chapter ten

Apocalyptic Times in a "World without End": The Straits of Magellan around 1600

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From the beginning, intensive production in a plethora of media accompanied the opening of new worlds and the exploration of new spaces and routes by Europeans – the Portuguese, Spaniards, Germans, French, and Dutch. *Relaciones*, travel accounts, pamphlets, (world) maps, and pictures processed the experiences of new places while creating new pictorial and literary worlds for an increasingly numerous European public. Thanks to printers, publishers, engravers, and cartographers, this process intensified greatly in the second half of the sixteenth century in various European centres. Antwerp in particular, and increasingly Amsterdam after its conquest by the Spanish in 1585, became print and representation markets of European significance, whose enormous multimedia productivity in the form of pictures and maps would help to decisively shape Europe's world view, especially in the visual realm.[1] Around the same time (c. 1580) the process of European expansion reached the next phase. With the appearance of England, and soon thereafter the Netherlands,[2] as Spain's and Portugal's new rivals on the high seas, interest in the discovery of new routes and the control of known passages intensified. Thus in South America, the Straits of Magellan, already discovered in 1520, became the focus of national as well as confessional rivalries.

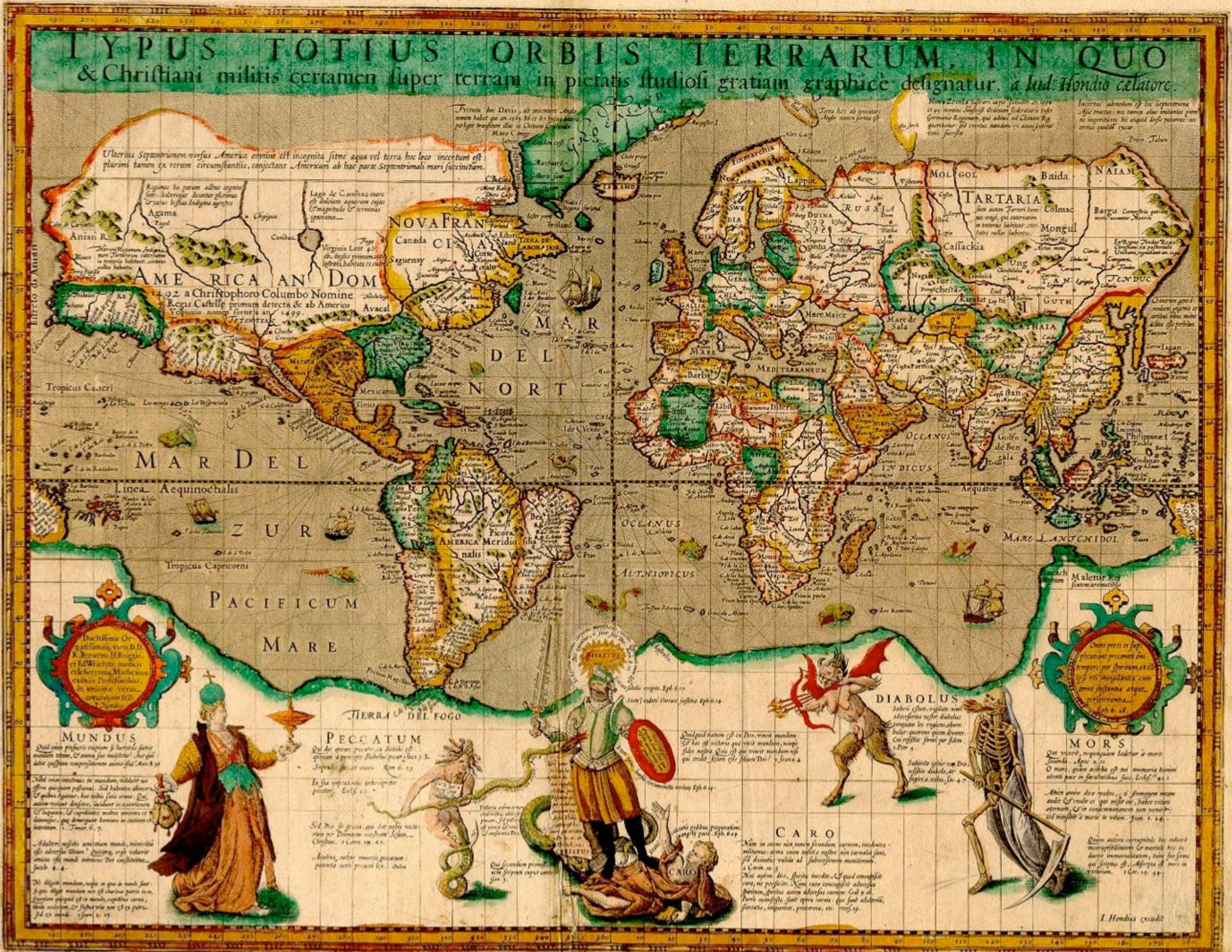
The new political topicality was reflected in a corresponding presence of the Straits of Magellan across a range of media. The Straits, however, were not represented as simply a point of passage for travellers but rather as a powerful site of confrontation with human desires and their limits. A place at the far ends of the earth, the Straits of Magellan seemed to hold an important key to the world geopolitically, economically as well as epistemologically and spiritually. Cartographic, iconographic, and narrative media portrayed them as always beset with hopes that extended far beyond the concrete, feasible possibilities of a single voyage. Such hopes

were nourished not least by the fact that the Straits of Magellan proved to be a place of persistent danger to those who attempted to traverse them, and that survival was repeatedly described as contingent upon a combination of extreme human effort and unexpected divine aid. The Straits of Magellan thus also became a place of experience in which immanence and transcendence promised to be intensely linked, a virtual portal or medium for encountering the divine. There was an increasing number of mediated representations of these encounters in accounts, images, and maps of the Straits, illustrating the degree to which the circulation of "mimetic capital" was accelerating around 1600. Representation were – to quote Stephen Greenblatt – "not only products but also producers, capable of decisively altering the very forces that brought them into being."[3]

This essay probes a series of maps of the Straits of Magellan for the layers of mediated experiences – real and imagined – of this potent place at the far end of world. Taking a cue from Sybille Krämer, maps and cartography are understood here in a dual sense, reconciling two seemingly contradictory positions: the naturalistic perspective of the "transparent map" and the constructivist position of the "opaque map." From a naturalist-oriented perspective, for which exactitude is decisive, the "transparent map" as an image transmits highly precise information on an external territory to the map user, thereby becoming a messenger. From the instrumentalist-constructivist viewpoint, the object of the map itself and the conditions of mapping – including technology, politics, power, and faith – become the focus. This "opaque map" may be read for such traces and become itself a trace. In this model, reality and representation or object and sign become inseparable.[4] Applied to accounts, images, and maps of the Straits of Magellan, Krämer's reflections allow for a reading that permits us to explore these simultaneities, which constitute something new altogether: an "in-between" or "third space" in which experience and representation, knowledge and belief, immanence and transcendence refer to each other and are transformed. We discover in these media an amalgamation of the religious, scientific, and colonial that is key to their trans-confessional appeal to seventeenth-century European consumers of print culture.

Belief, Knowledge, Politics: The World of the *Miles Christianus*

As a daunting obstacle, the Straits of Magellan were by no means located in some indeterminate Nowhere, but in a world in which the control and meaning were both concretely and abstractly contested.[5]



TYPUS TOTIUS ORBIS TERRARUM, IN QUO
& Christiani militis certamen super terram in pietatis studiosi gratiam graphice designatur. a Iud: Hondio cælatore.
AMERICA AN DOM
NOVA FRANCIA
MAR DEL NORT
MAR DEL ZUR
PACIFICUM MARE
Tropicus Cancri
Linea Aequinoctialis
Tropicus Capricorni
TARTARIA
MEDITERRANEUM
OCEANUS INDICUS
OCEANUS AETHIOPICUS
MARE LANTCHIDOL
TIERRA DEL FOGO
MUNDUS
PECCATUM
CARO
DIABOLUS
MORS
I. Hondius excudit

In 1596 or 1597, Jodocus Hondius in Amsterdam published the so-called Christian Knight Map (see plate 9), which occupies an important place in cartographic history.[6] It underscores the extent to which a commitment to scientific precision and knowledge, questions of copyright and intellectual property, the latest geographic information, political propaganda, religious positions, and issues of individual and national identity can be simultaneously present in a single map.[7] The map shows the entire world and fills the lower third with a representation of a gigantic southern continent, which serves as the site of the Christian knight's struggle for dominion on earth. In the sixteenth century, ever since Erasmus and Charles V, high expectations of a religiously united, peaceful world had been associated with the *Miles Christianus* as a unifying figure.[8] Nevertheless, as Peter Barber has shown, the portrayal of the Christian knight surrounded by the world, the devil, and death, helmeted by the Holy Spirit and standing on the "Tierra del Fogo" in combat with sin and the flesh, also contains a political appeal on behalf of the French king and his struggle against Philip II and the Spanish in the southern Netherlands that was quite topical in 1597.[9]

Elsewhere, too, Hondius aspired to be as topical as possible, in some cases at the expense of others, for example, in mathematics, cartography, and topography. With a method of representation he borrowed from the English mathematician Edward Wright – an improved form of Mercator projection – he violated the Englishman's copyright. Not mollified by the dedication to himself and his colleagues, Wright still expressed anger years later. With its combination of political theology and up-to-date cartographic knowledge, the map was clearly interesting to contemporaries as well. Alongside other objects of study such as skeletons, a copy hung in the anatomical theatre of Leiden University,[10] where, referring back to the *vanitas* discourse, it formed part of a staging of world knowledge in which transience and transcendence were closely linked with the immanence of the production of exact knowledge.

Claesz's 1602 Map of America and the Straits of Magellan as a "Third Space"

The title of Cornelis Claesz's 1602 map (see fig. 10.1) explicitly claims to assemble the latest and best information, thereby eliminating previous errors: "Americae tabula nova multis locis tam ex terrestri peregrinatione

Figure 10.1 Cornelis Claesz, *Americae tabula nova multis locis tam ex terrestri peregrinatione quam recentiori navigatione ab exploratissimis naucleris emendata et multo quam antea exactior edita* (1602)
[Bibliothèque Nationale de France, GE B 1115 Rs]

quam recentiori navigatione ab exploratissimis naucleris emendata et multo quam antea exactior edita" ("A new map of America with many places, improved by terrestrial expeditions as well as recent navigation of the most well travelled ship pilots, and much more exactly edited than before").[11] With its detail maps, individual and grouped figures, cartouches and text inserts, Claesz's map integrates diverse bodies of knowledge, media, images, and thematic discourses from different national contexts, documenting the intense circulation of mimetic capital and its accumulation around 1600.[12] It portrays the Straits in three different images, thus producing paradoxical effects – at least from the standpoint of modern cartography. The map itself features an implicit competition for the most precise representation. Thus the heading of the detail map, which is based on the latest information from Oliver van Noort, the first Dutchman to successfully circumnavigate the globe, reads: "Precise representation of the Strait of Magellan, explored and discovered in 1600 by the Hollanders on a very bold voyage."[13] While here boldness is associated with precision, the adoption of another detail map, whose information came from the voyage of Cavendish and John Davis, is explained in terms of the existence of contradictory information and the superior quality of the Englishman Davis's cartographic observations: "There are various topographical descriptions of the Strait of Magellan, but they differ so greatly from each other that they correspond in name only. We have kept to the description given to us for inspection by Th. Caundish in London before the engraving. (He is the one who sailed through the Strait for some considerable time and sailed around the world.) As afterwards John Davis also explored it, we thought it best, for those interested in geography, to add a second drawing of the strait to our map, based on the description by Davis."[14] The adoption of three different drawings at once made good on the title's promise of improving the map yet also *nolens volens* increased its ambiguity and undercut its evident precision. At the same time, the *peregrinatio* mentioned in the map's title recalls the topos of pilgrimage, with its orientation towards penitence and sanctification and thus transcendent concerns in this world.[15]

Mortal Danger and Knowledge Acquisition: John Davis and the "World without End"

The aspect of religiously based self-knowledge invoked in the notion of the *peregrinatio* becomes clearer when we return to John Jane's account of the voyage of Captain John Davis, which appeared in 1600 as part of

Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*. Davis's ship, the *Desire*, was part of Cavendish's fleet, which set sail in 1591 for the second voyage around the world. The detail map that Claesz deemed particularly exact owed its existence to Cavendish's second, failed attempt to circumnavigate the globe. While Cavendish was forced to turn back before reaching the Straits of Magellan and died during the return journey, he and John Jane ultimately succeeded in escaping the Straits of Magellan after a desperate struggle and returned home with a few survivors thanks to the extraordinary precision of the cartographic information gathered by John Davis. John Jane's account of the experience clearly (also) invokes religious motifs, tightly intertwining nautical skill, precise empirical observation, the resulting knowledge, and divine intervention.

Jane vividly describes the desperation that the *Desire*'s crew felt at their hopeless situation in the spot where the Straits of Magellan opened into the Pacific. At the same time, he stresses that not only was their physical survival at stake, but that fear and melancholy imperilled the salvation of the captain's soul:

> The tenth of October being by the accompt of our Captaine and Master [John Davis] very neere the shore, the weather darke, the storme furious, and most of our men having given over to travell, we yeelded ourselves to death, without further hope of succour. Our captaine sitting in the gallery very pensive, I came and brought him some Rosa solis to comfort him; for he was so cold, that hee was scarce able to moove a joint. After he had drunke, and was comforted in heart, hee began for the ease of his conscience, to make a large repetition of his forepassed time, and with many grievous sighs he concluded in these words: Oh, most glorious God, with whose power the mightiest things among men are matters of no moment, I most humbly beseech thee, that the intollerable burthen of my sinnes may through the blood of Jesus Christ be taken from me: and end our daies with speede, or shew us some mercifull signe of thy love and our preservation. Having thus ended, he desired me not to make knowen to any of the company his intollerable griefe and anguish of minde, because they should not thereby be dismayed. And so suddenly, before I went from him the Sunne shined cleere; so that he and the Master both observed the true elevation of the Pole, whereby they knew by what course to recover the Streights.[16]

Thanks to this sign from above, the Straits of Magellan were transformed from a place at the end of the world, and thus the epitome of godforsakenness, to a place of special divine presence and closeness – a presence

that transformed and transcended the world for the survivors after their return: "In this maner our small remnant by Gods onely mercie were preserved, and restored to our countrey, to whom be all honour and glory, world without end."[17]

The continuation of Jane's narrative also makes it clear how closely allied survival thanks to divine grace and the production of exact knowledge was in such a world. Once back in the Straits of Magellan with their stormy narrows, it was only Captain Davis's superior powers of observation that allowed them to overcome the tribulations they faced:

> But our capitaine, as wee first passes through the Streights drew such an exquisite plat of the same, as I am assured it cannot in any sort be bettered: which plat hee and the Master so often perused, and so carefully regarded, as that in memorie they had every turning and creeke, and in the deepe darke night without any doubting they conveyed the ship through that crooked chanell: so that I conclude, the world hath not any so skilfull pilots for that place as they are: for otherwise wee could never have passed in such sort as we did.[18]

Elevated again by the religious imagery of light and dark, the fact that they escaped the darkness of the Straits alive owed everything to unwavering and bright intellect, made concrete in cartographic precision; and this precision, so necessary for survival, entered into Claesz's map of America with its overdetermined significances, continuing the story beyond Jane's account. Mortal danger and survival, cartographic precision and the gaining of knowledge, thus interacted intensively here.

Visitation and Elevation: The Straits of Magellan as Non-Place

In *The Embarrassment of Riches*, Simon Schama describes the "transformation, under divine guidance, of catastrophe into good fortune" as a characteristic typical of the nascent Dutch nation. "Survival in the teeth of calamity" became the "beginning of self-respect" and "a recovery of identity." [19] Accordingly, seventeenth-century Holland developed its own successful "shipwreck tales featuring intrepid nautical heroes."[20] Accounts of the first Dutch circumnavigations of the globe, like those by Van Noort and Spielberghen, or Barent Jansz Potgieter's history of the failed attempt of Sebald de Weert to cross the Straits of Magellan, are among the early examples of the genre, which addressed the fears of the

Dutch and their demand for tales of misfortune, and served the middle-class public's need for moral edification.

In this context, it is hardly surprising that the return of the *Geloof* (*Belief*) under Sebald de Weert had scarcely made the rounds than the author and publisher Zacharias Heyns[21] left his books and hastened to the harbour in July 1600, eager to learn of any wonders (*om eenighe vreemdigheydt te hooren*).[22] The first Dutch voyage through the Straits of Magellan incurred extraordinarily heavy losses. In keeping with Schama's observations, this did nothing to dampen the interest of the Amsterdam public. Thus only two months after the *Geloof* returned home as the only ship from the fleet of Mahu and Cordes, Heyns published an extensive travel account by Barent Jansz Potgieter, [23]which he had augmented and polished based on discussions with Potgieter.

In competition with Spain (the declared enemy of the Netherlands) and Portugal, which were joined at that time in personal union, the Dutch set out in 1598 to catch up with those nations that had sailed around the world and claimed colonies. No sooner had Linschoten completed the first great Dutch voyage of discovery than five ships set sail from Rotterdam in June 1598 under the leadership of Mahu and Cordes, bearing the names *Belief*, *Love*, *Unity*, *Hope*, and *Good News*.[24] These programmatic appellations notwithstanding, only the *Belief* returned home. Just one year later, the Dutch edition, which Heyns supplied with woodcuts, was published in German and Latin in Frankfurt in Theodor de Bry's America series, embellished with a new map of the Straits of Magellan by Hondius. The voyage was portrayed as one endless exercise in survival from beginning to end, an odyssey in which colonial political rivalries, human discord and malice, indigenous savagery, tribulations and the perils of nature alternated in an unbroken series, and sheer survival could be considered a great national success. While the difficulties of the voyage – sickness, death, and divine deliverance – began immediately after departure and continued on the African coast with almost insurmountable supply problems and an accordingly large number of deaths, the trials reached a nine-month-long peak in the Straits of Magellan. The Dutch ships repeatedly tried to overcome the challenges that beset them by wind, storm, hunger, and lost anchors – in vain, for despite all efforts the Straits of Magellan remained the ultimate obstacle for Sebald de Weert and the *Belief*. As a passage and thus a connection between the Atlantic and Pacific, the Straits were actually a non-place [Un-Ort][25] in a Foucauldian sense.[26] Foucault has referred to the ship in particular as "the heterotopia *par excellence*," noting that "it

has been not only and obviously the main means of economic growth ..., but at the same time the greatest reserve of imagination for our civilization from the sixteenth century down to the present day."[27] Here, in the Straits of Magellan, the ship became a site of endless fear and nightmare.

For the Dutch ships, the Straits proved a fateful non-place: an impassable passage, shores that permitted no secure position or safe anchor, a wilderness inimical to life, which constantly imperilled not just the men's civilized nature but their very existence. Two concrete locations in the Straits, whose toponyms are marked on the early maps of the seventeenth century, illustrate this in exemplary fashion: Knights' Bay and the Penguin Islands.

Knights' Bay: Commemoration, Destruction, and Disturbance

After the Dutch ships had been at sea for more than one year, General Simon de Cordes decided, on the wishes of the officers, to erect a plaque in the middle of the Straits of Magellan to commemorate their achievements thus far.[28] To that end, he gathered his entire crew on 24 August 1599 and founded the "Brotherhood of the Liberated Lion." Tribulations, hardship, and mortal danger notwithstanding, the six captains of the fleet pledged to do nothing to imperil their honour, the good of their country, or the ultimate success of the voyage (the circumnavigation of the globe). Instead, they would risk life and limb to harm their sworn enemies and plant the Dutch flag where the king of Spain collected the treasures he used to finance his protracted war against the Netherlands. In a ceremony designed for the occasion, the bay where the plaque was to be erected was christened Knights' Bay and the plaque brought on land, where it was inscribed with the names of the brotherhood's members and attached to a pillar. It was to be visible to all passing ships as a memento of the "splendid Dutch fleet,"[29] reminding them that the Dutch, despite all efforts and dangers, were allegedly the first "among all nations / to venture this undertaking / with so many and large ships."[30] The Dutch were thus erecting a monument that would not merely pass on their names and their identities to posterity, but also broadcast their claim to participate in world expansion to their colonial rivals as well as take a stand in the national struggle for liberation – a struggle they intended to continue in the New World, as they clearly signalled by founding the Brotherhood.[31]

Scarcely had the Dutch left Knights' Bay, however, when the choice of site proved unfavourable and they resolved to turn back, fetch the plaque, and erect it in a more suitable location. Back on the shores of Knights' Bay, de Weert and the armed men in his party found traces of indigenous cruelty. The savages had not merely exhumed the corpses of the Dutch dead buried there, but had "most inhumanly and cruelly wounded and dismembered them." The body of Master Ian Iansz, the general's barber, "had had his cheeks sliced / his head knocked off with a bludgeon / an arrow shot through his side into his heart / and his male member cut off and mutilated ..." – "*O grouwelijke daedt*!" (Oh monstrous deed), as the Dutch original noted with a shudder.[32] They found the grave of another Dutchman opened and the body removed – a clear indication of indigenous cannibalism, or so their horrified suspicions went. They desperately combed the entire area for the grave desecrators, but had to return to their ship without having achieved anything. All they found were a few pieces of the plaque, which the savages had taken down and hacked to pieces. Here, at the ends of the earth, savages threatened even *memoria* itself. What was endangered was not merely the attempt of a dignified commemoration in the form of a plaque, or sheer physical survival. Even beyond death, they were threatened with the most dishonourable desecration of their bodies and thereby the endangerment of their transcendental salvation.

Only transformation through the written word offered comfort. Recorded, printed, and disseminated in Europe, the *memoria* of the brotherhood could be secured at least on the collective (and thus national) level by publishing the story, which took over the function of the destroyed plaque. This succeeded to an astonishing degree, as is evident from the fact that in the years that followed, the name "Knights' Bay" quickly appeared on not just Dutch but also Spanish maps, although all lasting traces of the Dutchmen, their commemorative act, and their colonial claim had vanished soon after the plaque was erected.[33]

False Loyalties? Between South Sea Paradise and Hunger Cannibalism

In the Straits of Magellan, however, the founding of the brotherhood did not significantly alter the actual situation of the Dutch fleet, and the constant problems, precarious provisions, and unfavourable weather conditions persisted. Discontent and despair spread and on 5 December 1599 the *Belief* lost its last anchor and – as would become evident only

in retrospect – its contact to the other ships as well.[34] Once again, de Weert and his crew hoped to improve their situation significantly when on 18 December they encountered another Dutch ship commanded by Captain Oliver van Noort, who for his part was trying to cross the Straits of Magellan on his way around the world. They noted with envy the plentiful supplies on board the other ships and heard from van Noort how he had succeeded in acquiring provisions on the Penguin Islands. When it became obvious that he would be unable to keep his promise to "give them all necessary aid"[35] and the crew began to grumble, Captain de Weert tried one last time to keep his men from giving up and embarking on the return journey. He reminded them that he was in the bloom of youth, declared how much he valued his life, and warned them that with only their existing provisions, they were sure to perish on the way home. He expressed himself convinced that their situation would improve once they reached the South Seas, "since every form of nourishment, both meat and all sorts of fruits, is to be had there."[36] He urged them to eat birds and shellfish to save bread, so that they might be spared the fate of the wasteful Spaniards under "Petri Mondosa in Rio del Plata," who, having only rats, mice, and snakes to eat, ended up as cannibals, consuming the flesh of three of their compatriots who had died on the gallows. He referred here to the travel account of the German Ulrich Schmidel, who had served with the Spanish in the 1530s and participated in the exploration of the Rio Plata region and the founding of Buenos Aires. His account was widely read, especially in Germany, and appeared as volume seven of de Bry's America series in 1597, embellished with an engraving that memorably dramatized the scene of the Spanish cannibalizing the hanged men.[37] De Weert sought to mobilize all available energies by drastically recalling the Spaniards' definitive loss of civilized behaviour and most terrible endangerment of their salvation by violating the greatest taboo, the cannibalization of Europeans by Europeans. If we are to believe the account presented by Zacharias Heyns, it was not empirical observation and his own experience that were the *ultima ratio* of de Weert's argument, but book learning, which passed off cultural patterns as experience. The intention was to ensure the continuation of the enterprise amidst the greatest misfortune. Read as a trace in Krämer's definition, Heyns's text, with its intertextual reference, shows above all the significance of mimetic circulation and its productive quality.

On the ground in the Straits, however, even this rhetoric of extreme horror scenarios no longer had the desired effect, and the promised land of meat and fruit in the South Seas failed to persuade such an

experienced old helmsman as Jan Outghersz. He was the last to speak after Sebald de Weert, and argued that they should turn back and gather provisions on the Penguin Islands. He explicitly warned de Weert against exaggerated loyalty towards his employers in the Netherlands, branding his "indescribable fidelity" towards the ship owners as "blind zeal" that caused him to risk life and salvation.[38] De Weert finally resolved to change course and stock the ship with five thousand or six thousand birds as provisions for the return journey. In fact, this was a decision to halt the circumnavigation of the globe and set sail for Europe.

Forsakenness and Deliverance: The Penguin Islands

The sojourn on the Penguin Islands was characterized by destruction and survival, forsakenness and deliverance (see fig. 10.2). It reflected the basic tenor of the entire voyage and possessed cathartic potential. As an existential trial, it represented an astonishing turn in the relationship between self-experience and world knowledge, which nonetheless remained implicit. Having arrived on the smallest of the Penguin Islands, de Weert and his men began hunting full of "desire and greediness," after first – fearing acts of vengeance – searching the islands for possible survivors of the massacre that, as we learn in passing, van Noort and his soldiers had committed in response to the killing of three Dutchmen. They found nobody however, "except for a dog." And thus they began their work of destruction until a still greater misfortune befell them than they had already survived. A mighty gust of wind cast their bark adrift, thus cutting off their means of returning to the ship.[39] They spent the night full of dread, wet, freezing cold, terrified, and deeply worried about the fate of their ship, which they had left with a skeleton crew of three. Despairing that everything seemed to have taken a turn for the worse, all of a sudden, they called upon God, asking him "to mercifully help them again, as He had before / since no human aid was forthcoming."[40] And indeed they managed to help themselves, recovering and repairing the damaged vessel and returning with it to their ship with a cargo of penguins. If we follow the account of Potgieter and Heyns, God's aid had once again averted their certain demise in this merciless environment.

But not everyone here at the end of the world was offered help and mercy. Before the Dutchmen could board their boat, they found an indigenous woman lying wounded in a penguin hole. As the sole survivor

XXIV.

Wie die Holländer an die Pinguinische Insul fuhren vnd was jhnen alda widerfahren.

X. p. 60. 65.

Als mals als vnter andern die Holländer mit jhren Nachen an die Pinguinischen Insuln gefahren/in Meynung ein guten Hauffen Pinguinen zufahen/ist ein so grosser Sturmwindt entstanden/ als sie vngefähr auff die 450. Pinguinas gefangen/ daß sie nicht anders meineten dann jhr Schiff vnd jhr Nachen würden zu Trümmern gehen/wie dann auch der Nachen von den Wellen so zerschlagen worden/ daß kaum ein stück am andern blieben ist. Also daß sie vermeinten auff dem Land zu verschmachten/ aber nach dem sie sich versamlet vnd ein Gemein gebett gethan haben/ sind sie mit Macht ins Wasser gestiegen/ vnd haben mit aller Gewalt den Nachen ans Land gebracht/vnd wider verbessert / alda haben sie in einem Pinguinen Loch/ eine Indianische Frauwe gefunden/ so mit einem Mandel von wildten Thieren vmbgeben war. Auff dieser Insul sahen sie keine Manns persohn/ ohn einen der Todt lage/ welcher wahr mit Federn gezieret/ diese Fraw haben sie mit geringer Verehrung begabet/vnd wider von sich gelassen.

Gestalt

Figure 10.2 Johann Theodor and Johann Israel de Bry, *America* (IX/2, plate 24)
[University Library of Basel, E.U. I, 17]

of the Dutch massacre, she became a witness for the Europeans in several respects. Full of astonishment, they noted signs of civilization in her: She was dressed in a coat made of skins "very finely joined and sewn with thread made of gut" that fell to her knees. Her pubic area was covered with a special fur, giving the Dutchmen the impression "that the people on the northern side / are more modest and sociable / than those on the southern side." This impression was also confirmed by a dead indigenous man they found, whose head was "adorned with all manner of fine feathers / his body too was surrounded by the same / and had a little net drawn over them / upon which a number of dried little bones and stones hung as proper adornment."[41] Potgieter's account clearly mentions gradual differences of civilization between the indigenous inhabitants of the Straits of Magellan. They could be readily reconciled with the latest ethnographic theories concerning the history of human development and the settlement of South America formulated by the Jesuit José de Acosta, which appeared in the same volume of de Bry's America series in German and Latin. In the context of Acosta's theory of development, such observations of gradual differences inscribed the Straits of Magellan into a world history of salvation.[42] According to this theory, the indigenous witness to the massacre and the natives massacred by the Dutch did not merely fall out of history, but were instead part of a common history of humankind, which conceived of the plan for salvation and progressive civilization as one. And yet de Weert did not act upon this insight, and the inhabitant of the Straits of Magellan became at once a victim of and a witness to Dutch ruthlessness.

When the woman was brought to de Weert, he presented her, to her great delight, the account expressly notes, with a knife, which may be considered the epitome of technological, material superiority and European civilization. He did not, however, accede to her request to take her with them to the mainland. Instead, he left her to her fate – a fate that the Dutch themselves had so desperately feared not long before. In text and image, the woman on Penguin Island thus affirmed the possibility of a divided history of humanity as well as European cruelty and mercilessness. For the Dutchmen, the Penguin Islands became clear proof of divine grace and at the same time, in regard to their own greed and lack of mercy, a sign of extreme forsakenness, a forsakenness the indigenous woman was forced to experience. The clear dividing line between them and savages appeared to have been drawn, and the tales from the Straits of Magellan could be read as a warning; mortal danger, worldly wisdom, and self-knowledge proved inextricably linked – but sometimes it was too late to change course.

Apocalyptic Scenarios: Danger, Worldly Wisdom, and Self Knowledge

On 13 July 1600, the *Belief* returned home with 36 members of its original crew of 109.[43] Thus ended the account of Barent Jansz Potgieter. Once it entered into the circulation of mimetic capital, it made its way through the various media in the years that followed. Potgieter's story was not over yet, though, nor had interest in the Straits of Magellan and its messages come to an end. Nearly a generation after de Weert and Potgieter returned, Hondius's son Jodocus published another map of the Straits of Magellan, which in 1630 became part of the so-called Atlas Appendix Maior,[44] where it was, remarkably enough, the only representation of a passage with its own map (see fig. 10.3).

Figure 10.3 Jodocus Hondius, *Freti Magellanici ac novi Freti vulgo Le Maire exactissima descriptio / J. Grijp sculpsit*, 1620
[Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Cartes et plans, GE D-15641]

The new map did not merely show the Le Maire Strait, only discovered in 1617, but also the Straits of Magellan according to the information Potgieter had risked his life to attain, as a Latin-Dutch double inscription on the map expressly emphasizes:

> Lectori meo. Descriptionem hanc novam freti Magellanici nobis communicavit clarissimus vir Bernardus Joannis Monasteriensis qui novem menses in peregratione huius freti impendit sub duce Sebaldi de Waertd. Afbeelding der Straet Magallanes. So als de selve van Mr. Barent Iansz Potgieter van Munster door en weder door bevaren en met syn Capiteyn Sebald de Waerd met groot pericul syns levens seer naerstig ondersocht is.[45]

It points out Potgieter and de Weert's perilous exploration of the Straits of Magellan, referring to it in the Latin inscription as a *peregrinatio*, recalling the religious-transcendental dimension of their enterprise as well.

Potgieter himself settled in Amsterdam as a surgeon, joined the guild in 1602, and served as its "overman, proef- en bosmeester" from 1604 to 1611. In 1625 he addressed the public again in a *zinneprent*, an edifying symbolic broadsheet (see fig. 10.4).

The print, of whose production the exact circumstances are unknown, shows Potgieter as a true Catholic and "preserver of the faith" standing on a rock amidst apocalyptic threats from a many-breasted dragon, an eight-headed monster, a basilisk, a lion, a tiger, a steer/ox, a wolf, a bear, and a hyena as symbols of the Devil, the Antichrist, and the Seven Deadly Sins, all against a steep mountain backdrop. This landscape recalls the engravings in Potgieter's account of the Straits of Magellan and suggests an association with Hondius's map of the Straits, which appeared soon thereafter. In strange contrast to the apocalyptic signs the symbols of hope and peace are visible only in the background: the cross, the fortress, and the rainbow. Potgieter wrote on the reverse that he had had the engraving made in connection with a legal case involving the bankrupt Gerrit Jacobsen Bell, at a time when the Roman church had been represented as the whore of Babylon and the devil and the Catholic Mass disgracefully mocked. Thus his print was apparently responding to confessional conflicts that were not uncommon in Amsterdam in the 1620s and that reached into the circles of the politicians and merchants who led Dutch expansion policy.[46] Two years later Potgieter commissioned a portrait engraving that portrayed him as a fifty-three-year-old "friend of peace" with the motto "I place my hope firmly in Jesus Christ crucified" (*Mijn hoope staet vast in Iesum Christum den gecruysten*) and was

Figure 10.4 *Zinneprent door Barent Jansz Potgieter*
[Reproduced in F.C. Wieder, De reis van Mahu en de Cordes door de Straat van Magalhães naar Zuid-Amerika en Japan, 1598–1600, vol. 1, ('S-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1923, Plate 2)]

perhaps intended to mark his twenty-fifth anniversary in the guild.[47] In his verses on the reverse of the *zinneprent* he calls himself an "Erasmian," lamenting the sin of God's church, and particularly stressing the great risks he took for the good of Holland. In this way he drew a line back to his experiences in the Straits, that place of existential, liminal experience, which had become both a symbol of the end of days and a monument to his own return and a sign of the justified hope of divine deliverance.

Peril and salvation, hostility and hope were closely allied – in Amsterdam as in the Straits, as is evident from the personal story of Barent Jansz Potgieter. As Simon Schama has shown, however, in Dutch culture the threat of downfall and immanent as well as transcendental deliverance were also closely allied. The Straits of the accounts, images, and maps were a good example. That it was the stories of the Catholic Potgieter, of all people, that expressed this quality so clearly was (at

first) a surprising and ironic turn. On closer scrutiny, however, this very detail proves to be a trace pointing to the circumstance that, in the use of diverse media, colonial knowledge, worldly wisdom, and moral-religious edification and identity creation, could be closely connected and ultimately form an amalgam across confessional boundaries, one that, despite all moral-theological propositions, was capable of conveying to the Dutch producers and their European readers a thrilling sense of their own superiority. That apocalyptic fear and divine deliverance at the end of world would continue to reverberate in Dutch and European print culture but do so across confessional divides indicates that even after the heated media-theological debates of the Reformation period had quieted down, the long-term repercussions of this earlier crisis in mediation were still unfolding and shaping the complex process of so-called secularization.

NOTES

1 Susanna Burghartz, "Mimetisches Kapital und die Aneignung Neuer Welten: Zur europäischen Repräsentationspraxis um 1600," *WerkstattGeschichte* 37 (2004): 24–48. On the long-term influence of early texts on and images of the Straits of Magellan, see Burghartz, "Vermessung der Differenz: Die Magellanstraße als europäischer Projektionsraum um 1600," *Historische Anthropologie* 19, no.1 (2011): 4–30; and Peter Mason, *The Lives of Images* (London: Reaktion, 2001), chap.1.

2 Cf. Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492–1640* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), chap. 5. Seed stresses the production of highly precise maps as a particular Dutch achievement.

3 Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 6.

4 Krämer, *Medium, Bote, Übertragung,* 300–2. For the recent history of cartography, see J.B. Harley, *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*, ed. Paul Laxton (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001); Denis Cosgrove, *Apollo's Eye: A Cartographic Genealogy of the Earth in the Western Imagination* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

5 The actual or assumed geopolitical significance of this passage between Atlantic and Pacific is evident from the – ultimately fruitless – attempts of the colonial powers Spain, England, and Holland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to control the Straits, whether with fortresses, as the

Spanish did at Philippsburg/Port Famine, or by erecting signs and placing toponyms on maps.

6 J.B. Harley, *Maps and the Columbian Encounter: An Interpretative Guide to the Travelling Exhibition* (Milwaukee: University of Wisconsin, 1990), 125–7.

7 Günter Schilder, *Jodocus Hondius (1563–1612) and Petrus Kaerius (1571–c.1646)*, Monumenta Cartographica Neerlandica VIII (Alphen aan den Rijn: Uitgeverij Canaletto, 2007), 241–252.

8 Andreas Wang, *Der "Miles Christianus" im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert und seine mittelalterliche Tradition: Ein Beitrag zum Verhältnis von sprachlicher und graphischer Bildlichkeit* (Berne: Herbert Lang; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1975).

9 Peter Barber, "The Christian Knight, the Most Christian King and the Rulers of Darkness," *The Map Collector* 52 (Autumn 1990), 8–13.

10 Schilder, *Jodocus Hondius and Petrus Kaerius,* 246.

11 Cornelis Claesz, "Map of America 1602," Bibliothèque Nationale Paris: GE B 1115 Rs.

12 Burghartz, "Mimetisches Kapital," 40–3.

13 Claesz, "Map."

14 Ibid.

15 Jörg Dünne, "Pilgerkörper – Pilgertexte: Zur Medialität der Raumkonstitution in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit," in *Von Pilgerwegen, Schriftspuren und Blickpunkten: Raumpraktiken in medienhistorischer Perspektive*, ed. Jörg Dünne, Hermann Doetsch, and Roger Lüdeke (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2004), 79–98, 92. Dünne points out, however, that in the Spanish Siglo d'Oro, the term is applied to all manner of voyages in a clearly desacralised manner.

16 John Davis, *The Voyages and Works of John Davis, the Navigator*, ed. A.H. Markham, Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, 1st ser., no. 59 (London: printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1880), 114–15.

17 Ibid., 128.

18 Ibid., 117–18.

19 Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches* (New York: Knopf, 1987), 25.

20 Ibid., 28.

21 See Hubertus Meeus, "Zacharias Heyns, Sometime Apprentice to Moretus, Becomes the First Merchant/Publisher in Amsterdam," *Quaerendo* 38 (2008): 381–97.

22 F.C. Wieder, *De reis van Mahu en de Cordes door de Straat van Magalhães naar Zuid-Amerika en Japan, 1598–1600*, vol. 1 ('S-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1923), 147 (cited henceforth as Wieder I).

23 Barent Jansz Potgieter, a Roman Catholic, born in 1574 in Munster, was surgeon on board of the *Faith,* which travelled through the Straits of

Magellan in 1598; he settled in Amsterdam as a surgeon, joined the guild in 1602, and served as its "overman, proef- en bosmeester" (foreman) from 1604 to 1611. In 1625 he addressed the public in a *zinneprent*, an edifying symbolic broadsheet in 1627 he commissioned a portrait of himself by H.L. Rogham as an "Erasmian"; Wider, I, 84–6; N. de Roever, Jan Harmensz. Muller, *Oud Holland* 3 (1885), 272.

24 Wieder I, 29–31.

25 This *Un-Ort* (non-place) was thus remarkably similar to that described by Pedro de Sarmiento. Cf. Burghartz, "Vermessung der Differenz," 8–9.

26 Michel Foucault, "Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopia," in *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*, ed. Neil Leach (London: Routledge, 1997), 350–6, here 352. Literally a mere obstacle for the circumnavigation of the Dutch as well as many other crews, it becomes a Foucauldian heterotopia: a site "in relation with all the others, but in such a way as to suspend, neutralize, or invert the set of relationships designed, reflected or mirrored by themselves," a place which is something like a counter-arrangement, "of effectively realized utopia, in which all the real arrangements, all the other real arrangements that can be found within society, are at one and the same time represented, challenged and overturned: a sort of place that lies outside all places and yet is actually localizable." Foucault here uses the analogy of the mirror to declare/show the functions of such heterotopia: "it makes the place that I occupy, whenever I look at myself in the glass, both absolutely real – it is in fact linked to all the surrounding space and absolutely unreal, for in order to be perceived it has of necessity to pass that virtual point that is situated down there."

27 Ibid., 356.

28 Johann Theodor and Johann Israel de Bry, Neundter und Letzter Theil Americae, cited as America vol. IX/2, 1601, 33. On comparable public acts of inscription as attempts at fixing, revising, or imposing public meanings, see also Mary Fuller, "Writing the Long-Distance Voyage: Hakluyt's Circumnavigators," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 70 (March 2007): 37–60.

29 Wieder I, 194.

30 De Bry, America IX/2, 34. On the specifically Dutch context of "discovery and description," see Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession*, 160ff.

31 For a general account, see Benjamin Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad: The Dutch Imagination and the New World, 1570–1670* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

32 Wieder I, 195.

33 Thus, for example, the Nodal brothers' 1621 map "Reconincimento de los estrechos de Magallanes," the topographical product of an extremely

successful voyage of discovery in response to Schouten and Le Maire, explicitly includes the "B. de los Cavalleros" in the western segment of the Straits of Magellan. See *Early Spanish Voyages to the Strait of Magellan*, trans. and ed. Clements Markham, Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, 2nd ser., no. XXVIII (London: printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1911), 188–9.

34 See de Bry, America IX/2, 40ff., esp. 49.

35 Ibid., 55.

36 Ibid., 58.

37 Ulrich Schmidel, *Reise in die La Plata-Gegend (1534–1554)*, ed. Franz Obermeier (Kiel: Westensee, 2008), xxvii–viii.

38 De Bry, America IX/2, 57. It is remarkable to find such an assessment explicitly expressed in an account of a failed shipping enterprise, which cost those who financed it dearly.

39 De Bry, America IX/2, 59.

40 Ibid., 60.

41 Ibid., 63.

42 Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 194–7. See also Susanna Burghartz, "Aneignungen des Fremden: Staunen, Stereotype und Zirkulation um 1600," in Elke Huwiler and Nicole Wachter, eds., *Integrationen des Widerläufigen: Ein Streifzug durch geistes- und kulturwissenschaftliche Forschungsfelder* (Münster: Lit, 2004), 109–37, 117–18.

43 Captain de Weert was killed in 1603 in Ceylon after diplomatic disputes with the king and getting into a drunken argument during a banquet. Wieder I, 91–5.

44 On Atlantis Maioris Appendix, see Cornelis Koeman, "Atlas Cartography in the Low Countries in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries," in *Images of the World: The Atlas through History*, ed. John A. Wolter and Ronald E. Grim (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1997), 73–107, 86.

45 "The famous Bernard John of Munster, who spent nine months under the command of Sebald de Weert travelling the Straits of Magellan, communicated this new depiction of the *Fretum Magellanicis*. Depiction of the Straits of Magellan. Such the same was trafficked again and again by Master Barent Jansz Potgieter and was eagerly examined together with Capitain Sebald de Weert at the peril of their lives." Jodocus Hondius, *Freti Magellanici ac novi Freti vulgo Le Maire exactissima descriptio / J. Grijp sculpsit,* 1620.

46 Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches*, 61; J.G. van Dillen, *Mensen en Achtergronden* (Groningen: Wolters, 1964), 448–65.

47 Reproduced in Wieder I, Plate 2.