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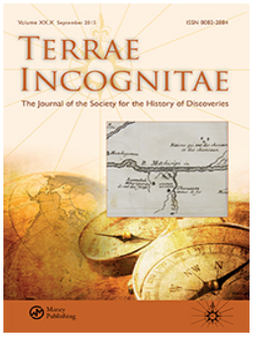

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TERRAE INCOGNITAE, 2016, 1–23

The Ghosts of *Christmas* (*Island*) Past: An Examination of its Early Charting and Naming

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For some three centuries confusion existed among Europeans over the location and name of the Indian Ocean island now referred to as *Christmas Island*. Maps appeared charting the island with no name, with one of three names, with two names simultaneously, or as two or three adjacent islands. It was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that it was consistently charted as *Christmas Island*. The origin and meaning of its other appellations, *Moni* and *Selam*, is the subject of this article.

KEYWORDS Christmas Island, Moni, Monij, Mony, Selam, Selan, Sanskrit, Arabic, Javanese, Dutch.

Christmas Island is located only 400 km south of the western head of Java (i.e. at the southern entrance to the Sunda Strait), approximately 2800 km west of Darwin, and 2600 km northwest of Perth.[1] It has a total land area of 135 km, and its 80-km coastline is an almost continuous sea cliff, ranging up to 50 m in height, making a seaborne landing on the island hazardous if not challenging.[2] This situation is graphically expressed by Charles Andrews who spent 10 months surveying the island:

> Nearly the whole of the coastline is formed by limestone cliffs, varying in height from about 15 to 150 feet or more. The latter height only occurs at Steep Point […], in other places the

[1] This proximity to Indonesia has made the island a prime destination of late for refugees seeking asylum in Australia. There is another Christmas Island; this one is in the Pacific Ocean and is now officially known as *Kiritimati*. It is part of the Republic of Kiribati. James Cook visited it on Christmas Eve in 1777.

[2] Australian Government, Department of Regional Australia, Local Government, Arts and Sport. *Christmas Island*. www.regional.gov.au/territories/christmas/index.aspx; Ee Tiang Heng and Vivian Louis Forbes, "Christmas Island: Remote No More," in *Australia's Arc of Instability: The Political and Cultural Dynamics of Regional Security*, eds. D. Rumley, V. L. Forbes and C. C. M. Griffin (Dordrecht: Springer, 2010), pp. 69–82.

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> height seldom exceeds 50 feet. The cliffs are nearly everywhere much undercut, and sometimes overhang to the extent of 30 feet or more.[3]

The island has been depicted on maps from the late sixteenth century onwards and initially appeared without a name; however, after some 20 years the island was variously labeled *Moni, Mony*, *Monij*, *Selam*, or *Selan*.[4] Then, in 1643, Captain William Mynors, master of the British East Indiaman *Royal Mary*, named the island *Christmas Island* when he sailed past it on Christmas Day. He had come upon what he thought was an uncharted island, of which he gives the following account:

> The 25th ditto in the morneing I saw an island, of which I cannot find any mention either in English, Dutch, or Portugall plaits. It lyes in lattytude 10d. 27; S. ¼ E. from the head of Java, distance 75 leaugs; and longitud from the said head 0od. 31 E. To see to, tis a fine smooth island of 7 leaugs longe. I came not neerer it then 6 leaugs, but caus'd the lead to be hove but found noe ground. There I lay becalm'd two dayes; which did heartyly greeve me, in regard of the many sicke men I had then aboard, beinge noe less then 20. But the 29th ditto it pleas'd God to send a fresh gale.[5]

Mynors does not say what name he gave to his new "discovery." However, the name is supplied in another document, a log kept on board the *Royal Mary*, now forming volume 65 of the *India Office Marine Records*. In this document, the writer says, during 24–25 December 1643 he "[a]t 3 howers morne had sight of an iland [*sic*] bearing, the body of it, S.W. b. W. about 7 lea. of; and because it was Christmas Day we called it by the name of Christmas iland."[6]

The first recorded landing on Christmas Island was on 28 March 1688 by the British privateer William Dampier, aboard the *Cygnet*. He landed at what is now called *The Dales* (on the west coast), and found the island unoccupied:[7]

> We met nothing of remark in this voyage beside the catching two great sharks till the 28th day. Then we fell in with a small woody island in latitude 10 degrees 20 min. Its longitude from New Holland, from whence we came, was by my account 12 degrees 6 min west. It was deep water about the island, and therefore no anchoring; but we sent two canoes ashore; one of them with the carpenters to cut a tree to make another pump; the other canoe went to search for fresh water and found a fine small brook near the south-west point of the island; but there the sea fell in on the shore so high that they could not get it

[3] Charles W. Andrews, *A Monograph of Christmas Island (Indian Ocean): Physical Features and Geology with Descriptions of the Fauna and Flora by Numerous Contributors* (London: British Museum, 1900), p. 6. See also Charles W. Andrews, "A Description of Christmas Island (Indian Ocean)," *The Geographical Journal* 13.1 (1899), pp. 17–35.

[4] *Moni* and *Selam* will be used as the default spellings throughout this article, unless when quoting directly. The form *Moni* is the closest orthographic representation of how it is actually pronounced. It is interesting to note that on the 1753 map of Johannes van Keulen (Table 1, map reference 51), an island to the southwest of Java, near *Cocos*, is labeled *I. d'May*. Even though this is not near any of the islands labeled *Moni* or *Mony*, I assume *I. d'May* refers to it nevertheless.

[5] Cited in William Foster, "The Discovery of Christmas Island," *The Geographical Journal* 37.3 (1911), pp. 281–2.

[6] Cited in Foster, "The Discovery of Christmas Island," pp. 281–2. Foster also cites a Ralph Cartwright, the ex-President of Bantam, who in a letter recounted the voyage back to Britain in 1646. Cartwright writes: "The 13th [January] about no one we saw Nativity Iland, soe called by Capt. Mynors. The 14th we had sight of the iland againe."

[7] Dampier's account of his visit can be found in chapter 17 of his *A New* Voyage *around the World*. http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks05/0500461h.html.

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> off. At noon both our canoes returned aboard; and the carpenters brought aboard a good tree which they afterwards made a pump with, such a one as they made at Mindanao. The other canoe brought aboard as many boobies and men-of-war birds as sufficed all the ship's company when they were boiled.

Under the section entitled "A land-animal like large crawfish,"[8] Dampier continues that

> They got also a sort of land animal somewhat resembling a large crawfish without its great claws. These creatures lived in holes in the dry sandy ground like rabbits. Sir Francis Drake in his Voyage round the World makes mention of such that he found at Ternate, or some other of the Spice Islands, or near them. They were very good sweet meat and so large that two of them were more than a man could eat; being almost as thick as one's leg. Their shells were of a dark brown but red when boiled.
>
> This island is of a good height, with steep cliffs against the south and south-west, and a sandy bay on the north side; but very deep water steep to the shore. The mould is blackish, the soil fat, producing large trees of divers sorts.

Another, rarely mentioned, early visitor to *Moni* was Willem de Vlamingh in 1697. After exploring and charting most of the southern half of the west coast of Australia, de Vlamingh headed for Batavia:

> [March] the 5th Tuesday […] In the afternoon, eight glasses having passed, saw land which was an island […] before sunrise braced up to call at ditto island […].
>
> [March] the 6th Wednesday in the morning after breakfast the wind ESE, topgallant breeze. Our upper-steersman went ashore to examine how the bottom was and to see if there was any possibility to land, since as far as we could see from the ship the shore was altogether steep and sounded no bottom a cannon-shot from shore. In the forenoon sent our third mate with the other boat to another place. At noon the estimated course and distance in 24 h was N½W 12½ miles, according to which the position by dead reckoning was 10 deg. 13 min. S lat. And 124 deg. 2 min. long. In the afternoon got our boats on board, reported thus: that the under-steersman and third mate, having a carpenter with them, found some trees which were suitable for making masts from, and also many palmite-trees, some of which they brought on board; braced round again and made sail […], found the island which we were confident to be Mony [Christmas Island].[9]

The samples of timber were subsequently sent to Amsterdam for analysis, and as a result of de Vlamingh's report, the VOC officials in Batavia sent de Vlamingh's son, Cornelis, back to Moni to gather more intelligence on this timber. However, Cornelis was unable to make a landing due to rough seas.

[8] In all probability, Dampier is referring here to the "coconut" or "robber crab" (*Birgus latro*). Christmas Island holds the largest and densest population of coconut crabs in the world.

[9] Cited in Günter Schilder (ed.), *Voyage to the Great South Land: Willem de Vlamingh 1696–1969*, trans. C. de Heer (Sydney: Royal Australian Historical Society, 1985), p. 142. De Vlamingh's reference to "12 ½ miles" refers to a German mile which was the unit of measurement used by Dutch mariners at the time. A German mile was four Admiralty nautical miles (i.e. 7,412.7 m, 24,320 ft., 4.6061 miles, or 1/15 of a degree of latitude). See Russ Rowlett, *How Many? A Dictionary of Units of Measurement* (2005). www.unc.edu/~rowlett/units/index.html.

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One of de Vlamingh's crew, Victor Victorszoon, was enlisted by the VOC's Chamber of Amsterdam as the "consoler of the sick" aboard the *Geelvinck*.[10] He was also commissioned to accurately chart and paint profiles of every coastline sighted during the expedition. He did a remarkable job, painting accurate and striking watercolor profiles of the coasts of Tristan da Cunha, St. Paul, Amsterdam, and Moni, as well a truthful depiction of the west Australian coast from the Swan River and Rottenest Island to north-west Cape. All drawings are still extant except, unfortunately, that of Moni. Undoubtedly, his drawing would have been much superior to that drawn by the next visitor to Christmas Island, Captain Daniel Beeckman, aboard the East India Company's *Eagle-Galley* in 1718. Beeckman declares that "[o]n the 5th of April we made *Christmas Island* (so called it's being first discovered on that Day." (Figure 1)

Beeckman's sketch is quite extraordinary in that the hills are grossly exaggerated. For instance, the highest points are depicted as a mountain with three peaks. Moreover, like Mynors, his estimate of the island's length of seven leagues (39.2 km) is also exaggerated.[11] To be fair to Mynors, though, he did not venture any closer to the island than about six leagues (approximately 33 km), making any reasonable estimation of its length difficult. Its actual length is nine km, and its breadth 14.5 km, with its highest point being Murray Hill at 361 m above sea level.

There is an uncanny resemblance between Beeckman's sketch of Christmas Island and that of an island depicted on the late Ming watercolor map of East Asia, better known as the Selden Map of China currently held at Oxford University's Bodleian Library.[12] At the extreme bottom of this map are depicted Java and its southern coast. Adjacent to this coast several islands are shown. The most southern of these looks remarkably like Beeckman's illustration. On many early maps, uncharted coastlines and islands were often imaginatively depicted. However, the Selden map is generally considered to be remarkably accurate, and indeed the historian Timothy Brook considers the southern half of the map to be the most "geographically informed."[13] Could the Selden map's depiction of this southern island be the first representation of Christmas Island, or is the resemblance mere coincidence?

In 1866, a review of the then recently published *Een Nieuwe Atlas Van Nederlandsch-Indië* (A New Atlas of the Dutch East-Indies), the Dutch scholar and public intellectual Robidé van der Aa makes the following comments on the lack of knowledge of Christmas Island:

> It is surely strange that so little is known of this apparently uninhabited island. Of all the geographic works that I have examined during my lifetime, both old and new travel narratives, I cannot remember that I have ever read that it was visited or even sighted. Therefore,

[10] A person in the employ and service of the VOC who cared for the spiritual well-being of its soldiers and ships' crews, known in Dutch as a *ziekentrooster*.

[11] In nautical contexts, a league is three nautical miles (approximately 5.6 km).

[12] Bodleian Library, MS Selden supra 105. A dedicated website can be found at http://seldenmap.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/map. See also Robert Batchelor's web page *Thinking Past*, in which the map is treated. www.thinkingpast.com/projects/seldens-map.

[13] Timothy Brook, *Mr. Seldon's Map of China: Decoding the Secrets of a Vanished Cartographer* (New York, NY: Bloomsbury Press, 2013), pp. 159–63, 69, 86.

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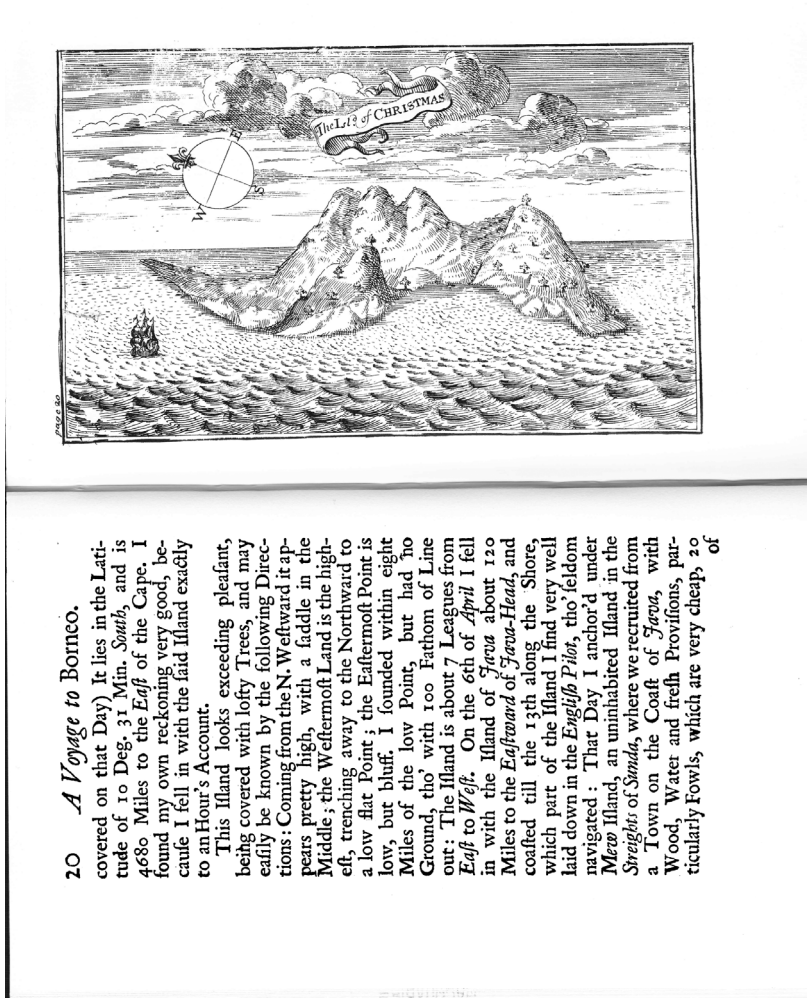

FIGURE 1 Coastal profile of Christmas Island looking from the southwest towards *Smithson Bight*. In Daniel Beeckman, *A Voyage to and from the Island of Borneo in the East-Indies* [...] *Also a Description of the Islands of Canary, Cape Verd, Java, Madura, of the Streights of Bally, the Cape of Good Hope, the Hottentots, the Island of St. Helena, Ascension* (London: T. Warner, Paternoster Row, 1718), p. 20.

without remotely pressing for annexation, I think it, nevertheless, appropriate, that this land lying adjacent Java's west point be officially surveyed.[14]

[14] "Het is toch vreemd, zoo weinig als men van dit waarschijnlijk onbewoonde eiland afweet. In mijn levensloop heb ik nog al aardrijkskundige werken, zoo oude als nieuwe reisbeschrijvingen, ingezien, maar ik kan mij niet herinneren, dat ik ooit gelezen heb, dat het bezocht of zelfs gezien werd. Zonder daarom in de verste verte op annexatie aan te dringen, ware het toch, dunkt mij, niet kwaad, dat dit het naast bij Java's westpunt gelegen land eens behoorlijk van regeeringswege werd opgenomen," p. 117. Also see Pierre Jean Baptiste Charles Robidé van der Aa, "Een Nieuwe Atlas Van Nederlandsch-Indië," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 35.1 (1886), pp. 220–45.

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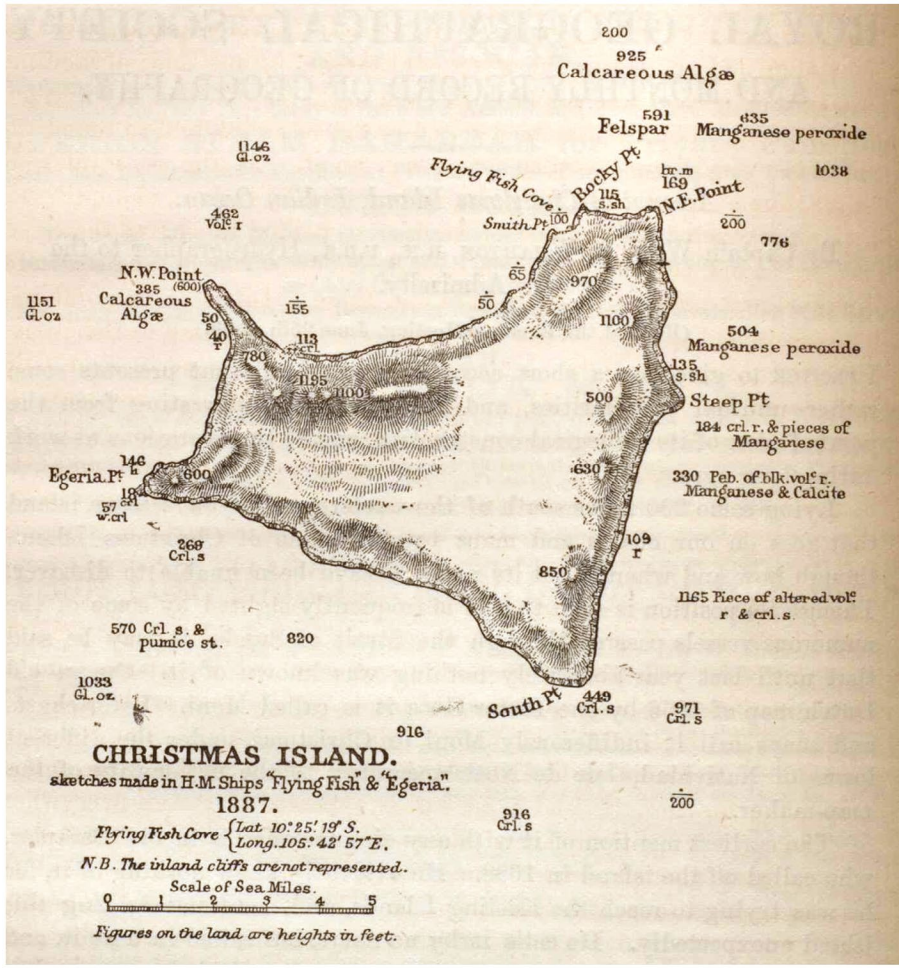

Figure 2 The *Flying Fish*/*Egeria* chart of *Christmas Island*, 1888. Reproduced in W.J.L. Wharton, "Account of Christmas Island, Indian Ocean," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography* 10.10 (1888), pp. 613–24, p. 614.

As if to embrace van der Aa's proposal, the British Admiralty sent Captain John Fiot Lee Pearse Maclear, master of the hydrographic survey ship HMS *Flying Fish*, to call at Christmas Island and to survey it on his return voyage to Britain from Australia.[15] In the same year, 1887, the survey ship, HMS *Egeria*, captained by Pelham Aldrich, also visited the island. Both expeditions made detailed surveys of the coastline, the result of which is the first recorded coastal chart of the island (Figure 2). Aldrich found no evidence that it had ever been occupied.

[15] W. J. L. Wharton, "Account of Christmas Island, Indian Ocean," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography* 10.10 (1888), pp. 613–24.

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Other early visits that were made to Christmas Island include: the East Indiaman *Pigot* in 1771, the crew of which attempted to secure an anchorage, but failed; the 1857 visit of the frigate HMS *Amethyst*, from which a boat crew was landed with the object of attempting to reach the island's highest summit, but the inland cliffs proved an insurmountable obstacle and the ascent was abandoned; and the 1872–1876 *Challenger* round-the-world scientific expedition during which the naturalist Dr. John Murray discovered large deposits of phosphate. This discovery impelled Britain to annex the island in 1888. A settlement was established at Flying Fish Cove by George Clunies-Ross, after which the island became an Australian territory in 1957.

The maps

Table 1 catalogs a selection of 76 early European maps and one Chinese map, dating from c. 1540 to 1904, of South-East Asia that shows Java and the Indian Ocean region to its south. For each map, the table displays the author's number assigned to the reference; the map's year of publication; the cartographer, title, and publisher of the map (when known); the library shelfmark or author's source; and a description of the Christmas Island region as represented on the map.

Unsurprisingly, early maps depicting Java only showed the north coast of the island. The south coast and the seas beyond were imagined or left empty, respectively. It was not until about the 1620s that the map of Java and the seas to its south became more completely elucidated.[16]

Although the earliest map to identify the island as *Moni* is usually said to be that of Pieter Goos of 1666, a 1899 facsimile of a 1618 map showing the islands of Indonesia, as well as the western and southern coasts of Australia charted by the Dutch, shows the island of *Monij* (see Table 1.10).

Moni appears on maps until approximately 1875. After its first use in 1618, it seems to have fallen into disuse until about 1685 after which it reappears on maps more regularly. It generally appears together with *Selam*, or as an alternative name for *Christmas Island*. Sometimes, the three names appear as labels for three closely located islands (see Table 1.28, 31, 32, 37, 40, 42, and Figure 4). The appearance of three differently named islands in close proximity is evidence for the likelihood that there was confusion over the location and appellation of the island. Table 1 further illustrates how the use of *Moni* and *Selam* was slowly abandoned during the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Selam appears on maps between about 1600 and 1630, but quickly seems to fall into disuse for some 30-odd years until about 1666. It disappears from use again around the mid-1700s, as evidenced by the Reiner Ottens map of 1745 (Table 1.45). However, Pierre Mortier's 1700 map and Joachim Ottens's map of 1701–1741 (Table 1.31 and 32) depict three nearby islands, one of which is labeled *Celan*. Subsequently, *Selam* appears (probably for the last time) on a 1813 map by John Pinkerton (Table 1.62). Of the 75 European maps cataloged in Table 1, *Selam*, *Selan*, *Celam*, or *Celan* are charted on 30

[16] See for example Günter Schilder's informative article, "The Charting of the South Coast of Java," *Archipel* 22.1 (1981), pp. 87–104, for an account of the charting of Java's southern coast.

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TABLE 1
A SELECTION OF MAPS PUBLISHED C. 1540 TO 1904, OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA.[A]

Map reference number	Year of publication	Cartographer, map title, publisher (if applicable), source	Number of islands depicted & their labels
1	ca. 1540	Anon. [Map of East Indies] Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel; P.M.C., I, 71. Reproduced in Luís Filipe F. R. Thomaz, "The Image of the Archipelago in Portuguese Cartography of the 16th and Early 17th Centuries," *Archipel* 49.1 (1995), pp. 79–124, plate X.	1 island adjacent west coast of Java, unnamed
2	1544	Sebastian Münster. *Neuw India / mit vilen anstoßenden lendern / besunder Scychia / Parchia / Arabia / Persia* etc. Basle: Heinrich Petri. www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/40737/Neuw_India_mit_vilen_anstossenden_lendern_besunder_Scychia_Parchia/Munster.html	Line of imagined islands along south coast of Java
3	1570–1571	Abraham Ortelius. *Indiae Orientalis Insularumque Adiacientium Typus*. Antwerp: Abraham Ortelius. www.orteliusmaps.com/book/ort166.html	1 island adjacent west coast of Java, unnamed
4	1575	François de Belleforest. *Typus orbis terrarum. Description universelle de tout le monde*. Paris: Michel Sominius, plate 114. NLA MAP RM 147. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-231198341/view	1 island adjacent west coast of Java, unnamed
5	16–?	Abraham Ortelius. *Insvlæ Indicæ cvm terris circvmvicinis*. LOC G8070 16– .I5). www.loc.gov/item/2012586635/	1 island south of Java, named *Selam*
6	1600	Theodor de Bry. [Map of the world showing Drake's voyage]. Frankfurt am Main: Matthaeum Becker. NLA MAP RM 2507. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-231864862/view	2 islands adjacent west coast of Java, both unnamed
7	1601–1610	Manoel Godinho de Heredia. [North western Australia]. Lisbon. NLA MAP RM 2053. http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-rm2053	1 island adjacent west coast of Java, unnamed
8	ca. 1608	Selon Map of China. BL MS Selden supra 105. http://seldenmap.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/map	Several islands adjacent south coast of Java
9	1615	Diego de Astor. *Descripção da ilha de Iaoa. Ioão de Barros*. Madrid: Impressão Real. BNP, cc-154-pl. http://bdlb.bn.br/acervo/handle/123456789/4581	1 island adjacent west coast of Java, unnamed
10	1618	Hessel Gerritszoon. [Uitslaande Kaart van het Zuidland] [Folding chart of the Southland]. Amsterdam: Hessel Gerritsz met Octroy van der H.M. Heeren de Staten Generael der Vereenicho Neerlanden. Reproduced in Jan Ernst Heeres, *Het aandeel der Nederlanders in de ontdekking van Australie 1606–1765* (Leiden: Luzac & Co., 1899). NLA MAP f 919.404 H469 Plate 5. http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-gmod106	2 islands; 1 adjacent west coast of Java unnamed & 1 south of Java named *Monij*
11	1618	Hessel Gerritszoon. [Chart of the Malay Archipelago and the Dutch discoveries in Australia]. Amsterdam: Met Octroy Vande H.M. Heeren de Staten Generael der Vereenichde Neerlanden. NLA MAP RM 750. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-231306238/view	1 island south of Java named *Monij*
12	1630	Jan Jansson. *Indiae Orientalis Nova Descriptio*. Amsterdam: Joannem Janssonium. NLA MAP RM 4527. http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-rm4527	2 islands south of Java; closest named *Selam*, farthest unnamed

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13	1649	Joannes Janssonius. *Indiae Orientalis nova descriptio*. Amsterdam: Joannes Janssonius, map 79. Map 79. NLA MAP RM 262. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-231217946/view	1 island adjacent west coast of Java, unnamed
14	1662	Joannes l'Huilier. *Tabula Indiae orientalis*. Amsterdam: de Wit. NLA GEN 912.93 WIT. http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-nk2077	Cluster of islands south of Java, unnamed (Cocos-Keeling Islands?)
15	1666	Pieter Goos. *Paskaerte Zynde t'Oosterdeel Van Oost Indies: met alle de Eylanden deer ontrendt geleegen van C. Comorin tot aen Iapan*. Amsterdam: Pieter Goos. NLA MAP NK 1574. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230597079/view	2 islands south of Java; closest named *Selam*, farthest *Mony*
16	1671	John Seller. *A chart of the easternmost part of the East Indies from the island Zeloan to Amoy in China: with the adjacent islands adjusted according to the most accurate astronomical observations*. London. NLA MAP RM 192. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-231206179/view	1 island south of Java, named *Christmas I*
17	1675	Frederik de Wit. *Orientaliora Indiarum Orientalium cum insulis adjacentibus 'a promontorio C. Comorin ad Japan = Pascaert van t'Ooster gedeelte van Oost Indien van C. Comorin ad Japan.* Amsterdam: Frederik de Wit. NLA MAP RM 1417. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-231475571/view	2 islands south of Java; closest named *Selam*, farthest *Mony*
18	1680	Pieter Goos. *Oost Indien. Wassende-Gaarde Paskaart Vertonende nevens het Oosterlyckste van Africa, mede de Zeeekusten van Asia, van de C. de Bona Esperannca tot Eso, boven Japan*. Amsterdam: Pieter Goos & Johannes van Keulen. BNF ark:/12148/btv1b530650519. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b530650519	2 islands south of Java; closest named *Selam*, farthest *Mony*
19	1683	Jacobus Robijn. *Nieuwe wassende graet kaert van Oost Indien van d. C. d Bono Esperanca tot t'Lant Eso*. Amsterdam: I. Robyn. NLA MAP T 1008. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-232631083/view	2 islands south of Java; closest named *Selam*, farthest *Mony*
20	1685?	Giacomo Cantelli. *Isole dell' India cioè le Molucche, le Filippine e della Sonda: Parte de Paesi di nuoua scoperta e l'Isole de Ladri nel Mare del Zud*. Rome: G. G. de Rossi. NLA MAP RM 1735. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-231572228/view	1 island just south of Java, I. *Selam*
21	1687	Vincenzo Coronelli. *Route maritime de Brest a Siam, et de Siam a Brest, faite en 1685 et 1686 selon les remarques des six Peres Jésuites, envoiez par le Roy de France en qualité de ses mathématiciens dans les Indes, et la Chine*. Paris: J.B. Nolin. NLA MAP RM 3121. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-232187234/view	2 islands south of Java; closest named *I Mony*, farthest *I Christmat* [*sic*]
22	1688	Vincenzo Coronelli. [Terrestrial globe]. Facsimile reproduction of terrestrial globe originally designed and constructed by Vincenzo Coronelli. Canberra: J.C. Eade, 1978). NLA Map Globe 29. http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-vn6154743	2 islands south of Java; closest named *I. Mony*, farthest *I. Christmat* [*sic*]; 1 island adjacent Java, named *I. Selam*
23	1690	Vincenzo Coronelli. *Isole Dell' Indie, diuise in Filippine, Molucche, e della Sonda*. NLA MAP RM 2147. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-231739237/view	1 island adjacent Java, named *I. Selam*; 2 islands south of Java, both unnamed
24	1690?	Pieter Goos. *Oost Indien wassende-graade paskaart, vertoonende nevens het Oostelyckste van Africa, meede de zeekusten van Asia, van C. de Bona Esperanca tot Eso, boven Iapan*. Amsterdam: Johannes van Keulen. NLA MAP RM 792. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-232606621/view	2 islands south of Java; closest named *Selam*, farthest *Mony*

(*Continued*)

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TABLE 1
(*CONTINUED*)

Map reference number	Year of publication	Cartographer, map title, publisher (if applicable), source	Number of islands depicted & their labels
25	1690	Vincenzo Coronelli. *L'Asie selon les mémoires les plus nouveaux*. Paris: Jean Baptiste Nolin. BNF ark:/12148/btv1b530890106. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b530890106	1 island adjacent Java, named *Selan I*; 2 islands south of Java; closest unnamed, farthest named *Christmat I*
26	1690?	John Seller. *A chart of the easternmost part of the East Indies with all the adjacent islands from Cape Comorin to Iapan*. Wapping: The Hermitage. NLA MAP T 1130. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-232633845/view	2 islands south of Java; closest named *Selam*, farthest *Mony*
27	1695	Vincenzo Coronelli. *Planisfero del mondo vecchio*. Venice. NLA MAP T 348. http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-t348	2 islands south of Java; closest unnamed, farthest named *I Christmat*
28	1696	Nicolas de Fer. *L'Asie suivant les nouvelles des couvertes dans les points principaux sont placez sur les observations de Mrs. de l'Académie royale de science*. Paris: *chez* l'auteur. BNF ark:/12148/btv1b530530197. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b530530197	3 islands south of Java; closest named *Celan Isle*, farthest *Mony Isle* and *Isle de Christmas*
29	1695–1697	Vincenzo Coronelli. *Isole dell'Indie, divise in Filippine, Molucche, e della Sonda*. Venice: Vincenzo Coronelli. NLA MAP RM 2147. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-231739237/view	1 island adjacent Java, named *I. Selam*; 2 islands south of Java, both unnamed
30	1700	Pierre Mortier. *Carte des Costes de L'Asie sur L'Océan Contenant les Bancs Isles et Costes &c: levée sur les mémoires les plus nouveaux; Partie Orientale de L'Asie sur L'Océan*. Amsterdam: Pierre Mortier. NLA MAP RM 3465. http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-rm3465	2 islands south of Java, closest named *Selan I.*, farthest *I. Mony*
31	1700	Pierre Mortier. *Le royaume de Siam avec les royaumes qui luy sont tributaires et les Isles de Sumatra, Andemaon, etc. et les Isles Voisine*. Amsterdam: Pierre Mortier. NLA MAP RM 297. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-231223664/view	3 islands south of Java; closest named *Celan Isle*; others *Mony Isle* & *Isle Christmas*
32	1701–1741	Joachim Ottens. *Le royaume de Siam: avec les royaumes qui luy font tributaires et les isles de Sumatra, Andemaon, etc. et les isles voisines*. Amsterdam: Johannes Covens & Cornelis Mortier, vol. 3, plate 80. NLA MAP RM 184. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-231204147/view	3 islands south of Java; closest named *Celan Isle*; others *Mony Isle* & *Isle Christmas*
33	1702–1710	Heinrich Scherer. *Asiae pars Australis insulae indicae cum suis naturae dotibus*. Munich. NLA MAP T 1123. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-232632960/view	1 island close to south coast of Java, unnamed
34	1701	Herman Moll. *The Principal Islands of the East Indies*. London: Timothy Childe. Lionel Pincus and Princess Firyal Map Division, NYPL 97–6063 LHS 341; atlas cases. http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47e1-ce92-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99	2 islands south of Java; closest named *Selam*, farthest *Mony*
35	ca. 1720	Gerard van Keulen. *Nieuwe Wassende Graaden Paskaart Vertoonende alle de bekende Zeekusten en Landen op den geheelen Aard Boodem of Werelt*. Amsterdam: Gerard van Keulen. SLNSW Dixson Map Collection Z/Cc 71/4. http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/album/albumView.aspx?itemID=913271&acmsid=0	2 islands south of Java; closest named *Selam*; farthest *Mony*

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36	1728?	Rudolf Wetstein. *De werelt caart*. Amsterdam: R. & J. Wetstein en William Smith. NLA MAP RM 3836. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-232378445/view	1 island south of Java, named *E Selam*
37	1728	Nathaniel Cutler. *A chart of the East Indian Ocean from the Islands of Maldivy to Cambodia*. London : Printed for J. and J. Knapton, W. and J. Innays, etc. NLA MAP RM 2670. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-231893686/view	3 islands south of Java; closest named *Selan*; others *Mony* & *Christmas*
38	1729?	Herman Moll. *The Philippine islands and others of the East Indies according to newest descriptions*. London? NLA MAP RM 1866. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-231614354/view	2 islands south of Java; closest named *Selam*, farthest *Mony*
39	1730	Abraham Anias. [Chart of the Indian Ocean]. Middelburg: Abraham Anias. NLA MAP RM 4096 Pictures Screen 109. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-232422744/view	2 islands; 1 adjacent Java, named *Selam*; 1 south of Java, named *Monij*
40	1730	Guillaume de L'Isle. *Hémisphère méridional pour voir plus distinctement les terres Australes*. Amsterdam: Jean Covens & Corneille Mortier. NLA MAP RM 318. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-231226522	3 islands south of Java; closest named *Celan Isle*, others *Mony Isle* & *Isle Christmas*
41	1736	Hermann Moll. *The Principal Islands of the East-Indies. Explaining what belongs to England, Spain and Holland &c*. London : Th. Bowles and John Bowles. Antiquariat Reinhold Berg Stock No.:28019. https://www.bergbook.com/htdocs/woda/data/demo/descriptions/28019.htm	2 islands; *Selam* close to Java coast; *Mony* farther south
42	ca. 1740	Reiner & Joshua Ottens. *Hémisphère Méridional pour voir plus distinctement Les Terres Australes par Guillaume De L'Isle Onse voyent les Nouvelles découvertes faites en 1739 au Sud du Cap de Bonne Esperance Par les Ordres de Mrs. de la Compagnie des Indes*. Amsterdam. Ref: MCC 2 Tooley – Antarctica #48; Tooley, R.V. Australia #1517. www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/40312/Hemisphere_Meridional_pour_voir_plus_distinctement_Les_Terres_Australes_par/Ottens.html	3 islands south of Java; closest named *Selam*; others *Mony* & *Christmat*
43	1744	Johann Matthias Hase. *Asia secundum legitimas projectionis stereographicae regulas et juxta recentissimas observations*. Norumberg?: Homannianorum Heredum. UW-ML 400 B-1744. http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/cdm/ref/collection/agdm/id/266	2 islands south of Java; closest named *I. Selam*; farthest named *Mony*
44	1744–1769	Isaak Tirion. *Nieuwe kaart van de Sundasche Eilanden als Borneo, Sumatra en Groot Java &c*. Amsterdam: Isaak Tirion. NLA MAP RM 1416. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-231475463/view	2 islands south of Java; closest named *Selam*; farthest named *Mony*
45	1745	Reiner Ottens. *Orientaliora Indiarum Orientalium cum insulis adjacentibus a promontorio C. Comorin ad Iapan = Pascaert van t'Ooster gedeelte van Oost Indien van C. Comorin tot Iapan*. Amsterdam: Gedr. by R. & I. Ottens. NLA MAP T 1370. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-232659572/view	2 islands south of Java; closest named *Selam*; farthest named *Mony*
46	1747?	Emanuel Bowen. *A new and accurate map of the East India Islands : laid down according to the latest discoveries, and agreeable to the most approved maps and charts, the whole being regulated by astron[omica]l observations*. London: E. Bowen. NLA MAP NK 1553. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230592625/view	1 island south of Java, named *Christmas I.*
47	1748	Nicholas Bellin. *Essay d'une Carte Réduite Contenant Les Parties Connuees Du Globe Terrestre Dédie A JM. Le Comte De Maurepas*. Paris: Didiot. NLA MAP RM 75. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-231174802/view	1 island south of Java, named *I. Noel ou Moni*

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TABLE 1
(*CONTINUED*)

Map reference number	Year of publication	Cartographer, map title, publisher (if applicable), source	Number of islands depicted & their labels
48	1748	Thomas Jefferys. *East Indies Drawn from the latest Discoveries.* London. NLA MAP RM 3908. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-232396383/view	1 island south of Java, named *Christmas I.*
49	1750	Gilles Robert de Vaugondy. *Archipel des Indes Orientales: qui comprend les Isles de la Sonde, Moluques et Philippines /tirées des Cartes du Neptune Oriental.* Paris: Boudet. NLA MAP NK 2456/35. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230614935/view	1 island south of Java, named *I. Noel ou Moni*
50	1751	Jacques-Nicolas Bellin, Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville & Jean-Baptiste-Nicolas-Denis d'Après de Mannevillette. *Carte réduite de l'Océan oriental ou Mers des Indes* [2nd edition]. BNF ark:/12148/btv1b59627344. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b59627344	1 island south of Java, named *Christmas ou I. Noel la même que l'I. Monis*
51	1753	Johannes van Keulen. *Deese wassende pas-kaart van Oost-Indien is nu te bekoomen voor die deselve begeeren.* Amsterdam: Joannes Loots. NLA MAP T 791. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-232606504/view	1 island to the south-west of Java, near *Cocos*, named *I. d'May* [*sic*]
52	1780?	Carrington Bowles. *Bowles's new and accurate map of the world, or Terrestrial globe*. London: for Carington Bowles. LOC G3200 1780 .B6. https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3200.ct001476/	1 island south of Java, named *I. Moni*
53	1781	John Bew. *The archipelago of the East : being the Sunda, the Molucca, and Phillipp Islands; the chief settlements of the Dutch in India are in the Sunda and Molucca Islands*. London: J. Bew. NLA MAP RM 1415. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-231475350/view	1 island south of java, named *I. Noel ou Moni*
54	1787	Anon. *Chart of New Holland: with the adjacent countries and new discover'd islands.* London : J. Stockdale.NLA MAP NK 1586. http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-nk1586	1 island south of Java, named *I Moni*
55	1787	John Lodge. *A chart of New Holland including New South Wales and Botany Bay with the new discover'd islands &ca*. London: J. Murray. NLA MAP NK 2456/56. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230619603/view	1 island south of Java, named *Christmas I.*
56	1787	Robert Sayer. *A new chart of the Indian and Pacific Oceans between the Cape of Good Hope, New Holland and Japan : comprehending New Zealand, New Caledonia, New Britain, New Ireland, New Guinea &c., also the New Caroline, Ladrone and Philippine Islands : with the tracks of the English, French, Spanish and Dutch discoverers*. London: Robert Sayer. NLA MAP RM 451. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-231258563/view	1 island south of Java, named *Moni or Christmas I.*
57	1790	William Faden. *Southern hemisphere.* London: William Faden. NLA MAP NK 4560. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230684226/view	1 island south of Java, named *I. Moni*
58	1791	Thomas Harmar. *This chart of the China Sea including the Philippina, Mollucca and Banda Islands: showing at the same time all the tracks into the Pacific Ocean*. London: G. Robertson. NLA MAP NK 10742. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230726648/view	1 island south of Java, named *Christmas I.*
59	1794	Thomas Conder. *An accurate map of the islands and channels between China and New Holland*. London: R. Wilkinson. NLA MAP NK 2456/37. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230615409/view	1 island south of Java, named *Moni or Christmas I.*
60	Early 1800s	J.T. Busscher. *Geteekende kaart van den Oost-Indischen Archipel, strekkende van het eiland Sumatra tot Nova Guinea of het land der Papoes, en noordwaarts van Nieuw-Holland tot het eiland Mindanao*. National Archives, Netherlands. NL-HaNA, Koloniën / Kaarten en Tekeningen, 4.MIKO, inv.nr. 1. www.gahetna.nl/collectie/archief/inventaris/gahetnascans/eadid/4.MIKO/inventarisnr/1/level/file/scan-index/1/foto/NL-HaNA_4.MIKO_1/fotouuid/47efc6b6-23ed-42eb-b85c-7166a82fb14a	1 island south of Java, named *Christmus Eiland*

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61	1802	Johannes Walch. *Australian (Sudland) auch Polynesien oder Inselwelt : insgemein der fünfte Welttheil genannt, nach den neuesten und bewahrtesten Hulfsmitteln entworfen*. Augsburg: Johannes Walch. NLA NK 1546. http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-nk1546	1 island south of Java, named *Moni I.*
62	1813	John Pinkerton. *East India Isles*. London: Cadell & Davies. NLA MAP RM 2062. http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-rm2062	1 island adjacent south coast of Java, named *Selam*
63	1814–1832	Thomas Kelly. *East India islands on Mercator's projection*. London: Thomas Kelly. NLA MAP RM 2639. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-231889788/view	1 island south of Java, named *Christmas*
64	1817	Friedrich Wilhelm *Streit. Charte von Australien nach den neuesten und besten Hübfsmitteln*. Nurnberg: Friedrich Campe. NLA MAP RM 521. http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-rm521	1 island south of Java, named *I Noel*
65	1832	John Arrowsmith. *Asiatic archipelago*. London: J. Arrowsmith. NLA NK 2456/40. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230616068/view	1 island south of Java, named *Christmas I.*
66	1832	Hachette [Firm]. *Carte de l'Oceanie ou 5e. partie du monde: a l'usage des collèges*. Paris: Librairie classique de L. Hachette. NLA MAP RM 3956. http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-rm3956	1 island south of Java, named *Mouni ou Noël*
67	1834	Hachette [Firm]. Carte de l'Oceanie ou 5e. partie du monde: a l'usage des collèges. Paris: Librairie classique de L. Hachette. NLA MAP RM 3901. http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-rm3901	1 island south of Java, named *Mouni ou Noël*
68	1842	Baron Gijsbert Franco von Derfelden van Hinderstein. *Algemeene kaart van Nederlandsch Oostindie*. NLA MAP RM 1369. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-231468493	1 island south of Java, named *Ed Monij*
69	1847	Anon. *Asiatischer Archipel und Neu Holland*. Hildleburg: Schweinfurter Geographischen Gravieranstalt des Bibliograph Instituts zu Hildburghausen, Amsterdam Paris u. Philadelphia. NLA MAP RM 2274. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-231767248/view	1 island south of Java, named *Mouni/Noel oder Weihnachts I.*
70	1847	Koninklijke Militaire Academie. *Algemeene kaart van Nederlands Oostindie: op de schaal van 1:5,000,000*. Amsterdam? : Koninklijke Militaire Akademie door F.J. Ensinck. NLA MAP RM 1622. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-231534803/view	1 island south of Java, named *Ed Christmas of Mony*
71	1854	George Philip & Son. *East India islands and Australia*. Liverpool: George Philip & Son. NLA MAP RM 1449. http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-rm1449	1 island south of Java, named *Christmas I.*
72	1855	George Woolworth Colton. *Colton's East Indies*. New York, NY: Johnson & Browning. NLA MAP NK 2456/41. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230616255/view	1 island south of Java, named *Christmas I.*
73	1862	John Bartholomew. *Sketch map of the Dutch possessions in the Indian Archipelago*. Edinburgh: A. Fullarton & Co. NLA MAP RM 2181. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-231746172/view	1 island south of Java, named *Christmas I.*
74	1867	Alvin Jewett Johnson. *Johnson's Australia and East Indies*. New York, NY : A.J. Johnson. NLA MAP T 754. http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-t754	1 island south of Java, named *Christmas I.*
75	1875	Adrien Hubert Brue & E. Levasseur. *Carte de la Malaisie (Partie Nord-Ouest de l'Oceanie)*. Paris: Institut Géographique de Paris. Archvision Digital Research Library, David Rumsey Historical Map Collection, Image 4607048. http://archivisionsubscription.lunaimaging.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~202310~3001038:Carte-de-la-Malaisie–Partie-NordO?sort=LocalCollection%2CWork_Culture%2CWork_Location_Type_Display%2CWork_PrefTitle	1 island south of Java, named *I. Mouni ou Noël*
76	1867–1904	Great Britain. *Hydrographic Dept. Eastern archipelago, western portion – part 1 including the Java Sea and the southern passages to China. Sheet 1 : compiled from the most recent British & Dutch Government surveys*. London: The Admiralty. NLA MAP RM 2882. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-232129277/view	1 island south of Java, unnamed (unclear)

[a]Maps not depicting any islands south of the Sunda Strait, Java are not included in the Table. Of course, there are many more maps and charts that could have been included in this study, but it was felt that the collection of 76 maps embodied a reasonable representative sample of maps over the period in question. Abbreviations for library shelfmarks include: National Library of Australia (NLA), Library of Congress (LOC), Bodleian Library (BL), Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (BNP), Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), New York Public Library (NYPL), State Library of New South Wales (SLNSW), and University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries (UW-ML).

(40 percent) of them. Since there is no island currently bearing this name, nor any island of its depicted size anywhere in the vicinity, it seems likely that its charting is a case of mistaken identity. Like the position of *Moni*, the position of *Selam* on maps varies considerably (Table 1.5–62), though *Selam*'s position varies more widely than that of *Moni*. Nevertheless, it usually appears close to the southwestern tip of Java (near the southern entrance to the Sunda Strait), where it might have been confused with *Prinsen Island* (variously charted as *Princess Island* or *Prince's Island* on other maps) currently known as *Pulau Panaitan*. Indeed, on the return leg of James Cook's first voyage (1768–1771), Joseph Banks remarks:

> Princes Island as it is calld by the English, in Malay *Pulo Selan*, and in the language of its inhabitants *Pulo paneitan*, is a small Island situated in the Western mouth of the streights of Sunday; it is woody, and has no remarkable hill upon it, tho the English call the small one which is just over the anchoring place the Pike.[17]

Cartographic confusion over position and identity of *Selam* is also clearly articulated by Cook himself:

> Some few days after we left Java, we saw for 3 or 4 evenings succeeding one another Boobies fly about the Ship, now as these birds are known to roost every night on land they seem'd to indicate that some Island was in our neighbourhood, probabily it might be the Island Selam which Island I find differently laid down in different Charts, both in name and situation.[18]

Banks provides further evidence of the enigma of *Selam*:

> We enquird much for the Island of *Anabao* or *Anamabao* mentiond by Dampier.[19] He [Mr. Lange] assurd us that he knew of no Island of that name any where in these seas. I since have observd that it is laid down in several charts by the name of *Selam* which is probably the real name of it.[20]

Although *Christmas Island*, *Moni* and *Selam* occupy a variety of positions on early maps, their relative positions indicate that they probably all refer to the same island. This apparent confusion is most likely due to one or more of a number of factors, the first being the inability to calculate accurately longitude during this era and the concomitant conflicting recorded coordinates of the island. Other factors include the conflicting physical descriptions of the island and/or the island having more than one appellation.

Table 1 illustrates that there are numerous maps that depict two or three closely located islands variously named *Moni*, *Selam*, and *Christmas* (also see Figures 3 and 4), and that this confusion endured for some 150 years, beginning with the early seventeenth century and ending in the mid-eighteenth century.

[17] Extract from "Some account of Princes Island," transcription of Joseph Banks's *Endeavour Journal*, vol. 2, p. 519. National Library of Australia. http://nla.gov.au/nla.cs-ss-jrnl-banks_remarks-437.
[18] Extract from March 1771 entry, transcription of James Cook's *Endeavour Journal*, manuscript 1, p. 358. National Library of Australia. http://nla.gov.au/nla.cs-ss-jrnl-cook-17710315.
[19] This is the island *Oetefu Kecil*, just off Kupang, West Timor.
[20] Extract from "Some account of the Isles near Savu," transcription of Joseph Bank's *Endeavour Journal*, vol. 2, pp. 384–385. National Library of Australia. http://nla.gov.au/nla.cs-ss-jrnl-banks_remarks-350.

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The earliest map that assigns the name *Christmas* to the island is that of John Seller in 1671 (Table 1.16), some 30 years after it was named thusly. It was not until after the mid-nineteenth century, however, that this name became its established designation.

There are also many maps that do not depict any islands in the region south of the western tip of Java; after 1666, however, most maps do. Despite this fact, even as late as 1842 (e.g. Table 1.68) there were published maps of the region that did not depict Christmas Island, or any island in the vicinity. Many such maps were the colonial Dutch maps of the late nineteenth century. This situation may be because the maps of its east India colony were of its own possessions, and Christmas Island had been claimed by Britain in 1888. Apart from Robidé van der Aa's 1866 proposal to survey the island, the Dutch never seemed to have shown any interest in it. On the one hand, this lack of interest seems strange, given the island's proximity to Java, but on the other hand, the inaction is quite in character because the Dutch were only interested in trade and making a profit. They never showed the slightest interest in New Holland, so it is unsurprising that they should be interested in an uninhabited island that proffered no easy landing, let alone trade.

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Linguistic candidates

There are a number of credible candidates for the linguistic origin of *Moni* and *Selam*, including Malay, Sundanese, Sumatran, Javanese, or other indigenous Indonesian language; and Portuguese, Dutch, Arabic, or Sanskrit. All these languages have left numerous lexical and toponymic legacies in the Malay/Indonesian archipelago.[21] In Sanskrit, the toponyms *Sriwijaya, Madura, Java, Malaka, Kalimantan,* and *Sumatra* survive via the Hindu/Buddhist Srivijaya period between the first and sixteenth centuries.[22] In Arabic/Hadrami, *Al Fatah*, *Al-Malaimalaya*, and *Al-Qumrkarimun* survive via the Islamic penetration into the region between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries, whilst in Portuguese, the toponyms *Flores*, *Eng[g]ano*, *Porta de Santiago* at *A Famosa*, *Timor-Leste*, and *Cristo Rei* (in Dili) survive via their occupation between 1511–1850.[23] Moreover, some of the Dutch names used during the Dutch occupation between 1602–1942 include *Prinsen Eiland*, later becoming *Pulau Panaitan*; *Weltevreden*, becoming *Batavia* and then *Jakarta; Hollandia,* transforming to *Jayapura*; *Buitenzorg*, later becoming *Bogor*; *Schilpad Eiland*, then known as *Pulau Togean*; *Sandalhout Eiland*, later *Pulau Sumba*; *Nassau Eiland*, later *Banda Neira*; and *Oosthaven*, which became *Bandar Lampung*.[24]

The remainder of this article will consider these linguistic candidates for the origin of *Moni* and *Selam*.

[21] C. D. Grijns, Jan W. de Vries, and L. Santa Maria, *Indonesian: A Check-list of Words of European Origin in Bahasa Indonesia and Traditional Malay* (Leiden: Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 1983).

[22] J. G. de Casparis (ed.), *Sanskrit Loanwords in Indonesian: An Annotated Check-list of Words from Sanskrit in Indonesian and Traditional Malay* (Jakarta: Universitas Katolik Indonesia Atma Jaya, 1997), vol. 41.

[23] Catherine Mitchell and Pierre Léglise-Costa, "Les Portugais en Indonésie," in *Critique* (Paris: Édition de Minuit/Centre National des Lettres, 1988), t. XLIV, pp. 658–63.

[24] Robert B. Cribb, *Historical Atlas of Indonesia* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), pp. 8–9.

Moni

There are a number of entities in the region that currently have the name *Moni*. One is a small town on the island of Flores, some 50 km to the east of the volcano Kelimutu. The meaning of the town's name is currently unknown.[25] In West Papua, there is also a group of people and their language called *Moni*; however, any reasonable connection between the island name and these people is untenable.

There are also four populated places or settlements named *Muni* in the Indonesian archipelago — three are found in Nusa Tenggara Timur and one in Yogyakarta. Evidence is given below illustrating the significance of this geographical distribution.

There are a number of different linguistic possibilities that gave rise to these toponyms. The strongest linguistic candidate for the toponym is perhaps Sanskrit because, up until the late sixteenth century, Hinduism and Buddhism had a profound influence upon the cultures, legal practices, and languages of the Malay/Indonesian archipelago. Many Sanskrit words were adopted in the local languages. By the fifth century, Brahmanist cults worshipping Shiva had sprung up in Java, and by the ninth century, syncretism[26] appeared, and in the tenth century, students were sent to the great Buddhist university of Nalanda in northeastern India. The Sriwijaya Buddhist kingdom rose in southern Sumatra during the seventh century and exercised a wide sphere of influence over all of South-East Asia. In Java, early Hindu states rose and fell — Pajajaran, Sailendra, Kediri, and Singosari. Significantly, most of these were coastal powers.

Bearing this in mind, we find that in Hinduism and Buddhism, a wise ascetic — a renunciant, a hermit, a sage, or sadhu, especially one who has taken a vow of silence — is known as a *muni* [mʊni]. The term is also used as an honorific title, and derives from the Sanskrit *múni* (literally an adjective and adverb meaning "silent").[27] This term is tantalizingly similar to *Moni*, and given the remoteness and isolation of the island, such an appellation is seen as quite befitting.[28] However, this conclusion is sheer conjecture.

Moreover, the existence of four settlements with the toponym *Muni* in the region also lends some support for Sanskrit. If, for the moment, this premise is accepted, the term's appearance on early Dutch maps in the form *Moni* and not *Muni* needs explanation.

In 1997, Geraghty and Tent published two articles on early Dutch loanwords in Polynesia.[29] They explain how the seventeenth century Dutch words *bos* [bo̱s] (a box; a container), *trommel* [tro̱ml] (a metal box; a container), *pompen* [po̱mpən] (a vulgar term

[25] A resident of the village *Moni*, Mr. Richard Lorin, made extensive enquiries for me of the local inhabitants as to the meaning of the name, but no indigenous resident knew its meaning.

[26] The amalgamation of different (often seemingly contradictory) beliefs and traditions, in this case Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism.

[27] *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of World Religions* (1997), *Encyclopedia.com*. www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1O101-Muni.html; *A Dictionary of Buddhism* (2004), *Encyclopedia.com*. www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1O108-muni.html; *OED Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). www.oed.com/view/Entry/123785.

[28] Many authors refer to the island's remoteness and inaccessibility. See, for example, Heng and Forbes, "Christmas Island," pp. 69–72. Alexander George Findlay writes that "[t]his lonely spot, standing as a sentry before the Straits of Sunda, is the Christina Island [*sic*] of the old charts. Its [*sic*] was also called *Money Island* [*sic*]." *A Directory for the navigation of the Indian Ocean, with Descriptions of its coasts, islands etc,* 2nd edition (London: Richard Holmes Laurie, 1870), p. 488.

[29] Paul Geraghty and Jan Tent, "Early Dutch Loanwords in Polynesia," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 106.2 (1997), pp. 131–160; Paul Geraghty and Jan Tent, "More Early Dutch Loanwords in Polynesia," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 106.4 (1997), pp. 395–408.

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Figure 3 Detail from the Pieter Goos map *Oost Indien wassende-graade paskaart, vertoonende nevens het Oostelyckste van Africa, meede de zeekusten van Asia, van C. de Bona Esperanca tot Eso, boven Iapan/t'Amsterdam, bij Pieter Goos op het Water inde Vergulde Zee Spiegel, seyn nu te bekoomen* by Johannes van Keulen (Amsterdam: Johannes van Keulen), National Library of Australia MAP RM 792. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-232606621/view

meaning "to copulate"), and *schop* [sxɔp] (a shovel) are all nativized into Polynesian languages as *puha*/*pusa*, *tuluma*/*turuma*, *pupa*, and *kope*, respectively. The change from the [ɔ] vowel in the Dutch donor words to [ʊ] in the nativized Polynesian words is accounted for thusly: the Dutch /ɔ/ phoneme (spelled with an *o*) had, prior to the twentieth century,

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Figure 4 Detail from Joachim Ottens, *Le royaume de Siam: avec les royaumes qui luy font tributaires et les isles de Sumatra, Andemaon, etc. et les isles voisines* in *Nieuwe atlas inhoudende de vier gedeeltens der waereld* [...] *versameldt van de beste autheuren* (Amsterdam: Johannes Covens and Cornelis Mortier, 1707–1741), vol. 3, plate 80. National Library of Australia MAP RM 184. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-231204147/view (Courtesy National Library of Australia).

two allophonic variants — an open [ɔ] and a close [ɔ̟].[30] The latter variant occurred after labial consonants (i.e. /p, b, m/), whereas the open variety occurred after all other consonants. The close variant also occurred before nasal consonants (i.e. /m, n, ŋ/). The close

[30] Open is a phonetic term referring to a vowel articulated with the body of the tongue relatively low in the mouth, whilst a close vowel refers to one articulated with the body of the tongue high in the mouth, close to the hard palate.

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variant [ɔ̟] would have sounded quite similar to the close Polynesian vowel [ʊ]. The reason *kope* retained its *o* spelling or /ɔ/ phoneme is that the vowel in *schop* is of the open variety.

The reverse of this situation of course operates in the case of *muni* [mʊni] transformed to *moni* [mɔ̟ni] and its concomitant spelling as *Moni*. Not only does the word have an initial labial consonant, but it also has a nasal consonant following the vowel. The rendition on French maps as *Mouni* and *Mounis* also reinforces this supposition. Given that *Moni* first appears on Dutch maps, and the ubiquitous spelling of the toponym with *o*, it may be conjectured that other European cartographers (save the French) copied the Dutch spelling, thus perpetuating the form *Moni* on most maps.

Other conceivable candidates include Dutch, Arabic, Portuguese, or an indigenous language. The monumental *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* (Dictionary of the Dutch Language) and the *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek* (Middle-Dutch Dictionary) list the form *moni* in reference to money, a term derived from the English word 'money'. It is marked in these sources as a very rare word.[31] The dictionaries also catalog the forms *monnik*/*monik*/*monic*/*monec* (a monk; a hermit), which derive from Latin, Greek and ultimately the Sanskrit term *múni*. Neither of the Dutch forms can genuinely be considered as viable candidates.

One issue about the variant Dutch spelling of *Moni* as *Monij*, however, lends some more support to the case of a Sanskrit origin. The final *-ij* spelling appears on some Dutch maps of the time (Table 1.10, 11, 39, and 68). The digraph *ij* was the seventeenth- and eighteenth century orthographic representation of a long [i:] (comparable to the vowel in the English word "bee"). It derives from the Middle Dutch period (1100–1500) when the *j* orthographically indicated the lengthening of the vowel.[32] In the course of time, *ij* became confused with the letter *y* (known in Dutch as *i grec*, or the Greek *i*) because the digraph *ij* was deemed by many writers to be a single letter (i.e. a letter *y* written with a diaeresis, *ÿ*). In time, the digraph *ij* became the representation for the diphthong [ɛi] (similar to the diphthong in the English word "bay"). Hence, the variants *Monij*, and especially *Mony* (on 23 maps representing 31percent of the series captured in Table 1), regularly appear on seventeenth and eighteenth century maps, and both terms should, therefore, be read or pronounced as [moni:], not as [monɛi], as Modern Dutch might suggest.

Arabic does not appear to have any transparently discernable lexical candidates nor does Portuguese. While there are no tangible lexical candidates from Portuguese, the language does have the rarely used cognate from Sanskrit, *múni* (a pious or wise Indian man). It is unlikely that Portuguese is the source, however, because the only source of supporting evidence for this relationship would be on Portuguese maps drawn prior to the Dutch colonizing the region in the early seventeenth century. Indigenous languages do not provide any satisfactory linguistic candidates for *Moni*'s origin either. There seem to be only three lexical items that bear any resemblance to *Moni*, none of which is in the least suggestive of an origin. They

[31] *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek. De Geïntegreerde Taal-Bank, Historische woordenboeken op internet*. http://gtb.inl.nl; *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal. De Geïntegreerde Taal-Bank, Historische woordenboeken op internet*. http://gtb.inl.nl.

[32] The use of *e* after *a* in Dutch words of the period performed the same function, e.g. in the name of Tasman's ship the *Zeehaen* [ze:ha:n].

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include *moni* (to watch), from the Rongga language, Flores;[33] *muni* (to produce a sound/noise, let off a gun, or say something), and *muni-muni* (to swear), both from Javanese.[34]

Selam

None of the literature on the history of Christmas Island recognizes *Selam* as a potential early designation for the island; only *Moni* is acknowledged in this role.[35] Indeed, as a number of the maps cataloged in Table 1 show, the island is labeled *I. Noël ou Moni* (Table 1.47, 49, 50, 53, 66, 67, and 75), or *Moni or Christmas Island* (Table 1.59, 68, and 70).

Selam derives from neither Dutch nor Portuguese.[36] The *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) provides its etymology as deriving from Arabic *salām*, and refers to the Oriental salutation *(as)salām/'alaikum* (Peace [be upon you]), and is applied to a ceremonious obeisance with which this salutation is accompanied.[37] The term has diverse spellings (e.g. *salame*, *sallam*, *salema*, *salom*, *selame*, *salam*, and *schalam*; cf. Hebrew *shalom*). The *OED* shows that various spellings were employed in different centuries, with *selam* generally being used during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which is consistent with its appearance on the maps made during these centuries.

In Malay and Javanese, *selam* refers to either Islam and/or the verb "to dive", neither of which seem to be functional candidates for the island's name.[38] Nevertheless, the term is an element in Malay words, e.g. *selamat/salam*, and in many Indonesian placenames, e.g. *Selamanik*, *Selamanja*, *Selametan*, *Selamat*, *Selat Selamo*, *Selamben*. Its origin may lie here. However, an intriguing and possible clue to the origin of the toponym is provided by Hobson-Jobson in its entry for "Ceylon", where an attempt to offer an etymology for the name is made:

[33] I Wayan Arka, Fransiscus Seda, Antonius Gelang, Yohanes Nani and Ivan Ture, *A Rongga-English Dictionary with an English-Rongga Finderlist* (Jakarta: Penerbit Universitas Atma Jaya, 2011), *moni*.

[34] Pieter A. Janszoon, *Practisch Javaansch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek* (Den Haag: G.C.T. van Dorp & Co, 1913), *muni*; Stuart Robson and Singgih Wibisono, *Javanese-English Dictionary* (Hong Kong: Periplus Editions Ltd., 2002), *muni*.

[35] See, for example, Charles W. Andrews, "A Description of Christmas Island (Indian Ocean)," *The Geographical Journal* 13.1 (1899), pp.17–35; Charles. W. Andrews, *A Monograph of Christmas Island (Indian Ocean)* (London: British Museum of Natural History, 1900); Albert F. Ellis, "Christmas Island Phosphate Deposits," *New Zealand Geographer* 8.1 (1952), pp. 15–29; William Foster, "The Discovery of Christmas Island," *The Geographical Journal* 37.3 (1911), pp. 281–2; C.A. Gibson-Hill, "The Early History of Christmas Island in the Indian Ocean," *Royal Asiatic Society of Britain and Ireland. Malaysian Branch Journal* 22.1 (1949), pp. 67–93; Heng and Forbes, "Christmas Island," pp. 71–2; Howard S. Gray (revised Rod Clark), *Christmas Island Naturally. The Natural History of an Isolated Island the Australian Territory of Christmas Island Indian Ocean*, 2nd edition (Christmas Island: Christmas Island Natural History Association, 1995); Robidé van der Aa, "Een Nieuwe Atlas van Nederlandsch-Indië"; and Wharton, "Account of Christmas Island, Indian Ocean."

[36] See *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek*. De Geïntegreerde Taal-Bank, Historische woordenboeken op internet. http://gtb.inl.nl; *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*. De Geïntegreerde Taal-Bank, Historische woordenboeken op internet. http://gtb.inl.nl; Antonio Vieyra, *A Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages, in two Parts: Portuguese and English, and English and Portuguese* (Lisbon: Roland, 1850), vol. 1; and *Infopédia Enciclopédia e Dicionários Porto Editora* [n.d]. www.infopedia.pt.

[37] *OED Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). www.oed.com/view/Entry/169907?rskey=sECtLC&result=1. See also Henry Yule and Arthur Coke Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson: Being a Glossary of Anglo-Indian Colloquial Words and Phrases, and Of Kindred Terms; Etymological, Historical, Geographical, and Discursive* (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1886), p. 592, who provide a similar etymology.

[38] E. Pino and T. Wittermans, *Kamus Inggreris. Part II: Indonesian-English*, 2nd edition (Jakarta: J.B. Wolters, 1955), *selam*; Richard Winstedt, *A Practical Modern Malay-English Dictionary*, 3rd edition. (Singapore: Marican & Sons, 1959), *selam*; Janszoon, *Practisch Jvaansch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek*, *selam*.

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> Ceylon […] It has been suggested by Mr. Van der Tuuk that the name *Sailan* or *Silan* was really of Javanese origin, as *sela* (from Skt. *śilā*, a rock, a stone) in Javanese (and in Malay) means "a precious stone", hence *Pulo Selan* would be "Isle of Gems."[39]

Selam is one of the Portuguese spellings of *Ceylon*. I am not suggesting that Ceylon may have been confused with Christmas Island — to do so would be most implausible and sheer fantasy. Nevertheless, van der Tuuk's etymology hints at a possible Javanese source for the term *Selam* that appears to the south of Java on so many European maps of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, given the ubiquitous rocky steep-to coastline of Christmas Island.

Conclusion

Although it is not possible to provide any definitive answers as to who bestowed the names *Moni* and *Selam*, when these names were precisely applied, why they were applied to the island, and what the names mean, an analysis of the 75 European maps in Table 1 shows that there was much confusion about the whereabouts and designation of the island. While *Moni*, *Selam* and *Christmas Island* occupy a variety of positions on early European maps, their relatively proximate positions indicate that they most likely referred to the same island. The cartographic evidence also indicates that *Moni* and *Selam* are likely former names for the island. Like the position of *Moni*, the position of *Selam* varies considerably on maps, on occasions appearing close to the southwestern tip of Java where, as noted above with the case of Cook and Banks, it was confused with *Prinsen Island* (*Pulau Panaitan*). The virtual disappearance of *Selam* from maps from the mid-eighteenth century onward coincides with the more regular appearance of *Christmas Island* and lends further evidence to the idea that *Selam* denotes *Christmas Island*.

There is, of course, the possibility that *Selam* was nothing more than a phantom island. These sometimes came about from reports by early mariners who were exploring new regions through either mislocation or misidentification of actual islands, navigational errors, or optical illusions (also known as "Dutch Capes") brought about by such phenomena as fog banks, icebergs, or floating beds of pumice.[40] Alternatively, though

[39] Yule and Coke Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 138. The "Mr. van der Tuuk" referred to is Herman Neubronner van der Tuuk (1824–1894), a bible translator and linguist/lexicographer specialising in the languages of the Dutch East Indies. He had an extensive command of many of the languages in the region including Arabic, Tamil, and Sanskrit. His last work, published was after his death, was the monumental trilingual dictionary *Kawi-Balineesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek* (Kawi-Balinese-Dutch Dictionary) published in four volumes from 1897 to 1912. For a biography of van der Tuuk, see Andries Teeuw, "Van der Tuuk as lexicographer," *Archipel* 51.1 (1996), pp. 113–33.

[40] In this regard, see Maria Seton, Simon Williams, Sabin Zahirovic, and Steven Micklethwaite, "Obituary: Sandy Island (1876–2012)," *Eos, Transactions, American Geophysical Union* 94.15 (2013), pp. 141–8, who report on a phantom island in the eastern Coral Sea between the Chesterfield Islands and Nereus Reef. *Sandy Island* appeared in numerous scientific data-sets, on Google Earth, as well as in coastline and bathymetry compilations used by the scientific community. See also Dan Satherley, "Scientists Un-discover Pacific Island," *Newshub*, 23 November 2012. www.newshub.co.nz/world/scientists-undiscover-pacific-island-2012112308.

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unlikely, *Selam* may have been an actual island that was subsequently destroyed by a volcanic eruption, earthquake, or submarine landslide.[41]

Finally, placenames are very often derived from significant physical features or from local flora and fauna. It was postulated that *Moni* and *Selam* may be exemplars of this practice. Both Charles Andrews in his *A Monograph of Christmas Island* and the British Admiralty's *Eastern Archipelago Pilot* of 1923 and 1949, respectively, refer to such features on Christmas Island with respect to its steep-to coast, blow holes, the saddle, and its overall geography, geology, and fauna.[42] An extensive search of the likely language sources for words indicating such features and being the possible source of either or both of these two names was carried out, but no candidates — apart from the van der Tuuk etymology of *selam* — were found.

Malay and Javanese abound in toponyms and words of Sanskrit and Arabic origin, so it is further feasible that *Moni* and *Selam* may have their source in these languages. Current cartographic evidence cannot establish unequivocally which of the two names predates the other, or whether both names were used by locals concurrently or successively. Undoubtedly, more cartographic and linguistic research is required to resolve these and other questions.

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I should like to express my gratitude to the two anonymous reviewers for their valuable suggestions and corrections. I am especially indebted to the reviewer who alerted me to a number of important references that I had overlooked. Any remaining errors and omissions are my own. Finally, I should like to dedicate this article to my dear friend Moni(ka) Perzlmeier.

[41] There are numerous such cases recorded of phantom islands. See, for example, the Wikipedia entry for "Phantom island," https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Phantom_island which provide a catalog of such islands. One case in particular is the island of *Bermeja* in the Gulf of Mexico, first charted in 1539 but which mysteriously vanished during the seventeenth century. One theory is that it became submerged due to tectonic movements, supported by the existence of a seamount at the purported location. See also "Mexico's Missing Island," *BBC World Service Documentaries*. www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/documentaries/2009/09/090910_world_stories_mexico_missing_island.shtml; Enrique Méndez and Roberto Garduño, "No encuentran la Isla Bermeja," *La Jornada*, 24 June 2009. www.jornada.unam.mx/2009/06/24/index.php?section=politica&article=016n1pol; and Christoph Seidler, "Nicht-Insel empört Mexikaner," *Spiegel Online*, 24 June 2009. www.spiegel.de/wissenschaft/natur/geografie-posse-nicht-insel-empoert-mexikaner-a-632387.html.

[42] Andrews' *A Monograph of Christmas Island* is devoted to precisely detailing the island's geography, geology, fauna and flora; Eastern *Archipelago Pilot. Vol. II. Including the South East End of Sumatra, South and East Coasts of Borneo, Java and the Islands Eastward to Timor, Celebes Island,* 4th edition (London: Hydrographic Department Admiralty, 1923), pp. 18–21; *Eastern Archipelago Pilot. Vol. II. Comprising the South East End of Sumatra, Sunda Strait, Java, Islands Eastwards of Java, South and East Coasts of Borneo, Macassar Strait, Celebes, and the Western Part of the Soela Eilanden*, 6th edition (London: Hydrographic Department Admiralty, 1949), pp. 2, 39–41.

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