Naturforscher der Expedition', in Kotzebue, *Entdeckungs-Reise in die Süd-See und nach der Berings-Straße ... Unternommen in den Jahren 1815, 1816, 1817 und 1818 ...* (Weimar: Gebrüder Hoffmann, 1821), vol. 3, 30, 42, 44.



FIGURE 21: Jean-Baptiste Poirson, ‘Océanie’ (1830), National Library of Australia, Canberra, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-232629536>

labelling his own map *Océanie* and dividing it into three colour-coded regions; echoing Brosses, the central region is *Australie*.<sup>75</sup>

In detailed text boxes on his maps of *Océanie*, Brué recognized the work of numerous voyagers and cartographers, but none more generously than the ‘important atlas’ of the South Sea/Pacific Ocean published in Russian and French editions from 1824 by the initial Russian global circumnavigator Adam Johann von Krusenstern.<sup>76</sup> The first atlas devoted exclusively to the Pacific, it is an empirical triumph condensed from Krusenstern’s own Oceanic experience and deep familiarity with his predecessors’ work. Since his sole organizing principle was by archipelagoes or individual islands, regionalized only by hemisphere, both umbrella and regional toponyms are conspicuously absent. Polynesia thus features neither in the atlas nor in Krusenstern’s supplementary ‘hydrographic memoirs’ which provide critical syntheses of island and coastal coordinates and the unstable insular toponymy imposed

<sup>75</sup> Poirson, ‘Océanie’, in *Atlas du traité élémentaire de géographie de Malte-Brun ...* (Paris and Bruxelles: Aimé André and La Librairie parisienne, 1830), plate 12, MAP T 990, NLA, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-232629536>.

<sup>76</sup> Brué, *Atlas universel* (1828), plate 50; Krusenstern, *Atlas Yuzhnogo Morya* [South Sea], 2 vols (St Petersburg: s.n., 1824–6), К 2-Тих 9/60, National Library of Russia, St Petersburg, <https://vivaldi.nlr.ru/ca000000007/view>; idem, *Atlas de l’Océan pacifique*, 2 vols (St.-Petersbourg: s.n., 1824–7).

by European voyagers.<sup>77</sup> The accuracy, standardization, and consistent scale of these interwoven visual and written productions served as templates for subsequent hydrographers and in wider global cartography for several decades.

### *Polynesia: English*

In Britain, Pacific nomenclatures were usually more parsimonious than on the continent. Mapmakers often rehearsed Pinkerton's revival of Polynesia and Australasia or omitted regional names or divisions entirely – as in most maps of the 'Pacific Ocean' published over more than half a century by the celebrated Arrowsmith dynasty of cartographers.<sup>78</sup> In 1812, on common linguistic grounds, the philologist William Marsden strongly recommended that Brosses's 'name of POLYNESIA' be extended to the 'great insular region' comprising the East Indies ('*Hither POLYNESIA*') and the South Sea Islands ('*Further POLYNESIA*').<sup>79</sup> This expanded sense of Polynesia, reminiscent of the scope given to the German/Swedish term *Polynisien* after 1775, was in wide British usage until the late 19th century,<sup>80</sup> especially among Evangelicals such as the London Missionary Society's John Williams (Figure 22).<sup>81</sup>

<sup>77</sup> Krusenstern, *Recueil de mémoires hydrographiques, pour servir d'analyse et d'explication à l'Atlas de l'Océan Pacifique* (St.-Petersbourg: Imprimerie du Département de l'Instruction publique, 1824–7); idem, *Supplémens au recueil des mémoires hydrographiques ...* (St.-Petersbourg: A. Pluchart, 1835).

<sup>78</sup> E.g. Aaron Arrowsmith, *Reduced Chart of the Pacific Ocean ...* (London: A. Arrowsmith, 1798), G9230 1798 .A7, Library of Congress, Washington, DC, 1798, <https://lccn.loc.gov/96682025>; John Arrowsmith, 'Pacific Ocean', in *The London Atlas of Universal Geography ...* (London: John Arrowsmith, 1838), plate 38, DRMC <http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~33886~1170038>; see also John Nicaragua Dower, 'Chart of the Pacific Ocean', in *A New General Atlas of the World ...* (London: Henry Teesdale and Co., 1844), plate 32, DRMC, <http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~35115~1180740>; J. Hugh Johnson, 'Oceania, or Islands in the Pacific Ocean, on Mercators Projection, Comprising Polynesia, Malaysia and Australasia', in *The Royal Illustrated Atlas of Modern Geography* (London: A. Fullarton and Co., [1872]), plate 71, DRMC, <http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~3459~400029>.

<sup>79</sup> William Marsden, *A Dictionary of the Malayan Language ...* (London: the Author, 1812), i, original emphasis.

<sup>80</sup> E.g. Richard Andree, 'Polynesia', in *The Times' Atlas* (London: Office of 'The Times', 1895), plate 112, DRMC, <http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~31747~1150676>; Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, 'Polynesia or Islands in the Pacific Ocean', in *Maps of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1844), vol. 2, plate 156, DRMC, <https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~20992~530084>; John Rapkin, 'Polynesia, or Islands in the Pacific Ocean', in *The Illustrated Atlas, and Modern History of the World ...*, ed. R. Montgomery Martin (London: J. & F. Tallis, [1851]), plate 56, DRMC, <http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~834~60139>.

<sup>81</sup> Williams, *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands ...* (London: John Snow, 1837), 503–4; idem, 'Polynesia', in *Narrative*, facing 5, MAP RM 3970, NLA, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj->

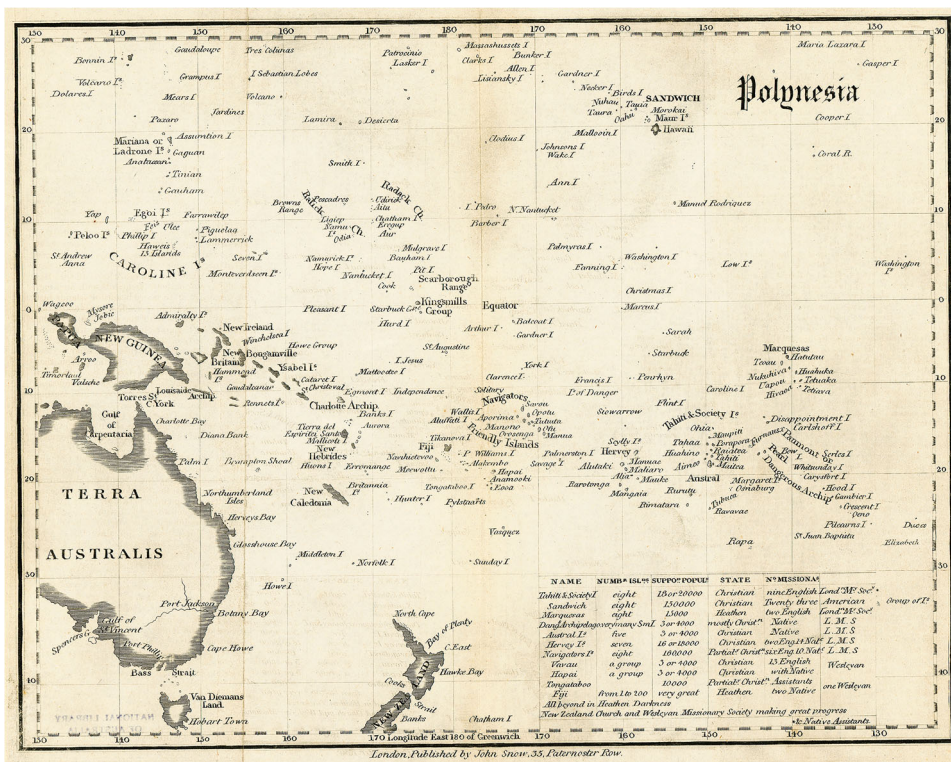


FIGURE 22: John Williams, ‘Polynesia’ (1837), National Library of Australia, Canberra, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-232405140>

In the US, the dual geography of Australasia and Polynesia held sway throughout much of the century,<sup>82</sup> whereas in France it was largely replaced after 1850 by the racialized triumvirate *Polynésie*, *Micronésie*, and *Mélanésie*. The supplanting

232405140; see also George French Angas, *Polynesia: A Popular Description of the Physical Features, Inhabitants, Natural History, and Production of the Islands of the Pacific* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, [1866]); A.W. Murray, *The Martyrs of Polynesia ...* (London: Elliot Stock, 1885); George Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia: Missionary Life, Travels, and Researches in the Islands of the Pacific* (London: John Snow, 1861).

<sup>82</sup> E.g. Sarah S. Cornell, ‘Oceania’, in *Companion Atlas to Cornell’s High School Geography ...* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1864), DRMC, <https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~28064~1120197>; Orlando Willis Gray, ‘Oceanica’, in *Gray’s Atlas of the United States, with General Maps of the World ...* (Philadelphia: Stedman, Brown & Lyon, 1874), DRMC, <https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~206908~3003060>; Alvin J. Johnson, ‘Johnson’s World on Mercators Projection’, in *Johnson’s New Illustrated Family Atlas of the World ...* (New York: A.J. Johnson & Co., 1886), plates 18–19, DRMC, <http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~207073~3003126>; Samuel Augustus Mitchell, ‘Map of Oceanica’, in *Mitchell’s School Atlas ...* (Philadelphia: Thomas, Cowperthwait & Company, 1839), plate 16, DRMC, <http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~1192~100012:Map-of-Oceanica>.



of Brosset's spatial labels by racial ones is briefly sketched in the coda to this article. In the meantime, I detour to address anachronistic, but quite widely believed projections of Polynesia's invention to a time two centuries before Brosset's actual inauguration of the term.

#### PERSONAL DIGRESSION: PORTUGUESE POLYNESIA IMAGINED

More than 15 years ago, I was investigating the genealogy of the term 'fifth part of the world'. While reading the initial volume, published in 1810, of Malte-Brun's massive *Précis de la géographie universelle*, I registered his assertion that the Portuguese chronicler Barros had classified the 'immense number of islands situated to the south-east of Asia' as the fifth part of the globe. A footnote references '*Barros*, I, p. 147'. Malte-Brun further claimed that Barros's successor Diogo do Couto had arranged 'all the islands beyond Java and Borneo into five different groups'. The first comprised the Moluccas or five 'Spice Islands'. The second archipelago consisted of Gilolo (Halmahera), Morotai 'and several other islands inhabited by savages', together with Celebes (Sulawesi). The third was Mindanao, Sulu, and several other islands in the southern Philippines. The fourth embraced the nutmeg and clove islands of Banda and Amboina (Ambon). The fifth was seldom visited by the Portuguese because the 'poor', 'savage' inhabitants refused all communication with strangers. They were 'as black' as the Africans, 'knew no metal', and 'called themselves *Papous*, that is blacks'. On this basis, the fifth archipelago is identified as New Guinea and neighbouring islands. The passage concludes by stating that the Portuguese suspected the existence of other islands beyond those they knew, extending along 'a great southern land which stretched to the Strait of Magellan'. '*Couto*, p. 190' is cited in a footnote.<sup>83</sup>

In the fourth volume of the *Précis*, published in 1813, Malte-Brun explained his aforementioned application of 'the apt denomination *Polynésie*' to the small islands of the eastern and northern Pacific. Acknowledging Brosset, he added the striking claim that the name Polynesia had been applied by Barros and Couto to 'the islands of the Moluccas [Maluku], the Philippines and others, situated east of Java'. His earlier reference is expanded to '*Barros*, Asia, Dec. I, tome I, p. 147' and he added '*D. Couto*, Asia contin. t. III, p. 139'.<sup>84</sup>

Intermittently in the following years, I scoured numerous online editions of Barros and Couto's *Da Asia* in search of these tantalizing but elusive snippets. In 2012, I tracked Malte-Brun's reference to Barros to folio 147r of the 1628 reprint of his first *decada* (decade). The passage, which I cited above from folio 91r of the original 1552 edition, was kindly translated by a Portuguese colleague, the historian of science Ricardo Roque. Barros made no mention of 'Polynesia' per se but referred to 'so many thousand islands', 'so many in number', adjacent to Asia, which he

<sup>83</sup> Malte-Brun, *Précis de la géographie universelle ...*, 8 vols (Paris: F. Buisson, 1810–29), vol. 1 (1810), 495–6.

<sup>84</sup> Malte-Brun, *Précis*, vol. 4 (1813), 229.

computed as ‘a *fourth*’ (not fifth) part of the earth.<sup>85</sup> Malte-Brun was thus doubly wrong with respect to Barros as alleged architect of both the term Polynesia and the idea of a fifth global part. For an even longer time, I searched vainly for a relevant passage in Couto’s work and finally traced something like it to the fourth *decada* of *Da Asia*, published in 1602.<sup>86</sup> However, the *decada* and folio numbers matched none of the volume or page numbers in Malte-Brun’s footnotes and his rendition of Couto’s division of the *mar do Levante* into ‘five Archipelagoes’ is badly distorted. It should read: first, the Moluccas Archipelago or ‘five clove islands’; second, Moro, Gilolo, and Morotai, ‘populated by savage peoples’; third, the Papuan Islands whose inhabitants are described at great length and in even more negative terms than Malte-Brun’s (these islands are said to ‘run along a great land’ terminating at the Strait of Magellan); fourth, Celebes, including Mindanao and other islands in the southern and central Philippines; and fifth, Amboina, prolific source of cloves, and Banda.

Satisfied at last that Malte-Brun had seriously misrepresented Barros and Couto, I definitively scrapped a footnote I had drafted on Barros’s priority as inventor of the term Polynesia. Others had been less cautious. The distinguished Italian geographer Adriano Balbi not only took Malte-Brun’s claim at face value but accused Broses of ‘appropriating’ Barros’s term Polynesia.<sup>87</sup> The English missionary-ethnographer William Ellis did likewise with respect to ‘Portuguese authors’.<sup>88</sup> On the authority of several unnamed ‘modern geographers’, the French naval surgeon-naturalist René-Primevère Lesson applied the name *Polynésie* to ‘the lands so vaguely named *Asian archipelagoes*’ – Maluku, the Philippines, the Sunda Islands, and New Guinea – while reserving *Océanie* for ‘the innumerable islands scattered in the Great-Ocean’.<sup>89</sup>

There the matter rested for me until 2019, when the Swedish bibliographer Rolf DuRietz asked in an email if I knew of any ‘earlier research in Portuguese (or any other language) on the Portuguese use of the name “Polynesia”’.<sup>90</sup> He kindly sent me a copy of his study of Djurberg in which he accepted the claim with some reservations,<sup>91</sup> but specifically cited the Germans Zimmermann and Friedrich Ludwig Lindner, rather than Malte-Brun. I quickly located online copies of Zimmermann’s

<sup>85</sup> Barros, *Da Asia: Dos feitos que os Portugueses fizeram no descobrimento & conquista dos mares & terras do Oriente* (Lisboa: Antonio Gonçalvez, 1628), *decada* 1, folio 147r, my emphasis.

<sup>86</sup> Couto, *Da Asia*, *decada* 4, folios 135v–137r.

<sup>87</sup> Balbi, *Compendio di geografia universale ... delle cinque parti del mondo* (Venezia: Giuseppe Molinari, 1817), 295, note 1.

<sup>88</sup> Ellis, *Polynesian Researches, During a Residence of Nearly Eight Years in the Society and Sandwich Islands*, 4 vols, 2nd edition (London: Fisher, Son, & Jackson, 1831), vol. 1, 3.

<sup>89</sup> Lesson, ‘Considérations générales sur les îles du grand-Océan, et sur les variétés de l’espèce humaine qui les habitent’, in Lesson and Prosper Garnot, *Voyage autour du monde ... sur la corvette de Sa Majesté, La Coquille, pendant les années 1822, 1823, 1824 et 1825 ... Zoologie* (Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1826), vol. 1, 1<sup>ere</sup> partie, 2, note 1; 103, note 1.

<sup>90</sup> DuRietz, email, 24 March 2019.

<sup>91</sup> DuRietz, *Daniel Djurberg*, 9–10, 37, 65, 68, 148.

geography *Australien* of 1810 and Lindner's 'geographical handbook', *Der fünfte Welttheil oder Australien*, of 1814. Zimmerman stated unequivocally that Barros had 'named the island mass lying east of Java *Polynesien*' and that Brosses had 'imitated' him. Like Malte-Brun, his initial footnote refers to 'p. 147' of Barros's first *decada* – that is, to folio 147 of the 1628 edition – and he subsequently added the same mysterious reference to 'Diego Couto III. p. 139'.<sup>92</sup> A footnote in Lindner's work credits Barros with authorship of *Polynesien*, but only as applied to 'the Asian Islands and a part of the Papuan Lands'. Lindner often referenced Zimmerman, but not in this context. Unlike Malte-Brun and Zimmerman, Lindner cited the original 1652 edition of Barros's *Asia* but with no page number.<sup>93</sup> The coincidence that Lindner independently misconstrued Barros's 'so many islands' as *Polynesien* is unlikely but cannot be entirely discounted.

Importantly, whereas the primary concern of both Zimmermann and Lindner was the nomenclature *Polynesien*, Malte-Brun's main aim was classificatory: the concept of a fifth part of the world and (a garbled version of) Couto's 'five Archipelagoes'. His later attribution of the origin of *Polynésie* to Barros and Couto is a belated addendum to his explanation of his own use of the term. Lindner evinced little interest in the etymology of *Der fünfte Welttheil*, notwithstanding his own title, and did not mention Couto's 'Archipelagoes'. Zimmermann did so but merely summarized in a footnote the catalogue Malte-Brun gave in far more detail.<sup>94</sup> Since both these works were published in the same year, their lists must have been derived independently.

I answered DuRietz's inquiry by outlining my inquiries into the alleged Portuguese invention of Polynesia and my identification of the Barros and Couto citations. My response galvanized him to look for 'the original reference', on the probably correct assumption that neither Malte-Brun nor Zimmermann had directly consulted Barros's work. A couple of months after our first contact, DuRietz announced triumphantly that he had found it by following Zimmerman's footnoted reference to Matthias Christian Sprengel's history of geographical discoveries.<sup>95</sup> Sprengel stated: 'further towards the east lay so many other islands that Barros made a special part of the world out of them, and therefore deserved the honour of having first indicated *Polynesien*, or the fifth part of the world'.<sup>96</sup> The proliferating early 19th-century notion that Barros invented Polynesia is thus reduced to Zimmerman's anachronistic misreading of Sprengel's standard contemporary German conflation of *Polynesien* with the fifth part of the world (see [Figure 12](#)). In a subsequent work, DuRietz repeatedly pointed out that Zimmermann had mistakenly

<sup>92</sup> Zimmermann, *Australien*, vol. 1, part 1, 16–17, 48, 373.

<sup>93</sup> Lindner, *Der fünfte Welttheil oder Australien: ein geographisches Hand- und Lesebuch zur Belehrung und Unterhaltung nach den Berichten der glaubwürdigsten Reisenden* (Weimar: Geographischen Institute, 1814), 5, note.

<sup>94</sup> Zimmermann, *Australien*, vol. 1, part 1, 48, note \*\*; cf. Malte-Brun, *Précis*, vol. 1 (1810), 495–6.

<sup>95</sup> DuRietz, email, 18 May 2019; Zimmermann, *Australien*, vol. 1, part 1, 48, note \*\*.

<sup>96</sup> Sprengel, *Geschichte der wichtigsten geographischen Entdeckungen bis zur Ankunft der Portugiesen in Japan 1542*, 2nd edition (Halle: Hemmerde und Schwetschke, 1792), 409.

transplanted a separate Sprengel reference to ‘Couto III. p. 139’ in support of his Barros-*Polynésien* equation and that Malte-Brun did likewise.<sup>97</sup> Clearly, Malte-Brun’s incidental association of *Polynésie* with Barros was simply copied from Zimmermann rather than directly from Sprengel.

In the absence of effective international copyright laws before the late 19th century, authors commonly copied other people’s work with and without acknowledgement. Malte-Brun, however, was so notorious in this regard that Pinkerton’s French publisher Jean-Gabriel Dentu produced a 140-page memoir denouncing the ‘so-called Danish geographer’ as a ‘plagiarist-copyist’ who should be subject to the same legal penalties as a ‘simple forger’. Dentu began with a nationalist diatribe against Malte-Brun for reviewing Pinkerton’s *Abrégé de la géographie moderne* as the work of a ‘literary charlatan’ and ‘perhaps inferior’ in ‘order and method’ to the worst French geographies, ‘which are however the most pitiful in Europe’.<sup>98</sup> His spleen vented, Dentu convincingly devoted the rest of his memoir to juxtaposing page after page of long passages either liberally paraphrased or literally copied by Malte-Brun from works by Pinkerton and other French geographers.

Dentu could justly have added Sprengel to that litany of victims of Malte-Brun’s plagiarism. An entire section in the *Précis* on the Portuguese in Asia, including the catalogue of Couto’s five archipelagoes, is an almost literal translation of much of §34 of Sprengel’s text and most of his footnotes.<sup>99</sup> An incidental (wrong) reference to ‘*Sprengel*, Hist. des Découv. §. 33’ is arbitrarily inserted in a footnote. The odd recalibration of the order of Couto’s archipelagoes was evidently Sprengel’s act, merely aped by Malte-Brun.

The only remaining conundrum was my long inability to match Sprengel’s references to Couto with any edition of *Da Asia*. Not long ago, I looked idly at a document I had created in 2011 outlining the bibliographic details of various editions of *Da Asia*. It includes a list copied from the entry on Couto in the French version of Wikipedia.<sup>100</sup> Still extant, the list cites a three-volume edition of *decadas* 4–8 published in Lisbon in 1736. My interest stirred, since all Sprengel’s Couto references are to vols I–III, I launched a fervid online quest that eventually produced searchable pdfs from the Digital Collection of the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies. It was the work of seconds to prove that Sprengel’s key reference to ‘Couto I. p. 190’ – copied by

<sup>97</sup> Rolf E. DuRietz, *Portuguese Polynesia: Origin and End of a Myth* (Uppsala: Dahlia Books, 2019), 16, 21, 24; see Malte-Brun, *Précis*, vol. 4 (1813), 229, note 3; Zimmermann, *Australien*, vol. 1, part 1, 48, note \*\*.

<sup>98</sup> Dentu, *Moyen de parvenir en littérature, ou mémoire à consulter, sur une question de propriété littéraire, dans lequel on prouve que le sieur Malte-Brun, se disant géographe danois, a copié littéralement une grande partie des œuvres de M. Gosselin, ainsi que de celles de MM. Lacroix, Walckenaer, Pinkerton, Puissant, etc., etc., et les a fait imprimer et débiter sous son nom ...* (Paris: Dentu, 1811), i–iii, 1–21; Conrad Malte-Brun, ‘Revue de quelques ouvrages géographiques’, *Journal de l’Empire* 9 September 1809, 3–4; John Pinkerton, *Abrégé de la géographie moderne, rédigée sur un nouveau plan ...*, tr. Charles Athanase Walckenaer, abridged edition (Paris: Dentu, 1805).

<sup>99</sup> Malte-Brun, *Précis*, vol. 4 (1813), 488–97; Sprengel, *Geschichte*, 391–412.

<sup>100</sup> ‘Diogo do Couto’, *Wikipédia: L’encyclopédie libre*, [https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Diogo\\_do\\_Couto](https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Diogo_do_Couto)

Malte-Brun without citation and by Zimmermann 'according to Sprengel' – is indeed to this edition of Couto and that the distortion of his list of five archipelagoes was indeed Sprengel's doing, echoed verbatim by Malte-Brun and summarized by Zimmermann.<sup>101</sup>

The final irony of this minor tale of dogged persistence on the trail of shoddy literary practice or dereliction is that Sprengel's anomalous reference to 'Couto III. p. 139', which Zimmermann misplaced and Malte-Brun slavishly repeated, is wrong – it should be Couto, vol. 1, 539–40, as correctly noted by Sprengel a few pages earlier.<sup>102</sup> The lesson to would-be plagiarizers is first, don't do it, and second, check everything – in which case plagiarism is unnecessary because you can do it yourself.

#### CODA: *POLYNÉSIE* RACIALIZED

Reification of essentialized racial categories was the modus operandi of the science of race from its late 18th-century inception and 19th-century consolidation, to its heyday lasting well beyond 1950. Privileging narrow, supposedly measurable physical criteria, this taxonomic process compressed the vast range of personal, local, and regional diversities into a priori racial pigeonholes and ranked races hierarchically according to fixed presumptions about relative racial perfection: from superior 'white', to ambiguous 'yellow', to primitive 'black'.<sup>103</sup> The explicit written racialization of Pacific Islanders dates from 1804 when Malte-Brun invented the 'Polynesian race' of *Océanique*. He described them as a 'very fine race of men' inhabiting New Zealand and the 'most eastern' Pacific Islands and opposed them spatially, physically, and morally to 'the black race' or 'Oceanic Negroes' peopling New Guinea, New Holland, and the western Pacific Islands.<sup>104</sup>

In French and German maps before 1832, *Polynésie/Polynésien* was a topographic descriptor with no racial implications. Subsequently, most French map-makers displaced Bosses's terminology with an overtly racist nomenclature whereby the relative positioning of New Zealand and Fiji in relation to Polynesia

<sup>101</sup> Diogo do Couto, *Decadas da Asia, que tratam dos mares, que descobriram, armadas, que desbaratao, exercitos, que vencerao, e das agoens heroicas, e facanhas bellicas, que obrarao os portuguezes nas conquistas do oriente*, 3 vols (Lisboa Occidental: Oficina de Domingos Gonsalves, 1736), vol. 1, 190–2, Biblioteca Digital, Câmara dos Deputados, Brazil, <https://bd.camara.leg.br/bd/handle/bdcamara/16759>; Malte-Brun, *Précis*, vol. 1 (1810), 496, note 2; Sprengel, *Geschichte*, 411; Zimmermann, *Australien*, vol. 1, part 1, 373, note \*\*.

<sup>102</sup> Sprengel, *Geschichte*, 407, note \*, 412, note \*\*; Malte-Brun, *Précis*, vol. 4 (1813), 229, note 3; Zimmermann, *Australien*, vol. 1, part 1, 48, note \*\*.

<sup>103</sup> Bronwen Douglas, 'Climate to Crania: Science and the Racialization of Human Difference', in *Foreign Bodies: Oceania and the Science of Race 1750–1940*, ed. Bronwen Douglas and Chris Ballard (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2008), 33–96.

<sup>104</sup> Mentelle and Malte-Brun, *Géographie mathématique*, vol. 1 (1803), 548; vol. 12 (1804), 473–4, 577.

signals the adoption or rejection of a racial geography.<sup>105</sup> The transformation was triggered by an article published by the highly experienced navigator-naturalist Jules Dumont d'Urville, illustrated by Ambroise Tardieu's radical new map of *Océanie* (Figure 23).<sup>106</sup> Text and map differentiate *Polynésie* from *Micronésie* (Micronesia, small islands) and the racialist neologism *Mélanésie* (Melanesia, black islands), derived from Greek *melas* (black) to label 'the homeland of the black Oceanian race'. This novel spatial partition is paired with a racial taxonomy of the Indigenous inhabitants which ranks the 'tanned or copper-coloured Polynesian race' of *Polynésie* and *Micronésie* at the apex, 'truly distinct' from the 'black' or 'Melanesian race', but with both 'yellow' (Polynesian) and 'black' (Melanesian) races classed well below the 'white' European race.<sup>107</sup> The map contorts the boundary with *Polynésie* to pass west of New Zealand (thus relocated to *Polynésie*) and east of Fiji (thus reassigned to *Mélanésie*). Dumont d'Urville's text justifies this geographically anomalous border on explicitly racial grounds: 'the New Zealanders' were 'evidently' of the 'same origin' as other *Polynésiens*; whereas the Fijians had only reached the 'first rank' of 'the Melanesian race' thanks to their 'frequent communications with the Polynesian race'.<sup>108</sup>

The urge to enforce a regional classificatory overlay on the fifth part of the world, firmly implanted in French and German maps and geographies by the early 19th century, was minimized or resisted in much Anglophone cartography until late in the century. Classification ultimately prevailed but the route from French invention and German appropriation to global geopolitics was circuitous. Notably, Dumont d'Urville's three racial toponyms do not appear regularly in British or US maps before 1900, notwithstanding the blatant racialization of much 19th-century Anglophone anthropology and geography. Polynesia, Micronesia, and Melanesia become standard international usage in the 20th century and remain so, though no longer overtly racial.<sup>109</sup>

Globally today, Polynesia generally denotes the vast insular triangle bounded by Hawai'i, Rapa Nui, Aotearoa-New Zealand, and Tonga-Samoa (see Figure 1). Ironically, in France the term is often limited to the French former colony and now 'overseas country' of *Polynésie française*. Polynesia has relatively little significance for the Indigenous people of the region who rarely consider themselves to be 'Polynesians', preferring national or local self-designations, except perhaps in the diasporic contexts where so many increasingly live, at the edges of or far beyond the 'triangle'.

<sup>105</sup> Douglas, 'Geography', 10–16.

<sup>106</sup> Dumont d'Urville, 'Sur les îles du grand Océan', *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* 17, no. 105 (1832): 1–21; Tardieu, 'Carte pour l'intelligence du mémoire de M. le capitaine d'Urville sur les îles du grand Océan', in *ibid.*, 1; Tardieu, 'Carte pour l'intelligence du mémoire de M. le capitaine d'Urville sur les îles du grand océan (Océanie)', in Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage de la corvette l'Astrolabe exécuté ... pendant les années 1826–1827–1828–1829 ... Atlas [historique]* (Paris: J. Tastu, 1833), plate [1], MAP NK 2456/73, NLA, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230622715>.

<sup>107</sup> Dumont d'Urville, 'Sur les îles', 3–6, 11, 19–20.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 6–7, 12–13.

<sup>109</sup> Douglas, 'Geography', 16–21.



However, the toponym Polynesia and the ethnonym ‘the Polynesians’ still have romantic popular currency and scholarly salience, particularly in archaeology, linguistics, bioanthropology, and genomics.

The cartographic quest for Polynesia charted in this article has inherent interest and excitement. However, its primary purpose in my research is to underpin and drive my current project ‘Race, place, genome: “The Polynesians” in historical perspective’. This inquiry investigates usages of both toponym and ethnonym in modern scientific studies, focusing particularly on the prevalence of the terms’ anachronistic scientific reinscription in raciology, anthropology, human biology, and genomics, in ignorance of their complex histories and often infamous connotations.<sup>110</sup>

## ORCID

Bronwen Douglas  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-7952-9673>

<sup>110</sup> E.g. Ricardo Santos and Bronwen Douglas, ““Polynesians” in the Brazilian Hinterland? Socio-historical Perspectives on Skulls, Genomics, Identity, and Nationhood’, *History of the Human Sciences* 33, no. 2 (2020): 22–47.