

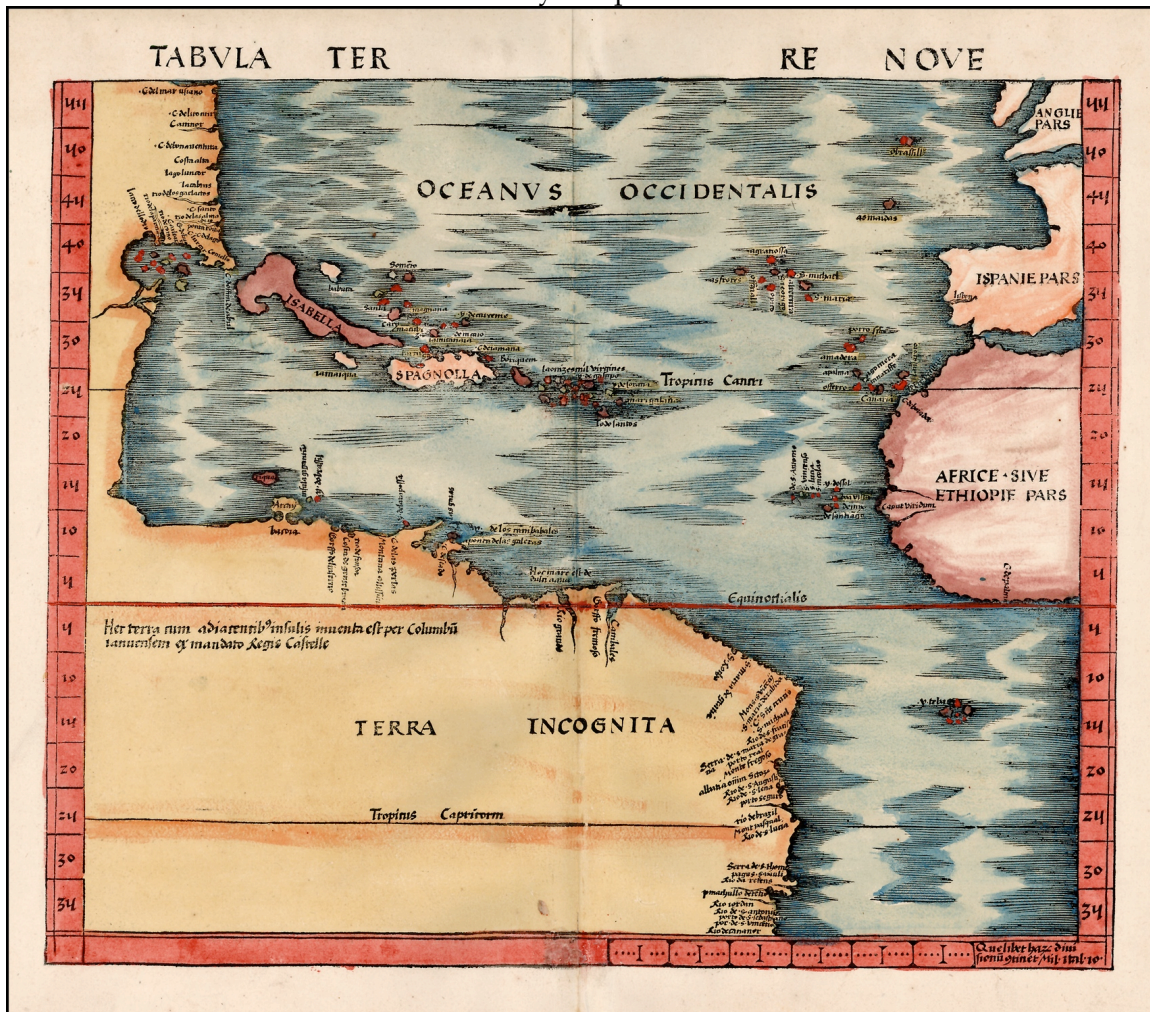
**Title:** *Tabula Terre Nove* (Admiral's Map); *Carta marina Navigatoria Portugallen...*

**Date:** 1513 & 1516

**Author:** Martin Waldseemüller

**Description:** In 1513 Johannes Schott, a student of Gregor Reisch, printed the famous Ptolemy edition of *Geographia*, including a special section of largely uniform "modern" maps. This is considered the first modern atlas and was credited as such by the Swedish explorer A.E. Nordenskiöld in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Martin Waldseemüller and his colleagues in the Gymnasium at St. Die (i.e., Mathias Ringmann, Gaultier Ludd, Jacob Aeschler, George Uebelin) began making maps for their new edition of Ptolemy's classical geography as early as 1505 (#310). The wood blocks were completed by 1506-07, but publication was deferred until 1513 when Ringmann died (at the age of thirty) and Waldseemüller withdrew from the project; the final stages had to be handled by Jacob Aeschler [Eszler] and George Uebelin. Except for this delay, *Terre Nove* would have been the first printed map of America.

Published in substantial quantities and widely distributed, Waldseemüller's maps had considerable influence. His sources were Portuguese manuscript charts such as the *Cantino* and *Caveri* maps (#306, #307). Spanish reports of the same period, as reflected in Peter Martyr's map of 1511, provided a different configuration, as clearly illustrated by comparing *Isabella* [Cuba], *Spagnolla* [Haiti] and the contours of South America on this work and the Peter Martyr map.



[illegible]

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of the New World. During this period no other sea captain was called by that title. Consequently, *Terre Nove*, with its Columbus information, is widely known as "*The Admiral's Map*." The interior of South America was still totally unknown and thus marked in large letters *Terra Ingonita*. But there was a reference to fresh water around the mouth of the Amazon River, pointing to the presence of the large river.

In the Ptolemy published in Strasburg in 1522 by Laurent Fries, there is a reduced version of this map, also bearing the title *Tabula Terre Nove*, and to which is added the following curious statement (in translation): *Not wishing to arrogate to himself the merit of others, he declares that those maps were constructed by the late Martin Ilacomylus, though published here of smaller dimensions than the original.* Lorenz Fries' work was of great importance. Among his most important accomplishments, it was his sketch of the original 1507 Waldseemüller world map which was copied by Peter Apian in Apian's world map of 1520 (#331), which for more than 100 years was believed to be the oldest surviving map to name *America*, prior to the re-discovery of the original 1507 Waldseemüller map at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century.

The map shows a continuous coastline between North and South America, with the massive east-west coastline of South America being the map's single largest feature, extending south to approximately the Rio de la Plata lies. In the Caribbean, the islands of Cuba (named *Isabella Ins.* after Queen Isabella of Spain), Hispaniola (*Spgnoha*), and Puerto Rico (*Boriguem*) are shown, along with numerous other islands. A Spanish flag is shown planted in Cuba. Continuing north, North America is plotted to beyond the mouth of the St. Lawrence; at the correct latitude of the St. Lawrence there is a river named *Caninor*, quite possibly the St. Lawrence. This region had almost certainly been already explored by various Bristol expeditions. In all, over 15 place-names are shown on the North American Coastline, drawn primarily from Portuguese sources, including the *Cantino portolano* of 1502 and the *Caveri* of c. 1505.

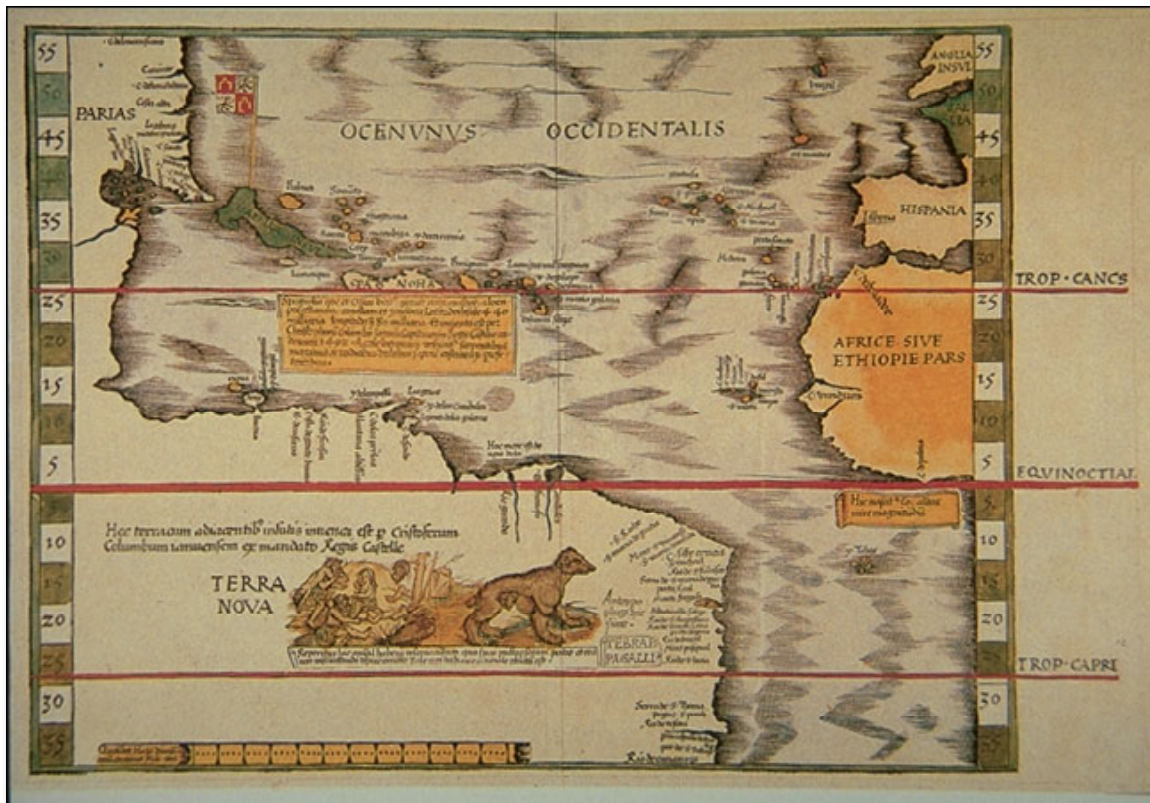
Donald McGuirk addressed the issue of the large continental landmass displayed by Waldseemüller in the northwest. This northwest continent was on several earlier maps than the *Carta marina*, the *Cantino* (#306), the *Caveri* (#307), the Waldseemüller 1507 (#310), and the Ruysch map (#313). If you look at North America and you look at the *Carta marina* this certainly does look like North America. You can understand how many people feel very strongly that this represents the geography of North America. It just looks right, but you have to be careful. On the 1507 map you notice that the continent isn't named and just southeast of this continent, the northwest continental landmass, you see an island named *Isabela*. Now, on the other hand, if you go to the Waldseemüller 1516 map there's been some changes. Now you can see that the continent has been named, it's named *Cuba*, and Columbus discovered Cuba and he actually said it was part of Asia, and that is what this map says. And if you look at the island of *Isabela* it is no longer named. Now McGuirk thinks a logical conclusion might be, it doesn't have to be but might be that between 1507 and 1516 Waldseemüller or one of his cohorts discovered information that suggested to him that this was Columbus' Cuba, this giant continental landmass. According to McGuirk there are a number of individuals who have held the minority opinion that it is. And he presents a list of 17 of those, starting very early. The most outspoken of these 17 was George Nunn, who wrote several articles on this topic.

McGuirk bases his theory on three points: number one, the *Diario* or the log of his first voyage; number two, a group of letters that Columbus wrote to the King and Queen of Spain and what he calls the collection of the *Libro Copiador*, and the third is a

manuscript document written by a gentleman named Fernan Perez de Luna and what he names *Informacion y Testimonio*. So from these three items he extracts the following geographic information regarding the land that Columbus named Cuba - the shape of Columbus' Cuba, the size of Columbus' Cuba, and the relative position of Columbus' Cuba with the island of *Isabela*.

**Locations:** BL Maps C.1.d.8, British Library, London  
LC 359, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

**Size:** 42 x 36 cm/16.5 x 14 in.



*Oceani Occidentalis Seu Terrae Novae Tabula* [The Admiral's Map], 1535,  
15 x 11 inches by Lorenze Fries

A colored example of Fries' more elaborate edition of Waldseemüller's landmark *Tabula Terre Nove* (1513). Although the Fries edition is geographically very close to Waldseemüller's, it did make a number of meaningful changes that indicate a greater familiarity with the New World and signal an important shift concerning who deserved credit for its discovery. Suggestive of the first point is a detail such as calling South America *Terra Nova* rather than *Terra Incognita*, as it appears on the Waldseemüller edition. Other additions by Fries include an inscription concerning Columbus, new vignettes of cannibalistic Indians and of an opossum, a Spanish flag planted in Cuba, and corrected northern latitude numbers. Of considerable importance, the text on the



back of the map contains a strongly worded though futile rejection of the use of *America* for the New World; significantly, the name does not appear on the maps itself.

The break between the old and the new geography was made complete with the publication of the edition of Ptolemy of 1513. In that production of Strasbourg we have a book which is believed to have been undertaken about 1505 by Waldseemüller and his associates at St. Die but laid aside by them after much of the work, including the making of some of the new maps with which it is adorned, had been completed. This admirable project of a Ptolemy revised according to the new discoveries was revived by others than the St. Die geographers and published in 1513. Notwithstanding the withdrawal of this group from the project, it is customary and, it seems from the evidence, permissible, to speak of the maps in the finished book which relate to the new discoveries as the work of Waldseemüller.

The *Geography* of 1513 contained the most complete and most detailed graphic portrayal of the earth's surface that had yet appeared in print. In it there were found in addition to the 27 maps of the ancient Ptolemaic canon, a group of twenty new maps of which five were based upon the discoveries of the Spaniards and the Portuguese in both hemispheres. A new map of India embodies the geography of southeastern Asia as laid down by Canerio (#307). A map of Africa in two sections delineates that continent with greater correctness, perhaps, than in any previous representation of it, recalling in the richness of its nomenclature the manuscript map of Canerio, 1502, and the general map and sectional maps of the southern continent in the Maggiolo Atlas of 1511. So rapidly had events moved, however, that the new map of the world found in the book, the *Orbis Typus Universalis*, 1513, was an anachronism at the time of publication, for in it Waldseemüller displayed much of the uncertainty and positive error which had characterized his large wall map of 1507 (#310). It had the merit, however, of being on the equidistant plane projection of the *portolan* charts and therefore easy of comprehension by those who sought from it merely a broad picture of the seas and lands of the world and their orientation with respect to one another. This was the first marine chart of the *portolan* type to be engraved and printed, and, indicative of the improvement to which maps of that category were being subjected, it was equipped with scales of latitude at the sides.

The outstanding anachronism of the *Orbis Typus Universalis* was the appearance upon it of the supernumerary peninsula to the east of the true Malay Peninsula, an error of the Waldseemüller map of 1507. This step backward by Waldseemüller to the concept of an earlier period of his geographical studies is all the more puzzling in that the more nearly correct position he had taken on this point was made clear in the new map of India found in the same volume. In its triangularly shaped Indian peninsula, its abandonment of an extended Indo-Chinese peninsula east of the Malay Peninsula, and in particulars of nomenclature, one observes the influence upon its maker of the Portuguese discoveries as interpreted in the world map of Canerio.

On the whole the maps of the new discoveries in the 1513 *Ptolemy* carried to the general reader a sense of revelation. Despite details which may justly be criticized, we may think of the work which contains them as the vessel into which were poured the ancient Ptolemaic learning and the imperfectly assimilated knowledge of the new worlds of East and West which for some twenty years had been coming in from the practical navigators sent out by Spain and Portugal to explore their seas and chart their unknown coasts.



*One example of the so-called "Admiral's map"*

This woodcut map, 24x30 inches, is one of the first to show any part of North America. It originally appeared in the 1513 Strasbourg edition of Ptolemy's *Geographia*. The mapmaker, Martin Waldseemüller, made a trial version of this map in 1507 (#310) that contains the name "America" printed over Brazil; the only known copy is at Brown University. In the same year he printed a large wall map showing both North and South America; the only known copy is at the Library of Congress. After six years of further work, Waldseemüller finished his edition of Ptolemy in 1513. He supplemented its 27 ancient maps with 20 "modern" ones, including two showing discoveries by Columbus and Vespucci. This is the first of those, called *Hydrographia sive Charta marina* in the table of contents. The map that followed it in the volume, *Tabula Terre Nove*, shows South America and the Caribbean in greater detail. The Wisconsin Historical Society ownership stamp was applied in 1896, but no other provenance data appears to survive. A clipped catalog description pasted in the right margin (listing its price at 30 francs) suggests that it had passed through the hands of a French dealer.

This is one of the earliest, obtainable world maps to present the greatly expanded picture of the known world that resulted from the explorations of Columbus, Vespucci, Cabral, da Gama, Dias, and others. This is the only acquirable world map by him that includes the new discoveries. Interestingly, between the time of Waldseemüller's naming of America in 1507 and the publication of this map, he withdrew his support for the use of *America*, which explains its absence from this map.

To fully appreciate this map, one must realize how early its geography actually is. This and the other maps in Waldseemüller's atlas are believed to have been cut in



1505 and 1506 and then set aside, perhaps for financial reasons, and not published until 1513. The fragmentary delineation of America on this map certainly supports this dating.

The excellent general shape of Africa on the map indicates that Waldseemüller had fully absorbed the Portuguese explorations of Dias, da Gama, and others. Portuguese sources are also in evidence in the mapping of the western portion of India, but most areas farther east are still based on Ptolemy. Although Waldseemüller here emphatically opted to show Asia and America as separate landmasses, East Asia possesses a clear, unbroken coastline, this, of course, was pure speculation. The separation of the continents would not be validated until the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Students of this map have not commented, to our knowledge, on the close proximity of the New World to the Old as depicted on it. It is not known whether this was a deliberate distortion enforced by the simple miscalculation of having a map on too large a scale for the size of the paper, or whether it was based on what was believed as fact.

The map is called "The Admiral's Map," because it was believed at one time to have been the work of Columbus, who was often referred to as the Admiral. This, however, was most likely the result of an erroneous reading of the introduction to Waldseemüller's atlas, in which the Admiral is merely mentioned as one of the sources of the map.



*Orbis Typus Universalis IVXTA Hydrographorum Traditionem.*

[A Map of the Entire World, According to the Teachings of Hydrographers]. Martin Waldseemüller, circa 1505-06 (?) (but Strassburg, 1513).

Medium: woodcut, with original hand color. Size of original: 44.5 x 57 cm.

This is the only known copy of this particular world map by Waldseemüller, ca. 1513 and contains an early appearance of the name *America*, now in the John Carter Brown Library.

This map, also known as the *Stevens-John Carter Brown* map, was once considered the first to display the name *AMERICA* prior to and after the discovery of Waldseemüller's 1507 (#310) world map. In 1498 Columbus, on his third voyage, sailed south of his earlier exploits and discovered a land he said was heretofore unknown. It was called *Paria* by its inhabitants. Encountering a river (the Orinoco) that discharged an enormous volume of water into the sea, the Admiral concluded that this land was continental. Although he persisted in the exuberant delusion that he had reached the outskirts of the terrestrial *Paradise*, for the first time Columbus' oft-repeated claim of having reached a continent was true. Remarkably, he also decided that the continent was a new world [*otro mundo*]. Two years later, in 1500, Manoel I of Portugal sent Pedro Cabral on an expedition to India via southern Africa, anxious to repeat the success of Vasco da Gama, who had returned from the first successful sea crossing to India the previous year. Cabral, deliberately or inadvertently, strayed to the west and discovered Brazil. He sent one of his thirteen ships back to Lisbon to announce the find. Mapmakers quickly realized that Columbus and Cabral had discovered different coasts of the same land, a new continent with soil on both the Spanish and Portuguese sides of the papal

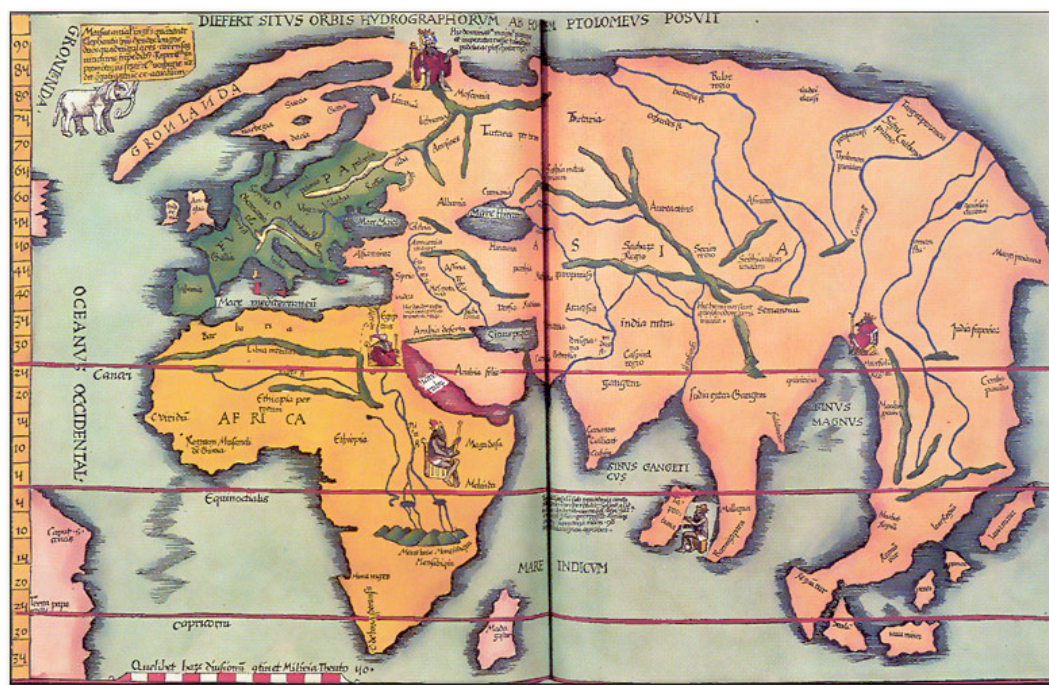


demarcation line. It quickly made its way onto maps in the general configuration used here by Waldseemüller.

On Waldseemüller's map, the most northwesterly feature marked on South America is the Gulf of Venezuela (*baroia*). Above it are two islands named *giga[nti?]* and *brasil*, the latter a curious bridge between the island of Irish myth and "real" Brazil, the land of Cabral named for its dyewood. Continuing east, the next name is *Canibiles* [Cannibals] at the *Gulf of Paria*, Columbus' gateway to *Paradise*. The cape above modern-day Recife is *Captit Ste Cruns* [Cape of the Holy Cross], a name given by Cabral on April 23 of 1500. Furthest south is *alta pago de S. paulo* [The village of St. Paul]. Above South America lie the islands of Cuba (*isabella*), Jamaica (unnamed), and Hispaniola (*Spagnola*).

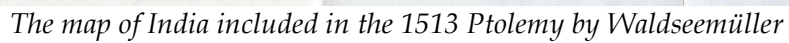
The map's only trace of North America lies far to the northeast, where a landfall, probably from a Corte-Real voyage, is recorded. In the title Waldseemüller associates his map with *hydrographorum*, hydrographers, i.e., a sea-chart, and in the style typical of its genre he has avoided conjecture. As a result, the western and southern shores of North and South America are left uncharted, their nature and extent still quite unknown. Further, Waldseemüller does not show a full 360° breadth of longitude, enabling him to clip virtually the entire Pacific Ocean from his map. He does, however, give Asia a finite eastern coast, and by doing so has asserted clearly that both North and South America, whatever their nature, are in fact new lands quite distinct from Asia. His depiction of Asia itself displays an obvious familiarity with Portuguese advances into the Indian Ocean, as he breaks with Ptolemaic tradition by showing the Indian subcontinent and Sri Lanka in their true relative proportions. In Southeast Asia, east of the Malay Peninsula, there is an "extra" mammoth peninsula extending south to beyond the Tropic of Capricorn (a.k.a. the "Tiger Leg"). This is a vestige of Ptolemy's Africa-Asia land-bridge and was an attempt to reconcile that land-bridge with the realization that the Indian Ocean was not the landlocked sea described by Ptolemy. Bartolomeo Dias' voyage of 1487-88 around the Cape of Good Hope had effectively laid that Ptolemaic error to rest.

The question of this map's rightful niche in history rests precariously on the uncertain date of its creation. Although not known to have been published until its inclusion in Waldseemüller's atlas in 1513, evidence suggests that it was prepared at an earlier date. Four considerations favor this: (1) indications that work on the atlas had begun in 1505 or 1506, then being abandoned because of financial troubles; (2) the existence (in a single example) of this map with the name America inserted on the woodblock denoting the New World, apparently struck before Vespucci fell from Waldseemüller's grace shortly after 1507; (3) the fact that the 1513 atlas' separate maps of America and Asia are geographically more advanced than this map's rendering of those continents; and (4) the fact that this map is not uniformly sized with the other maps in the atlas, being larger and as a result often clipped in the binding. A strong, but inconclusive, argument against the most optimistic dating of 1505-06 is that the map's rendering of India and Sri Lanka is "modern," while they were still shown in Ptolemaic fashion on Waldseemüller's large map and gores of 1507. If in fact the map was conceived prior to 1507, it would represent the earliest depiction of North America as separate from Asia, and if prior to 1506 it would be the earliest printed map to show the New World at all. By 1513, however, this Waldseemüller map was a dated work, of interest only because of the scarcity of maps from the early post-Columbian period.



*Tabula Nova Orbis/Diefert Situs Orbis Hydrographorum Ab Eo Quem Ptolomeus Posuit by  
Laurent Fries, 1535, 37.9 x 52.5 cm*







Color facsimile of *Carta marina Navigatoria Portugallen Navigationes Atque Totius Cogniti Orbis. . .*, 1516

Nine years after the publication of his map of 1507, Waldseemüller constructed on a slightly smaller scale a *Carta Marina* in which the geographical features of eastern Asia show a considerable advance beyond the Polean geography upon which that section had been built in the earlier map. Father Joseph Fischer points to legends on this map which show that Waldseemüller had been reading a good many narratives in the intervening years, notably those found in that great collection of 1507, the *Paesi Nuouamente retrouati of Fracanzano da Montalboddo*; the *Itinerario* of Lodovico Varthema, first published in 1510; and others specifically named. Upon the basis of these, both his history and geography had improved; he abandoned the name "America," apparently under the conviction that formerly he had given too much credit to Vespucci. He credited Columbus in this map with being the first to discover South America, Cabral the second, and Vespucci the third, and in many other particulars shows that he had not closed his mind to the reconsideration of facts and ideas after he brought out his book, map, and globe in 1507. Furthermore, having learned about Columbus, he went the limit, adopting the discoverer's own belief that he had reached the coast of Asia and designating the North American continent, *Terra de Cuba-Asie Partis*. This was a step backwards, indicating the uncertainty that beset even the finest intelligences of an era in which the data were coming in too fast to be assimilated. The American error of the Waldseemüller map of 1516 is complicated by the fact that its maker shows no way in which that coast might be associated with Asia, and leaves unaccounted for 128° of longitude between the western edge of America and the eastern coast of Asia. That omission was taken straight from the *Caveri* map of 1502 (#307). The *Carta Marina* is an inferior production from the American standpoint, but it advanced so greatly common knowledge of the East that it must be thought of as one of the important maps in the historical cartography of that section of the world.

Father Fischer demonstrated that this mariner's chart of 1516 was based upon the great *portolan* chart which the Genoese Nicolo Caveri constructed in 1502, though with



emendations by Waldseemüller, who was always very much more than a mere copyist. In the sea chart of 1516, southeastern Asia has advanced towards actuality an astonishing length beyond its portrayal in the map of 1507. India and the Malay Peninsula are shown virtually in the form of the Waldseemüller modern map of India in the Ptolemy of 1513. The supernumerary eastward peninsula has disappeared; *Seylan* replaces in relative position the ancient Ptolemaic *Taprobana*; and lying near the Malay Peninsula are to be found in something like their correct locations, the islands of *Samotra* and *Giava seu Java*. Eastward and northward of these are islands and coastlines recognizable by name at least if not always by contours. The great importance of this area to Europe is emphasized by a cartouche placed in close relation to it containing a list of the places from which spices were brought to the emporium at Calicut, the weights and measures employed, and the prices at which they were sold. The spice list were translated or adapted by Waldseemüller, with some rearrangement, from the 1507 edition of the *Paesi Nuovamente ritrovati*.

According to several cartographic historians this monumental *Carta marina* or *Navigators' Chart* of 1516 by Martin Waldseemüller is an even more astonishing tour-de-force than the author's great wall map of 1507 (#310). It is approximately the same large size, twelve woodcut sheets measuring in total nearly 8 x 4.5 feet (128 x 133 cm); on 12 sheets; 128 x 233 cm, sheets 46 x 63 cm or smaller. The only known example was also found with the earlier Waldseemüller map of 1507 in Schloss Wolfegg, Germany in 1901. The *Carta marina* is bound in the same book and is likewise reckoned to be a proof copy. One sheet, showing West Africa, exists both in manuscript and printed form.

A lengthy panel in the lower left-hand part of the map contains Martin Waldseemüller's address to the reader, in which he mentions the narratives and voyages he has used, particularly a collection by Francanzano Vincenza published in 1507. Christopher Columbus and Amerigo Vespucci are accorded their place, as well as the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> century explorers Marco Polo, Piano Carpini and Odoric. It is reckoned that Waldseemüller made extensive use of the *Caveri* manuscript map (#307) or a similar source showing the discoveries of the Portuguese to India and beyond. Like this map, the *Carta marina* is also crisscrossed by directional lines.

On the right-hand side of the map a smaller panel gives the date of the map, 1516, and the grant of a privilege for four years. Both panels are surrounded by elegant corded decorations, and indeed throughout the map as a whole the decoration and woodcutting is of a very high standard. The principle historian to first describe this map, Joseph Fisher, says "The degree of skill and ornamentation—in borders, cartouches and festoons—is considerably higher than that of the map of 1507 and shows the hand of an eminent master who unmistakably belongs to the school of Dürer." Comparison is also made with similar ornamentation in the Stabius-Dürer map of 1515.

Apart from a few retrograde exceptions, Waldseemüller's *Carta marina* shows the entire world according to the most up-to-date geographic knowledge of the time. He does however leave quite unclear the relationship between the New World and Asia. The western part of the map extends only to 280° west and Asia in the east is cut short at 172°; nearly a third of the world is therefore missing. Waldseemüller's New World, which does not bear, as in 1507, the name *America*, is still marked *Terra De Cuba Asiae Partis*. The Corte-Reals' discovery of Newfoundland or Nova Scotia is signified by a descriptive panel adjacent to a large mid-Atlantic island saying that this land is reported to extend 600 miles, is probably joined to the other continent, and is inhabited by people who live in houses made from tall trees, dressed in skins and painted like Indians.





Faced with the seeming inconsistencies between his *Lusitano-Germanic* model, the *Caverio* planisphere (#307), and the dissimilar designs and nomenclatures of the King-type map, particularly in the West Indies, Martin Waldseemüller in 1516 made his choices, perhaps partially decided by consulting the Ruysch world map (#313). At least three cartographic images of the New World presented themselves to him: 1) the *Caverio* planisphere, his long-time model, with *Baie* in Brazil, the dog-shaped island of *Isabela* in place of Cuba, and the unnamed *Cantinean* landmass to the west; 2) a King-type map with *Abatia* in Brazil, Cuba as a small, thin island named “*Cuba*,” and with no other land to the west; and 3) the Ruysch map in State 1 or later (a blend of King-type and *Lusitano-Germanic* delineations and nomenclature) with *ABATIA* in Brazil, no Cuba island, no Cuba name, and the unnamed *Cantinean* landmass to the west.

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all three of the possible islands (*Hispaniola*, *Isabela/Cuba*, the *Cantinean* landmass) and two of the three names (*Spagnolla*, *Cuba*) – Waldseemüller in the *Carta marina* completes the fusing of the King-type New World cartography with that of the *Lusitano-Germanic* design, a melding begun eight years earlier on the Johannes Ruysch map. This phase in the development of New World cartographic design and nomenclature came to dominate Central European mapmaking in the following decades.

Waldseemüller, or perhaps the woodcutter artist, has added a host of interesting little vignettes, animals, and regal figures decorating the surface of the map. We see the first opossum in South America, with its large pouch for carrying its young (see page 3), an elephant and one of the first pictures of an (Indian) rhinoceros in Africa and a mounted reindeer in Tartary. There is also a puzzling animal shown in Scandinavia that seems like a cross between a wild boar and a tusked elephant—perhaps a mastodon. Highly realistic cannibal scenes offer warnings to travelers to Brazil and Java, and in India can be seen what may be a depiction of *suttee*. Many local rulers are drawn seated on their thrones or in front of their tents: the largest regal vignette is that of the Great Khan of Tartary or China. Off the southern tip of South Africa King Emanuel (Manoel) of Portugal rides triumphantly astride a large fish. In Africa Waldseemüller has a legend about *ciclioped[es] sive monoculi* [Cyclopes or monoculi] and includes a new Renaissance image of one of the traditional African monsters: in west Africa he has an image of a rhinoceros, which recalls the *monocerus* on the *Hereford mappamundi* (#226), but Waldseemüller's image is much more lifelike, and is based on Albrecht Dürer's famous image of a rhinoceros made in 1515, just one year before the creation of Waldseemüller's map. Waldseemüller's rhinoceros is an apt symbol of how, although the details were updated, Africa continued in its ancient role as a source of monsters into the 16<sup>th</sup> century and beyond.

It is easy to see that in some particulars this sea-chart of 1516 is a more important document in the development of Indian and Pacific Ocean cartography than the earlier Waldseemüller map of 1507. It does, indeed, mark a step forward. Events were moving rapidly. In the year of its publication Peter Martyr recorded for general European information the great discovery of Balboa. Three years later Magellan set out upon his voyage to the Spice Islands. Thanks to Waldseemüller's dissemination in his printed maps of 1513 and 1516 of the geographic ideas expressed in the *Caveri* chart and in the narratives of the *Paesi* and Varthema's *Itinerario*, the ultimate goal of the Magellan voyage was comprehensible to the Europeans of his decade. In spite of such a rich portrayal of geographical and popular or legendary features, Waldseemüller's *Carta marina* had surprisingly little later influence. If, like the 1507 wall map, as many as 1,000 copies were printed, then virtually no contemporary records of their dissemination survive. In 1525 a slightly smaller version of this map was re-cut, also in twelve woodblocks, by Laurent Fries and re-issued in 1527 and 1530.



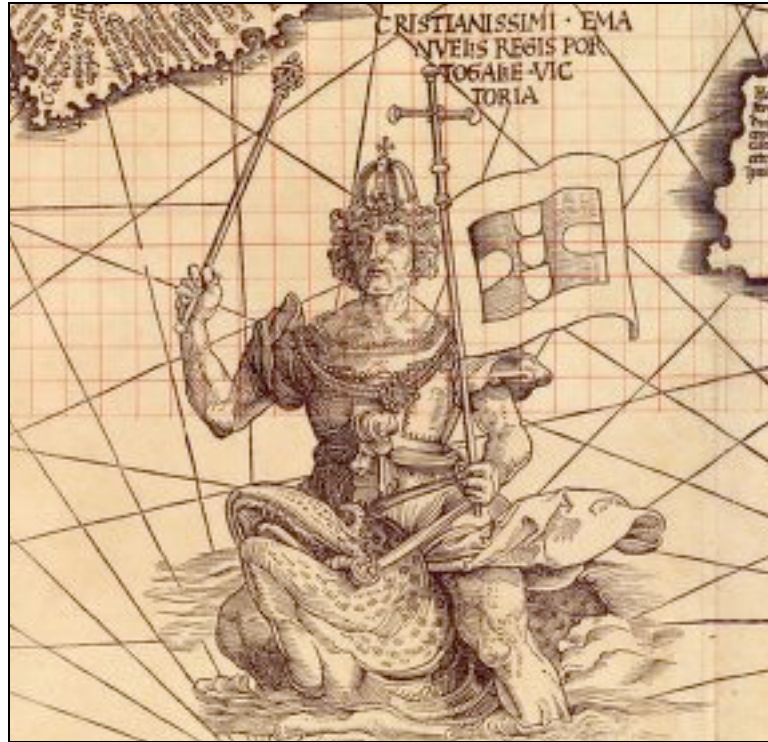
*The accuracy of Africa on the 1516 Carta marina compared with Google Earth*

On Waldseemüller's *Carta marina*, printed in 1516 just nine years after his 1507 map, is completely different with respect to displaying monsters. The cartographer has abandoned the medieval texts about sea monsters, and now has just one image of a sea monster, off the southeastern tip of Africa, which shows King Manuel of Portugal riding a sea monster. Following Vasco da Gama's successful return from his voyage to India by sailing around Africa in 1499, King Manuel adopted a new title, "*Lord of the conquest, and navigation, and commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India.*" His adoption of this title is recorded in two sources that we know Waldseemüller consulted. Chet Van Duzer would suggest that Waldseemüller created this image of Manuel riding the sea monster as a way to express this title graphically.

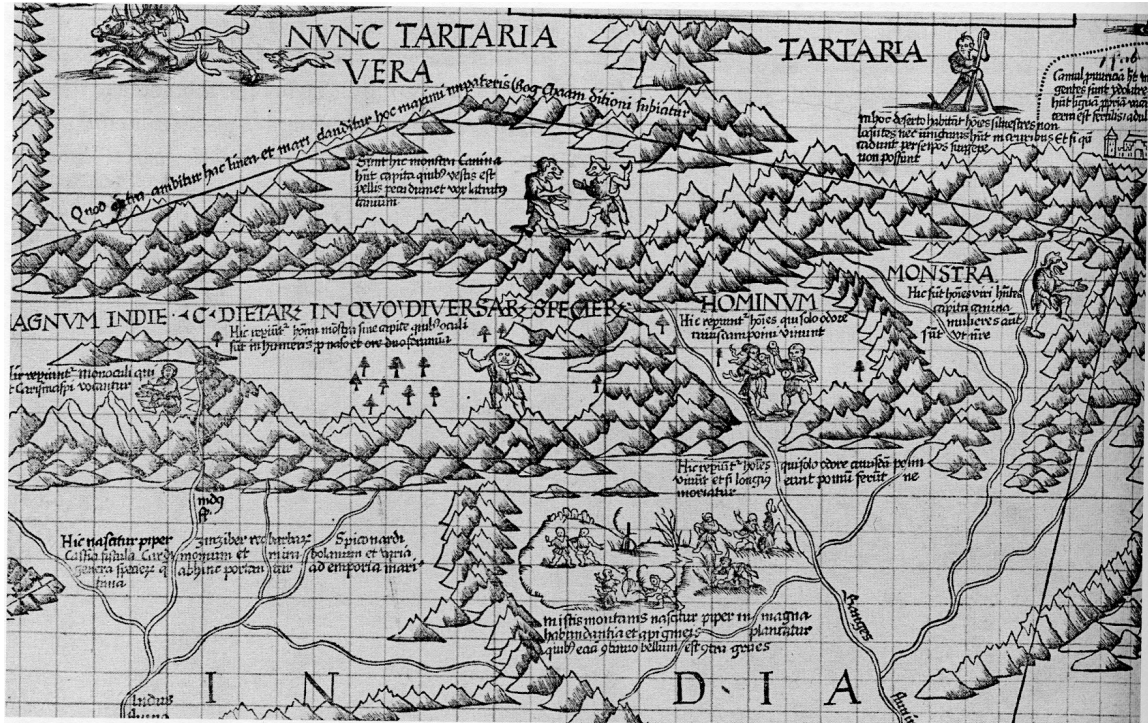
While the sea monsters on Waldseemüller's 1507 map are dangerous, and thus would discourage navigation, the image on the *Carta marina* shows a human controlling a sea monster, and thus boldly proclaims human control over the dangers of the sea, and by extension, dominion over the oceans themselves. The ocean is thus no longer so much a place of danger, as an element that can be conquered by humans, and across which trade can be conducted. This emphasis on the economic possibilities offered by control of the seas is evident elsewhere on the *Carta marina*: in the southeastern corner of the map there is a large text box that supplies the prices and sources of the spices and other merchandise available in the great emporium of Calicut (Kozhikode), India.



The sea monster on the *Carta marina* is also artistically a product of the Renaissance: the texture of the creature's skin, its teeth, and the folds of skin on its neck are rendered naturalistically, the monster is clearly depicted as three-dimensional, and it is in motion, apparently struggling against the bit in its mouth.



*Detail of King Manuel of Portugal riding a sea monster off the southern tip of Africa, symbolizing Portugal's control of the sea route around Africa to Asia*



Representatives of seven other monstrous races in Tartaria and India on Waldseemüller's Carta marina. In Tartaria, to the northeast of India, are the men with no knees; Waldseemüller's source for this race was John of Plano Carpini's account of Asia. In northern India are two cynocephali. In north-central India are found, from left to right, the one-eyed Carimasprians (or Arimasprians), a headless blemmyae or epiphagus, the two apple-smellers, and another cynocephalus. Unlike the other races in India, which were inspired by Pierre d'Ailly's writings, this last came from Plano Carpini. To the south of these are the pygmies.



*Detail from northeast South America*

*According to the extensive analysis of Surekha Davies, such depictions of cannibalism in Brazil appeared on over sixty out of around seventy maps and atlases containing representations of Brazilians that were produced in Portugal, Spain, France, Germany, and the Low Countries between 1500 and 1625.<sup>2</sup> The motif was the earliest for a New World people to appear on maps, and was by far the most prevalent. These findings are derived from Davies' analysis of ethnographic descriptions and imagery across North and South America on maps, from Greenland and Canada in the north, to Patagonia in the south.*





Colored facsimile copy of Waldseemüller's *Carta marina*

The following discussion is from Peter Dickson who presents a new approach to the interpretation of the three Waldseemüller maps of 1507, 1513 and 1516 in his 2007 book *The Magellan Myth*. Dickerson investigated the larger of the two 1513 Waldseemüller maps - the world map, the hydrograph typically known as the *Admiral's map* along with the smaller *Terre Nove* map also in the 1513 edition of Ptolemy's *Geographia*. For the record, Waldseemüller also offered in the 1513 Strasbourg edition of Ptolemy's *Geographia*, a fan-shaped map entitled "*Ptholemei Generale*".

The hydrograph is a *Cantino-Ptolemy* hybrid with Waldseemüller following *Cantino* (#306), actually closer to *Caverio* (#307) for most of Asia, especially the subcontinent with its two peninsulas, but Waldseemüller still shows the *Dragon's Trail* as found in earlier *Ptolemy-Martellus* (#256) maps. The *Cantino* (1502) and *Caverio* (1540) maps do NOT show the *Dragon's Tail*. So Waldseemüller is clinging to Ptolemy at least for a piece of Asia, at the far right margin.

But Waldseemüller clings to Ptolemy to an even greater degree for the depiction of Asia in this large world map of 1507. Now one intriguing question is: If Waldseemüller made or had in his possession the two so-called *Admiral's* maps before or by 1507 which most scholars suspect, why did he not give us the more advanced depiction of Asia which one can see in the 1513 hydrograph? Or to put it differently, why not follow *Cantino/Caverio* all the way in 1507 since he incontestably had access to this cartographic material, surely so for the New World and one must now suppose also for Asia as well.

Dickson's previous speculation that Waldseemüller by 1507 still only had or knew of the New World portion of what one sees in *Cantino/Caverio*, seems highly implausible. It is also implausible that Waldseemüller later acquired the full version and then followed that not only for South Asia but used that to fill in blanks for the central American coastline still present in the earlier *Cantino-Caverio* maps. More plausible is that he had all of the *Cantino* or *Caverio* map by 1507 (the two *Admiral's* Maps) in his possession and followed that for the New World (actually showing even more of the Central American coastline) -- but then why not for Asia as well?

If Waldseemüller had followed *Cantino-Caverio* all the way for Asia as well in his 1507 world map it would have pushed Ptolemy virtually off the map. Perhaps at best leaving him only one attribute - the *Dragon's Trail* which is in fact the small attribute he throws to Ptolemy in the 1513 *Admiral's* map, the larger hydrograph.

But if Waldseemüller had done that also in 1507 it would have undermined the whole thematic of the 1507 world map. The objective or desire was to convey the contrast between the *Ancients* and the *Moderns*, Tradition and New Knowledge, with the two portraits of Ptolemy and Vespucci facing each other in the upper cartouche of the map.



So it looks as if there was a certain aesthetic-political calculation that might help explain the odd decision in 1507 to retain or hold on to the entire *Ptolemy/Martellus* depiction of Asia even though (upon further reflection) it seems that Waldseemüller really had the benefit of more advanced geographical knowledge concerning Asia/Subcontinent region from the *Cantino-Caverio* source material and not just for the New World.

Given the entire package that they were assembling, including the accompanying text in the *Cosmographiae Introductio*, in 1505-1507, the Saint-Die scholars who still planned to return to their work on a new edition of Ptolemy's *Geographia*, did not really want to pitch Ptolemy entirely out the window.

So they finessed the situation in the 1507 world map in a fashion that seems odd at first glance but there was perhaps a certain logic to the way they chose to play it. They were trying to straddle tradition and modernity (new knowledge) and this meant still giving Ptolemy some due in both *Cosmographiae Introductio* but also in the large world map, though again it appears Waldseemüller and other the scholars were in the position to dispose of Ptolemy for nearly all of Asia in 1507.

Dickson thinks that the word "appeasement" is a good word to summarize the state of mind or approach taken by Waldseemüller and the others at Saint-Die. Unlike before, Dickson thinks that now, after further pondering the two *Admiral's* maps, that they were in fact in the position by 1507, based on what they had in their possession, to do a more up-to-date representation of Asia, especially the subcontinent but it would have meant whittling down Ptolemy too much, risking a possible backlash by their peers. They did not want to go that far given the power of tradition, hence the solution which they reached which allowed them to contrast the old with the new and do so without totally alienating the traditionalists still out there.

Furthermore, as far as the world map of 1507 is concerned, you cannot really visually contrast the Old and the New in this map unless you retain a significant portion

rooted in the Ptolemaic tradition, hence the Ptolemaic depiction of Asia which (again) Dickson thinks they had to know by 1507 was not quite up-to-date anymore.

For Dickson, it makes no sense any longer that Waldseemüller and company in 1507 had only half, the left half or the New World portion of what you see in the *Cantino/Caverio* maps. Dickson thinks that they had it all but for the aforesaid reasons, the appeasement calculation or strategy, they did not use it all.

In 1513, Waldseemüller still leaves a little bit for Ptolemy but not much, just the *Dragon's Tail*. The 1511 edition of Ptolemy's *Geographia* (Sylvanus or Venice edition) still clings fully to the *Ptolemy/Martellus* depiction of Asia. And Dickson thinks that this was the last time that ever happened.

Most scholars believe that the *Admiral's* maps were made by Waldseemüller before 1507 and that he returned to them, "dusted them off" for this inclusion in the 1513 work. If correct, it is worth noting that the *Terra Nove* map clearly shows that the New World in the Gulf-Caribbean formed a huge *cul-de-sac* or "navigational dead end", to use the phrase of John Perry in his *The Discovery of South America* (1976).

Waldseemüller gives no suggestion of the Pacific here in either of these two *Admiral's* maps. In fact, all Waldseemüller was doing was simply recycling (especially in the one 1513 map known as the *Terre Nove* map) the *Cantino/Caverio* depiction of the New World. However, here in the *Terre Nove* map of 1513 Waldseemüller actually gives you everything hidden or withheld from these two maps -- namely, the entire unbroken coastline for the Central American mainland in the Gulf/Caribbean region.

The more you ponder the *Terre Nove* map, which most feel Waldseemüller obtained or made himself before 1507, the more amazing it appears. Not only does it gives so much about what the Spanish knew early on about the *cul-de-sac* they faced to the west, it drives you to the conclusion that Waldseemüller never had the full *Cantino* map to work with. We know that he followed *Ptolemy/Martellus* not *Cantino* for most of Asia. Yet he filled in the blank spots for Central American coastline that are missing fragments in the *Cantino/Caverio* map but which are all there for us to see in the *Terre Nove* map, presumably obtained from some Admiral, presumably Columbus since we know of no Portuguese Admiral who explored the New World holding that exalted title. Whatever the truth, the *cul-de-sac* to the west was well known by the Spanish well before 1507.

Dickson argues that no later than 1500 and possibly as early as 1498, given Columbus dramatic shift to the south for the Third Voyage, (Wey Gomez's Southern theme which Dickson thinks only holds for the period from 1498 onward and not from the start in 1492). This means that the small hemisphere map in the cartouche of Waldseemüller's world map is spot on, that the Europeans (meaning especially the Spanish) knew there was no strait to be found north of the Equator. The Spanish knew that they were trapped or stuck with no opening to the west.

One interesting fact among many clues pointing to a Columbus input into the Waldseemüller work is the fact that not only was the *Terre Nove* map described as being based on an *Admiral's* map but that the courier of the *Cantino* map to Italy (Francesco Cattaneo) was probably the same Francesco Cattaneo who took Columbus' famous book of Privileges to the Bank of Saint-George in Genoa also in 1502.

There is no Vespucci angle here as far as Dickson knows as being a provider of *Cantino*-based source material for Waldseemüller to have in his possession. Waldseemüller had to get this knowledge from somewhere - and Columbus or the Colon family network is one plausible explanation.



Thus, in Dickson's view, the "Admiral" in question behind the *Admiral's* maps in Waldseemüller's early possession surely was Columbus as many scholars have argued or suspected.

#### *Waldseemüller's Reversal*

Returning to the later (post-1507) Waldseemüller maps changing the configuration of the New World with respect to Asia and the Pacific, Waldseemüller essentially recycled the same *Cantino/Caverio* depiction in 1513 again in the *Carta marina* in 1516. Dickson argues he did that for political reasons, not in response to any ecclesiastical pressure, it was his sensitivity to unhappiness being conveyed from the Portuguese Court (King Manuel). But this clear reversal could not blot out the real level of European nautical achievements/expertise as of that time 1513-1516. Take good look at the *Carta marina*, it seems amazingly as if Waldseemüller in 1516 does not want you to think too much or even know about Balboa's 1513 expedition or even his own famous 1507 map and the bold assertion about the island-like character of the new southern continent. That is not credible at all, but he was under some political pressure, argues Dickson, to start backtracking by 1513. King Manuel was far more powerful than King Ferdinand. He even forced the Pope to pull the Inquisition out of Portugal in 1506-1507. So the scholars at Saint-Die were pushing the envelope politically in revealing more than Lisbon wanted to see in print.

In any case, that more was known about the New World and the Pacific Ocean by 1505- 1507 seems clearly suggested by the *Lenox* globe (#314), Waldseemüller's 1507 world map/globe (#310) and Glareanus' (#322.1) decision to disclose what Waldseemüller kept out of his world map.

Dickson laid out his analysis in two essays in *Exploring Mercator's World* in 2002-2003, in a lecture at the Library of Congress in October 2002 and in his book *The Magellan Myth*. Many will continue to insist that this depiction was a mere coincidence or lucky guess because the inclination to deny any European knowledge of the Pacific prior to Balbao/Magellan and to regard all pre-Magellan maps showing a west coast as "provocative geographical cartoons" (to quote the words in Lawrence Bergreen's biography of Magellan) remains strong.

Indeed, we now have Filipe Fernandez-Armesto in his Vespucci biography suggesting or implying that Waldseemüller's depiction in 1507 of even the East coast -- yes the East coast not the West coast -- of South America below the Rio de la Plata was also imaginative fiction, essentially a fantasy. If Fernandez-Armesto is correct, then in Waldseemüller in his world map of 1507 basically drew two fantasy coastlines -- on East as well as the West side -- that mysteriously yielded a highly accurate depiction of the ice cream-cone shape of South America. What are the odds of that happening? Dickson thinks it is zero. For his part, Dickson does not accept that the Waldseemüller map was a fantasy map to this degree.

Cartographic specialist, John W. Hessler, Senior Cartographic Librarian in the Geography and Map Division of the Library of Congress, however, disagrees with some of the observations by Dickson, especially with regard to Waldseemüller's sources for the 1516 *Carta marina*. Hessler states that although Peter Dickson and the others who have written regarding the sources of Waldseemüller's 1516 *Carta marina* bring up some extremely interesting points regarding its sources, they have ignored to a great extent Waldseemüller's own words written on the map and the large problem associated with the sources that he himself says that he used in its construction.

Besides this problem there is the other very large question of the source of many of Waldseemüller's toponyms on the 1516 map that do not match either Ptolemy, Cantino or Caverio. There are several scholars working on the toponym aspect of the problem like Chet van Duzer who, along with Hessler had produced the very elaborate book *Seeing the World Anew* in 2012 that provide detailed analysis and reproductions of both the 1507 and 1516 Waldseemüller world maps.

Hessler states that on the 1516 *Carta marina* Waldseemüller himself has a great deal to say about his sources, some of which have yet to be identified with extent texts (i.e. Casper. the Jewish informer, Julius de Parca Leonis just to name a few). Waldseemüller discusses these sources in the large text block on the map and in several of the other text blocks that have all but been ignored in Dickson's observations. According to Hessler, the problems associated with the complexity of Waldseemüller's Latin in this particular text block and the information that he provides must be reconciled with our speculations on his sources before we can really claim any notion of certainty regarding what he used. The linguistic problem associated with the 1516 *Carta marina* are just too complex for us to claim anything like certainty as to Waldseemüller's sources at this early time in our investigations.

The main text block on the 1516 map, the source for many of the questions that Hessler raises is very difficult to translate and there are some real questions about some of the orthography and the grammar. There is a real here distance here between the claims of certainty that Hessler has heard and what we actually know. In these matters Hessler is much more conservative with the evidence, believing that it is better to go slowly and carefully. Below is Hessler's draft translation of the text presented in Sheet 9 on the 1516 *Carta marina*.



Ilacomilus. Martin Waldseemüller, wishes to the reader good fortune.

We will seem to you reader, to have diligently presented and shown a representation of the world previously, which was filled with error, wonder and confusion. In this representation, we do believe that the reader disagrees with us in that we have represented irregular forms in our previous description of the land and sea (and these we certainly described with no deceiving rhetoric). Our previous representation pleased very few people, as we have lately come to understand. Therefore, since true seekers of knowledge rarely color their words in confusing rhetoric, and do not embellish facts with charm, but instead with a venerable abundance of simplicity, we must say that we cover ours heads with a humble hood. In the past we published an image of the whole world in 1,000 copies, which was completed in a few years, not without hard work, and based on the tradition of Ptolemy, whose works are known to few because of his excessive antiquity. This representation took much effort to bring to light so that it would include the locations of the lands and the regions of peoples along with the manners and habits of men. We made it so that it would contain only the cities, the mountains, and the races of men along with their customs known to have flourished and to have been known by the people in the time of Ptolemy.

After the bold citizens of Venice, the great pontiffs Clement IV and Gregory X, and after both Christopher Columbus and Amerigo Vespucci, captains of Portugal, published the accounts of their discoveries many things were added to our knowledge. Although it is well known that the machinery of the world has not varied since the time of Ptolemy, it is indeed a fact that the passing of time inverts and changes things so that it is difficult to find one city or region in twenty which has kept its ancient name or that has not been newly developed after his time. Because of this and because nothing in these matters is clear in hindsight, difficulties may arise in our understanding of very distant regions and cities. Where are now located Augusta, Rauricum, Elcebu, Berbetomagus, or, among the foreign maritime powers, Byzantium, Aphrodisium, Carthage, Ninive, whose names and locations have been transferred to us with great accuracy by Ptolemy? This is of course a difficult question. Are they close by, next to the Rhine River, or far away and concealed? Who has knowledge of, who can tell apart and who can make known to us the Sequani people, the Hedui, the Helvetians, the Leuci, the Vangioni, the Hagoni, the Mediomatrics, all of whom were so well known at one time. I acknowledge that it is possible that no one could now know the manners of the ancients and could come upon knowledge of Celtic Gaul and Belgium, Austrasia, Noricam, Sarmatia, Synthia, Thaurica and the golden Chersonses, the bay of Caticolphi, the bay of Ganges and the very well known island of Taprobane. Time is expansive; it renews, and brings change into the affairs of men.

Many years ago a traveler set upon a long and laborious journey and, as in more recent times explored the lands of men because even the lands whose names have not changed may have been carelessly reported as things in other zones and at the equator have been. It is obvious that the boundaries of Ethiopia and indeed the Fortunate Islands, now called the Canaries, could be more north, and the boundaries of India, by the persuasion of its leaders, could be more south than the locations passed on by Ptolemy. Is it not possible that Ptolemy did not judge the accounts of travelers so critically and that information from travelers who believed in some absurdity was transferred to him so that his work now persuades people that the new cosmographers rather than the ancient are to be imitated, lest some important change or alteration remain unknown or uncertain. Moved by these considerations, I have prepared this second image of the whole world for the benefit of the learned, so that as the representation of the



whole of the land and sea by the ancient authors stood together, not only would the new and present image of the world shine through, but also the natural change that has taken place in the intervening time would be so evident that you would have a unique view of what sort of things become perishable. These things whatever they may have been in the past and whatever they may become in the future are presented so this change may in no way be doubted as time goes on.

Therefore it has pleased us to create an image and description of the whole world as a marine chart after the manner of modern cartographers to the point that we copied their style in the descriptions of the sea from the most accepted nautical records. In consequence we have generally copied the accounts of journeys, chorographies and the reports of recent travelers in the description of the Mediterranean, of Asia and of Africa. We used accounts of the brother Ascelius, who took care of many business affairs under the Supreme Pontiff Innocence, of brother Odoricus de Foro, of Julius de Parca Leonis, of Peter de Alaicus, of brother of John de Plano Carpio, of Massius and Marcus, Venetian citizens, of Casper, the kwish informer, whose book of travels was copied and dedicated to the King of Portugal, of Francis de Albiecheta, Joseph of India, of Aloysius de Cadamosco, of Peter Aliaris, of Christopher Columbus, of Ianuensus Ludoicus, and of Vatomanus Bononien. All of these travels, experiences and descriptions of places found on the globe, communicated to us by the patrons and admirers of this affair, we have rendered into this single Marine chart. We took great care in making sure that not a single word of our description be embellished in some sweet style or adorned with some kind of festive arrangement. For it is always better to speak in a humble and truthful style. For this reason we ask you to look upon us with a benevolent spirit. Farewell.

The college professor Martin Lehmann, in a 2020 article states it was shown that the American landmass depicted on Waldseemüller's 1507 world map as an intermediate world on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean that extends far from North to South did not correspond to the geographical beliefs of Waldseemüller, but was depicted in this way only with the aim of convincing the Iberian competitor [Spain] that it was impossible to reach India through the western sea route with little risk and with reasonably justifiable financial outlay. In addition, it was made clear that the cartographic depiction of the Indian Ocean and the Spice Islands, the key drivers of the India trade, which is closely related to the depiction of America, was quite deliberately prepared on the basis of over one thousand-year old Ptolemaic specifications, despite the availability of newer maps—in particular, the manuscript map of Nicolo Caveri dating from 1503 was cited as evidence, in order to additionally confuse Spain, after confronting them with the sobering representation of America, by obfuscating the actual geographical situation in the Indian Ocean and in this way effectively preventing them from accessing the extremely lucrative spice trade, at least for a certain period of time. Here, the manner in which the politically motivated obfuscation of the true geographical situation in the Indian Ocean is presented as a scientifically motivated endeavor is a true masterpiece of cartographic manipulation, as the entire system of the world map, with the eye-catching depiction of the two plani-globe views at the top of the map, is deliberately designed to contrast the Old World presented by the ancient geographer Claudius Ptolemy conspicuously against the New World presented by Amerigo Vespucci. With this shrewd strategy, the Portuguese were able to elegantly counter any suspicions arising in Castile that the Ptolemy-based, in essence completely outdated

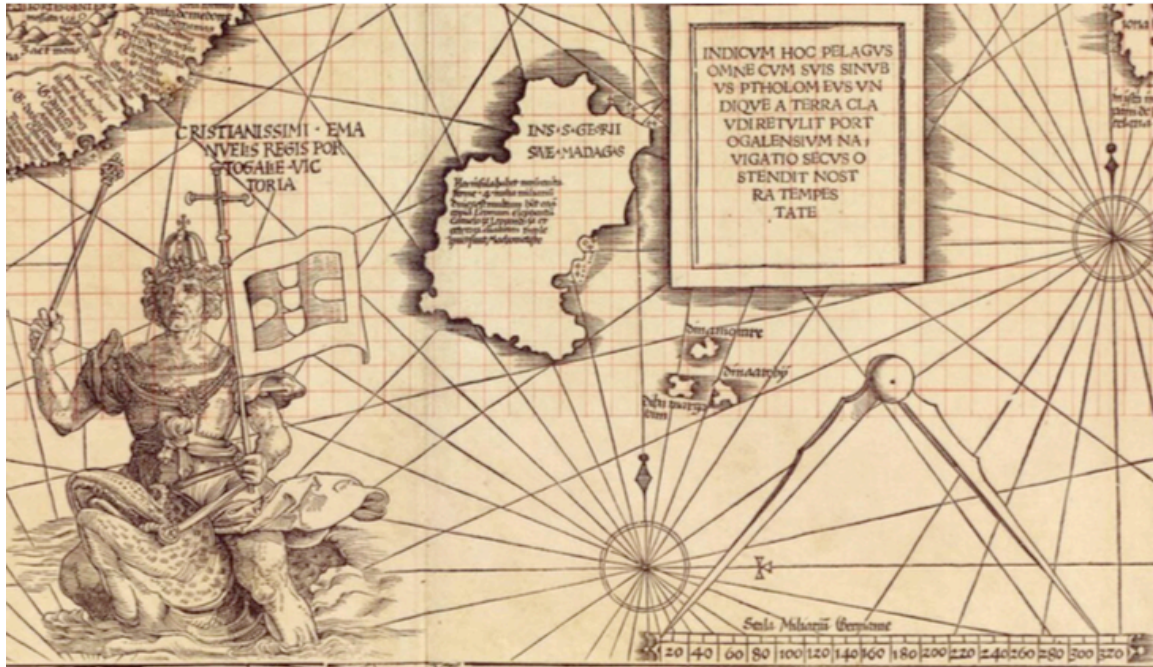
depiction of the situation in the Indian Ocean, had even remotely anything to do with a politically motivated obfuscation aimed to further their interests and support their power politics in connection with the Indian spice trade.

Just as the insular concept of Waldseemüller's *America* in the 1507 world map has to be closely associated with the obfuscation of the actual geographical situation in the Indian Ocean, it is not quite surprising that the *Carta marina* also exhibits a very specific relationship between the meticulous documentation of the geographical situation in the Indian Ocean and a depiction of America that is based, remarkably, on a continental concept—at least as far as the northern part of the newly discovered part of the world is concerned. Namely, after the Portuguese domination of the spice trade with India was secured against the Castilian competition, including in the archipelago of the Moluccas, the depiction of America in the *Carta marina* abruptly lost its political utility, because the scenario that had been dreaded in Portugal for almost a decade—that the Castilians could reach the Southeast Asian Spice Islands before them via the western sea route—was no longer hanging as a Sword of Damocles over their head. Consequently, Waldseemüller was now able to realize his own ideas based on the knowledge available at the time and he proceeded to depict the newly discovered landmass on the other side of the Atlantic as a continent that was spatially connected to Asia. The question as to whether he wanted to connect the northern part, which was labeled as *Terra de Cuba Asiae partis*, with the southern part cannot be answered with certainty on the basis of the map face. Although the unusual fact that the rhumb lines end before the edge of the map might create the impression that there is an implied connection between the two landmasses, in my opinion, this can only be evaluated as weak evidence for Waldseemüller's intention to indicate the existence of a connected American landmass.

Aside from that, Lehmann states that the choice of the specific map type, which is fundamentally different from that used in the previous map, does not constitute a random decision on the part of the cartographer, but is similarly attributable to the pronounced need for documentation of the Portuguese. While it was in the best interest of the Portuguese, for political reasons, to show as little as possible and to obfuscate the actual geographical situation in 1507, nine years later, again for political reasons, the attention was focused, paradoxically, on making the cartographic representation of these areas as accurate as possible. Of course, this goal could be achieved much more easily by using a nautical chart specifically designed for navigation, such as the *Carta marina*, since such maps featured a naval orientation system with lines—the so-called rhumb lines—that allowed navigators to establish the course fairly accurately with a compass, and to follow this course more or less accurately even without seeing any land. Thus, the mere choice of a different map type—a nautical chart based on *portolan* charts—made it possible to rule out, preemptively, any potential errors regarding the exact geographical location of the Spice Islands in Southeast Asia.

To summarize the evidence presented by Lehmann, the cartographic depiction of the Indian Ocean and the Spice Islands of Southeast India can only be understood as motivated by the urgent need of the Portuguese to document the Spice Islands in the archipelago of the Moluccas, which they only managed to reach before their Iberian competitor with immense effort and at great cost, clearly and in accordance with their interests, in order to be able to—as was common at the time—simultaneously derive ownership claims based on such documentation. The inclusion of a pair of dividers along with precise scales in intervals of twenty German miles at the bottom of the map in the middle of the Indian Ocean also points towards the same conclusion.

In order to add the crowning touch, so-to-speak, to the cartographic documentation of the Portuguese claim to power in India, Waldseemüller depicts the Portuguese king, wearing the standard imperial insignia and carrying the Portuguese flag attached to a cross, riding on a fish or a sea monster, at the western entrance to the Indian Ocean, and makes the very telling comment *Christianissimi Emanuelis regis Portogaliae victoria*.



At the same time, this clearly expressed ownership claim of the Portuguese is legitimized with a text block inserted in the middle of the Indian Ocean that states that the Portuguese expansion has made a ground-breaking contribution towards the geographical re-evaluation of the situation there, which is accompanied by the realization that the Indian Ocean is not, as claimed by Ptolemy, an inland sea that is closed off on all sides but must rather be regarded as part of a world-spanning ocean:

*Indicum hoc pelagus omne cum suis sinubus Ptholemeus undique a terra claudi retulit,  
Portogalensium navigatio secus ostendit nostra tempestate.*

Ptolemy reported that this whole sea, along with its bays, is surrounded on all sides by land, Portuguese navigation has revealed the actual conditions in our time.

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