Paper 2:

*The Jagiellonian Globe, Utopia and Australia*

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**ABSTRACT**

The globe, dating from around 1510, held by the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, Poland, depicts a continent in the Indian Ocean to the east of Africa and south of India, but labeled “America”. The globe illustrates how geographers of that time struggled to reconcile the discoveries of new lands with orthodox Ptolomaic cosmography. It offers a clue as to where Thomas More located his Utopia, and may provide a cosmographic explanation for the *Jave la Grande* of the Dieppe school of maps.

**BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE**

From 1975 to 2002, Robert J King was secretary to various committees of the Australian Senate, including the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade. He is now an independent researcher at the National Library of Australia in Canberra with a special interest in the European expansion into the Pacific in the late 18th century.

He is the author of *The Secret History of the Convict Colony: Alexandro Malaspina’s report on the British settlement of New South Wales* published in 1990 by Allen & Unwin. He has also authored a number of articles relating to colonial/imperial rivalry in the eighteenth century and was a contributing editor to the Hakluyt Society’s 3 volume publication, *The Malaspina Expedition, 1789-1794: Journal of the Voyage by Alexandro Malaspina***
The Jagiellonian Globe, Utopia and Australia

The appearance in the mid-sixteenth century of *Jave la Grande* in a series of mappemondes drawn by a school of cartographers centred on the French port of Dieppe, suggesting an early Portuguese or Spanish discovery of the eastern coast of Australia, has been called “one of the puzzles of European history”. The discussion over this puzzle may be dated from 1786, when Alexander Dalrymple first drew attention to the resemblance between the shape of *Jave la Grande* on the Dauphin, or Harleian map and the shape of the coastline of New South Wales as it had been charted by James Cook in HMS *Endeavour* in 1770. It was announced in the London press in February 1790 that:

An ancient Map of the World has been discovered in the British Museum, which lays down the coasts of New-Holland, as described by Cooke and Bougainville. This map, which is on parchment, appears from the characters, and other circumstances, to have been made about the beginning of the 16th century. The names are in French, and it is adorned with *Fleur de Lis*, but most probably has been translated from the work of some Spanish Navigator, whose discovery being forgotten, left room for the new discoveries of the English and French Navigators.

In all the subsequent discussion of the Dieppe Maps and Spanish or Portuguese discovery of the East coast of Australia in the early 16th century, it is noteworthy that there has been no consideration of the *Jagiellonian Globe* and the bearing it might have on the matter.

The *Sydney Morning Herald* of 19 January 1911 carried an article with the arresting title, “Australia’s Discoverer: was it Amerigo Vespucci?”. The article was the report of an interview of Edward A. Petherick, Commonwealth Parliamentary Archivist, historian, collector of Australiana and bibliographer, whose name is commemorated in the Petherick Reading Room of the National Library of Australia. In the interview, Petherick referred to the work of Tadeusz Estreicher, a professor at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Poland. Professor Estreicher described a globe which he dated to between 1509 and 1511 held in the Library of the University. (Fig.1) Fortunately, it has survived the vicissitudes of the 20th century and is still held in the Treasury of the Jagiellonian Library, now the Muzeum Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.

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1. I acknowledge with gratitude the assistance of Professor Stanisław Waltoś, (Director) and Karolina Zawada, of the Muzeum Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego Collegium Maius, Kraków, in providing the accompanying photographic images of the *Jagiellonian Globe*. I also thank the National Library of Australia for the use of the facilities of the Petherick Reading Room in preparing this article, Dr Martin Woods and his colleagues at the Map Room of the NLA, and Tom (T.W.) Campbell, a fellow Petherick Reader, for drawing my attention to the article on Edward A. Petherick in *The Sydney Morning Herald* of 19 January 1911.
Collegium Maius. It measures 73.5mm in diameter and was made to contain the mechanism of an astronomical clock of which it forms the central part. (Fig.2) The globe consists of two gilded copperplate calottes, inscribed with the Earth’s principal features as understood at that time, including a continent inscribed AMERICA·NOVITER·REPERTA. (Fig.3) It is the earliest surviving globe on which the name America appears, a name invented by Martin Waldseemuller and published in his Cosmographiae Introductio (St. Diey, 1507) and inscribed on his accompanying world map and globe. Four copies of the gores for Waldseemuller’s globe survive, the last having been identified only recently.  

Professor Estreicher drew attention to a globe of similar date held by the New York Public Library, known as the Lenox Globe. (Fig.5) This had been described in the 9th edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica and discussed in an article by Benjamin Franklin De Costa in the Magazine of American History.  

A similar land map appears on the Jagiellonian Globe, lying more or less between 110º and 160º East, and 25º and 60º South, bearing the names MUNDUS NOVUS, TERRA SANCTAE CRUCIS and TERRA DE BRAZIL. De Costa noted a large land mass depicted in the southern part of the Eastern Hemisphere, unnamed on the Lenox Globe and suggested, “with extreme diffidence”, that this land represented Australia, misplaced to this location. If so, “it would be necessary to conclude that, although misplaced upon the Lenox Globe, Australia was known to the geographers of that early period”.

Ein solches Land is nur Südamerica allein, und wir müssen annehmen, dass jene Insel Südamerika vorstellen soll, freilich an einer ganz falschem Stelle. Diese Annahme wird zur Gewissheit, als wir auf dem Jagellonischen Globus finden, dass die Insel die Inschrift trägt: AMERICA·NOVITER·REPERTA. (Such a land can only be South America, and we must take it that this island depicts South America, certainly in a utterly false location. This conclusion becomes a certainty when we find that on the Jagiellonian Globe the island bears the inscription: AMERICA·NEWLY·DISCOVERED).

The maker of the globe had put South America in twice, in opposite hemispheres. “South America” is a term that belongs to a time much later than the Jagiellonian Globe, to Gerard

7. The clock was described in Charles Edward Guillaume, “Vieilles Horloges”, La Nature (Paris) tome 2, no.996, 1892 (p.75).
8. Dalya Alberge, “First map to show glimpse of a country to the West”, The Times, 14 April 2005. A hi-resolution image of the 1507 Waldseemuller map can be found at http://www.loc.gov/rr/geogmap/exh.html
Mercator’s world map of 1538. Waldseemüller’s “America” referred to what later became known as South America, as the continental extent of the lands later known as North America was not understood in 1507. The fact remains, the Lenox Globe and the Jagiellonian Globe are evidence that there was an authoritative map made around 1507-1508 that showed, albeit mistakenly, a continental land mass in the southern part of the Eastern Hemisphere. The Jagiellonian Globe shows that its maker believed this continent to have been the New World discovered by Amerigo.

Estreicher proposed Louis Boulengier of Albi as having been the cartographer responsible for the Jagiellonian Globe, on the basis of similarity between it and the Tross Gores, dating from 1514-1518, of which Boulengier is known to have been the author. The Tross Gores also bear the inscription AMERICA NOVITER REPERTA, but in this case placed over South America (Waldseemüller’s “America”), and there is no continental land mass in the southern part of the Eastern Hemisphere. The formula AMERICA NOVITER REPERTA would indicate a common authorship, and therefore a French origin, for the Tross Gores and the Jagiellonian Globe.

An armillary clock, similar to the Jagiellonian, made by Jean Naze of Lyons in 1560 is held at the Orangerie Planetarium of the Staatliche Museen Kassel (formerly the Hessisches Landesmuseum). The depiction of the continents on the globe in this clock is similar to the globe or gores made by Louis Boulengier in 1514 (Fig. 7), indicating how globe makers could persist in using cosmographical concepts that were decades out of date.

Edward Stevenson, discussing Estreicher’s work in 1921, commented that he seemed not to have noticed that the inscription AMERICA NOVITER REPERTA possibly indicated not only an acquaintance on the part of the Jagiellonian cartographer with Waldseemüller’s suggestion as to the name America, but a belief that America was actually located in this particular region. In his chapter on climates in Cosmographiae Introductio, Waldseemüller says:

In the sixth climate toward the Antarctic there are situated the farthest part of Africa, recently discovered, the islands Zanzibar, the lesser Java, and Seula [Ceylon], and the fourth part of the Earth, which, because Amerigo discovered it, we may call Amerige, the land of Amerigo, so to speak, or America.

In his 1911 interview, Petherick pointed out that Thomas More’s Utopia (published in Louvain in 1516) reflected this concept of the earth’s geography. Hythlodaeus, the narrator, whose name perhaps recalls Hylacomylus (Waldseemüller’s name in Latinized form), is said to have accompanied Amerigo Vespucci on what, according to the perhaps apocryphal but widely read Soderini letter, was his fourth voyage (1503-1504). Amerigo set out from Lisbon in May 1503 in an unsuccessful attempt to reach Malacca (Melaka) by sailing westwards. Having gone with Amerigo as far as the farthest point he reached (“ad fines postremae navigationis”) on the coast of the new continent, Hythlodaeus left the expedition and after passing through unknown

11. The Gores were reproduced in A.E. Nordenskiöld, Atlas till kartografiens äldsta historia (Stockholm, 1889, Plate XXXVIIa).
lands proceeded on to the Portuguese base at Calicut in India by way of Taprobana (Ceylon, present day Sri Lanka) discovering the fabulous island of Utopia on the way. This placed the land discovered by Amerigo and the island of Utopia which lay contiguous to it to the South of Taprobana and India. This is just where Amerigo’s newly discovered land is shown on the Jagiellonian Globe, indicating that More probably had such a globe before him when he wrote *Utopia*.  

Petherick also drew attention to the relevance of the Jagiellonian Globe to consideration of the Dieppe maps, several of which had been displayed at the VI International Geographical Congress in London in 1895:

The representations of the east coast of ‘Jave le Grand’ [sic] (Australia) delineated in those maps are, I assert, very rough representations and repetitions of the east coast of South America when that continent and our Australia were supposed to be one, before the Pacific Ocean was known. Magellan…discovered an ocean 5000 miles wide, upsetting preconceived ideas of geographers and cartographers, and thus divided the original ‘Terre Australe’ into two continents—as shown on these old French mappemondes—the coasts of the one continent being erroneously repeated. Both east coasts extend to 55º deg. S. with extreme east capes named ‘Fremosa’, and a great river (the Amazon); both are bounded by a west coast with the place name ‘Cattigara’ of the Indian Ocean repeated. That, in short, is the explanation of these old mappemondes.

*Cattigara* was the name given on earlier Ptolemaic maps to the land on the easternmost shore of the *Mare Indicum*, south of the equator. Writing of his 1499 voyage, Amerigo Vespucci said he had hoped to reach India by sailing westward from Spain across the Atlantic around the Cape of Catigara into the Sinus Magnus, the Great Gulf that lay to the East of the Chersonese Aureus (Malay Peninsula). On the earliest of the Dieppe maps, that of Jean Mallard of c.1536-1540, *La Catigare* is located on that part of the *Terre Australe* occupied on later Dieppe maps by Jave la Grande. On the Harleian mappemonde, CATIGARA is not to be found on the western coast of *LAVE LA GRANDE* but, as noted by Petherick, is located on the western coast of *LA TERRE:DV:BRESILL* (Fig.17), indicating a pre-Magellanic lack of knowledge of the existence of the Pacific Ocean and the notional character of *LAVE LA GRANDE*.

The pre-Magellanic view of the world was reflected in the report of October 1516 from Andrea Corsali to the Doge of Venice: “In the opinion of many”, he wrote, New Guinea (which he called Piccinnacoli) was “joined to the southward to the coast of Verzino” (the contemporary Italian form of the name Brazil), because Brazil/Verzino was so large, that that part of it had not


yet been discovered. Corsali was an agent of the Medici of Florence who had gone with the Portuguese to investigate their possessions in the East, and he wrote his report from one of the Portuguese bases in India. Abraham Ortelius used Corsali’s term in his 1589 map, *Maris Pacifici*, where New Guinea bears the legend: “Nova Guinea, quibusdam [according to some] Terra de Piccinacoli [sic].”

Petherick’s simple solution to the mystery of the Dieppe maps has not received attention. The alternative explanation of a possible early sixteenth century Portuguese voyage along the East coast of Australia has been extensively discussed, but the definitive proof of this has remained elusive. This also applies to a possible Chinese voyage in the early Ming period.

The earliest recorded voyage to report the actual discovery of the coast of a continent in the South West Pacific (possibly New Zealand) was that of Juan Fernandez sailing from Chile in 1576, well after the Dieppe maps were made, and therefore there can be no basis for the Dieppe maps in a Spanish voyage along the East coast of Australia. Alexander Dalrymple accepted in the 1760s that Juan Fernandez had discovered the Southern Continent and, demonstrating the continuing influence of the idea of its connection with South America, was also of the opinion that the Incas derived their civilization from thence. Dalrymple’s ideas prompted the British government in 1769 to order James Cook in HMS *Endeavour* to seek out the Southern Continent to the South and West of Tahiti.

The Dieppe maps were derived either from a voyage of discovery that has remained unknown, or they were theoretical constructs arising from sixteenth century cosmographical concepts, although these may have been obsolete by the time the maps were made. Guillaume Le Testu made the revealing comment on his 1556 map: “this land is part of the so-called Terre Australe, to us unknown, for that which is marked out is only from imagination and uncertain

18. “et navigando in verso leparti di Oriente dico no essere terra di Piccinnacoli è opinione di molti che questa terra nadi a tenere et congiungersi per la banda di mezogiorno con la costa del Verzino: perche per la grandezza della terra del decto Verzino, no è per ancora da queste parte discoperto: el quale Verzino per la parte di ponente dicono congiungersi con le Antille del Re di Castella.” National Library of Australia, Digital Collections, at catalogue.nla.gov.au/egi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi

19. Of the Dieppe maps, the Rotz (1547), the Harleian or Dauphin (mid-1540s), and the Desceliers (1550) have been reproduced in *Facsimiles of Old Charts of Australia in the British Museum*, London, Trubner, 1885; the Harleian, and the Desceliers maps of 1546 and 1550 have been reproduced in C.H. Coote, *Autotype Facsimiles of Three Mappemondes*, Aberdeen, 1898. On page 15 of the Introduction to the National Library of Australia’s Petherick Collection copy of Coote, where Coote noted that Alexander Dalrymple had seen “a fancied resemblance between the east coast of Java la Grande and the east coast of Australia of Cook”, Petherick has pencilled: “it was the East coast of South America repeated”.


opinion; the land depicted is still quite undiscovered, for there is no report that anyone has yet found it and it is only marked out from imagination”.25 On his 1566 planisphere, Le Testu wrote: “This is part of the same land of the south called Australie which has not yet been discovered because there is no record that anyone has searched it out and because it is only drawn from imagination”.26

Another explanation for the production of the Dieppe maps has been proposed: the transposition of the coasts of Champa and Cambodia to the Southern Hemisphere, attached to the eastern end of Sumbawa's blank south coast.27 The suggestion that it was an extension or attachment to Sumbawa was made in 1688 by Vincenzo Coronelli.28 As opposed to this hypothesis, it may be that the cosmographical concepts exhibited in the Jagiellonian and Lenox Globes, after all, offer the best explanation of the origin of the later Dieppe Maps. Occam’s Razor (pluralitas non est ponenda sine necessitate) would favour this straightforward explanation over the alternatives.

It is notable that the early Dieppe map made by Jean Rotz in 1542, his chart of the Eastern Hemisphere, extends to the vicinity of 60º South.(Fig.8) South America does extend as far South as 56º at Cape Horn, whereas the southernmost part of Australia, or Tasmania, is in the vicinity of 44º South. It is notable that this chart makes no connection with Tierra del Fuego or any other land mass in the southern hemisphere.

On the Rotz map of America, the Amazon is joined to the Rio de la Plata to form a great river or channel cutting off Brazil from the rest of the continent: on the Rotz map, as on all the Dieppe maps, a similar Rio Grande divides The Lande of Java from the Lytel Java.29 (Fig.8 and Fig.9)

Many of the place names on the Dieppe maps, such as Gouffre, Fremose and riviere grande, are purely descriptive, meaning “Gulf”, “Beautiful”, and “big river”, and such names were bestowed liberally by the Portuguese map makers over all the newly discovered lands from Brazil to Formosa (Taiwan). It is notable that Gorffo Fremoso is prominent among the few place names on Waldseemueller’s 1507 map of America/Brazil, and that Gouffre and c: de fremose are prominent on the Harleian map of the mid-1540s.30 (Fig.10 and Fig.11) The Waldseemueller

25. “cette terre est partie de ladicte Terre Australe à nous incogne car ce qui est merché n’est que par imagination et opiuion incertaine {fl.32} la terre figuree ici n’a point encor esté découverte pour ce qu’il n’est mémoire qu’aucun l’eut encore cherchée et pour ce qu’elle n’est marquée que par imagination (fl.36)”; quoted in Paolo Carile, “Les récits de voyage protestants dans l’Océan Indien au XVIIe siècle: entre utopie et réalisme”, Ana Margarida Faleão et al. (eds.), Literatura de Viagem: Narrativa, História, Mito, Lisboa, Cosmos, 1997, p.52.
28. Coronelli inscribed his Terrestrial Globe: “Varie sono appresso li Geografi l’opinioni del sito della Giaua Minore, collocando alcun... per l’Isola Cumbaua, e qualch’altro di piu Moderni per la Nuova Hollanda”.
29. This double hemisphere map is reproduced in Helen Wallis (ed.), Boke of idrography, Oxford, Roxburghe Society, 1981.
30. Cf. E. Delmar Morgan, Remarks on the Early Discovery of Australia, London, 1891, p.12: “With regard to this Cape Fremose, or Fremoso, several explanations have been given...that the Spaniards gave by analogy to this coast the same shape as South America, where a cape or river Fremoso also occurs.”
map’s *rio grande* is also paralleled by *riviere grande*, *Serra de S maria de gracia* by *c gracal* and the islands *lamahaqua* (Jamaica) and *Ysabella* (Cuba) by *ia magna* and *Ye Saill*. (Fig.12) Names drawn from the calendar of saints on the Waldseemüller, *Río de Sto Antonio, Río de San Jacomo* and *Río de S. Francisco* (originally applied to the coast of Brazil by Amerigo), are paralleled on the Vallard map of Jave la Grande by *p S: antonio, Río S jacque* and *Rio S francisco*. *Porto Real* on the Vallard imitates *Río Real* on the Waldseemüller. 31 (Fig.13 and Fig.14)

A more distinctive place name on *IAVE LA GRANDE* (the Harleian map), *Coste dangereuse*, *(costa dangeroza* on the Vallard map of 1547, translated to *Coste perilleuse* on the Desceliers map) may be derived from *Costa de angra de negros*, which appears on the northern coast of *Amerique ou bresill* (Desceliers’ 1550 map of South America) as *Ansse de negres*, and in the Portuguese form *Angra de negros* on the Harleian map, *LA TERRE:DV:BRESILL*. (Fig.15, Fig.19 and Fig.26) It is *B de negros* in the Rotz map of the northeastern coast of Brazil and *costa dàgerosa* on his map of the *Lande of Java*. 32 (Fig.18) So here we have *Coste dangereuse* being a French corruption of an original Portuguese place name, *Costa de angra de negros*, on the East coast of South America.

The word *Patos* (Ducks) in the Brazilian place name *Río* or *G[olfo] dos Patos*, which occurs on the Vallard map of Jave la Grande as *Río Patos*, could have been misunderstood as an equivalent of the French *Pâtures* (meaning Pastures, the equivalent of the Portuguese *Pastos*) and given rise to *Coste des Herbaiges* and *Cap des Herbaiges* on the Harleian and Desceliers maps of Jave la Grande (*Herbaiges* being a synonym for *Pâtures*). (Fig.19, Fig.20 and Fig.23)

*Mare Americum* (from Americo, or Amerigo Vespucci) was a name given on some sixteenth century Portuguese maps to the Rio de la Plata. 33 At the mouth of the *Río merico* on the Vallard map lies an island, *Ilha plata*, indicating that this place name, also, was apparently drawn from a map of South America. 34 (Fig.22)

The name Brazil was used as a synonym for America on the Desceliers map, *Amerique ou bresill* (Fig.25) and on the Harleian map, *LA TERRE:DV:BRESILL*. On the northwestern coast of Jave la Grande or the *Lande of Java*, appears a *baie bressille* on the Rotz map, *Baye bressille* on the Harleian, and *Baye bressil* on the Desceliers, indicating an identity in the minds of the mapmakers of Jave la Grande with America or Brazil. (Fig.19 and Fig.20)

*R la Silla* on the the northwestern coast of *LA TERRE:DV:BRESILL*, the Harleian map of South America, is matched by *Havre de Sylla* on the northwestern coast of *IAVE LA GRANDE*. (Fig.19) On the West coast of *Amerique ou bresill*, the Desceliers map of South America, this place name is given as *R:La cylla*. (Fig.26) This is also evidence of the identity of Brazil with Jave la Grande in the minds of the mapmakers.

The Vallard’s *Río seguro* is the equivalent of the Brazilian *R: Seguro* on the Waldseemüller map and on the Desceliers map, *Amerique ou bresill*. (Fig.13, Fig.24, Fig.25 and Fig.26)

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The *neufue* in *Baie neufue* on the southeastern coast of the Harleian map, *IAVE LA GRANDE* could come from *no fue* in the equivalent *Esta costa no fue vista* (“This coast has not been seen”) on the southeastern coast of the Harleian map, *LA TERRE:DV:BRESILL*. (Fig.17 and Fig.19)

The Vallard map of 1547 depicting the South Land bears the Brazilian place names *Cap fria* and *Rio de enero*. (Fig.21) These names are given as *C:de frys* on the Harleian map of Brazil, and *CAP DE FRIE, C:de Frye and R de ianeyro* on the Desceliers map, *Amerique ou bresill*. (Fig.16 and Fig.26) These place names have remained on the map of Brazil until the present day as *Cabo Frio* and *Rio de Janeiro* (so named by Gaspar de Lemos in January 1502).

So many correspondences would appear to go beyond coincidences. The correspondences adduced above are strong evidence that the Dieppe school of mapmakers duplicated Brazil and called the duplicate Jave la Grande. Further study of place names on early sixteenth century maps of the coast of Brazil may reveal more such correspondences, but it may be vain to expect an exact identity if the Dieppe maps are to be considered as essentially cartographic-style ornaments, owing as much to imagination as to geographic concepts that were obsolete by the time of their manufacture. That they were obsolete is indicated by the placement of Catigara on the West coast of South America, even though the Harleian mappemonde showed open sea between Asia and America.

*Catigara* was the name given on Ptolemaic maps, such as those of Heinrich Hammer (Henricus Martellus), to the land on the easternmost shore of the *Mare Indicum*, eight and a half degrees South of the Equator. On the 1489 Martellus map of the world, Asia terminated in its southeastern point in a cape, the Cape of Catigara. Writing of his 1499 voyage, Amerigo Vespucci said he had hoped to reach India by sailing westward from Spain across the Western Ocean (the Atlantic) around the Cape of Catigara into the Sinus Magnus, the Great Gulf that lay to the East of the Chersonese Aureus (Malay Peninsula) and of which the Cape of Catigara formed the southeastern point. This he failed to do, but he also failed to resolve the question of whether there was an opening from the southwestern part of the Caribbean Sea to the sea beyond, through a strait between the coast of Venezuela that he discovered and Panama, the land discovered by Columbus and called by him Veraguas and thought to be part of India. This uncertainty is indicated on the 1500 map of the New World by Juan de la Cosa, where the area in question is obscured by a portrait of St. Christopher.

If Veragua/Panama was part of India, as Christopher Columbus claimed, then its southward extension to the presumed strait would be the sought for Cape of Catigara, and its western coast would be Catigara, as shown on the 1504 maps by Bartholomew Columbus and Alessandro Zorzi. If this were so, then Panama and the land northward could be presumed to be part of Asia—specifically, Champa—and the land newly discovered by Amerigo on his voyage of 1500, the New World, to be a distinct, other continent lying to the East of Africa and to the South of Java. In his fourth and last voyage of 1502-1503, reaching Cariay on the coast of Costa Rica, Columbus thought he was close the gold mines of Champa. On 7 July 1503, he wrote from Jamaica: “I reached the land of Cariay…Here I received news of the gold

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On this voyage, Columbus planned to follow the coast of Champa southward around the Cape of Catigara and sail through the strait separating Catigara from the New World, into the Sinus Magnus (the actual Gulf of Thailand) to Malacca. This was the route he thought Marco Polo had gone from China to India. Columbus planned to meet up with the expedition sent from Portugal around the Cape of Good Hope under Vasco da Gama, and carried a letter of credence from the Spanish monarchs to present to da Gama. A note on one of the Columbus/Zorzi maps shows that Columbus grossly overestimated the distance eastward between Portugal and Catigara as 225º instead of Ptolemy’s estimate of 180º, permitting him to believe the distance westward was only 135º and therefore that the land he found was the East Indies (Fig.34).

The concept of there being two newly discovered continents, two Brazils, is exhibited in the 1520 Schoener Globe, where one continent is designated *BRASILIA* and the other, *BRASILLA INFERIOR.* (Fig.29) It is also shown in the world map of the French cartographer, Oronce Fine, published in 1531, where *BRASILLIE REGIO* is shown lying East of Africa and to the South of Java (and where the Dieppe maps locate their *Baye de Bresille*). (Fig.30, Fig.31 and Fig.31a) Subsequent mapmakers, influenced by Fine and ignoring Magellan’s voyage which demonstrated that Catigara was not adjacent to the Moluccas, also adopted this concept: as in the gores for a globe made about 1535 by an anonymous mapmaker; and Caspar Vopell’s mappemonde of 1570.

By 1507, as a result of the voyage of Juan de la Cosa along the southwestern coasts of the Caribbean, it was known that there was no strait out of the Caribbean to the sea beyond, and therefore no Cape of Catigara in the vicinity of Panama. In 1523, Maximilianus Transylvanus published Magellan’s discoveries in *De Moluccis Insulis*, which demonstrated that there was no Cape of Catigara extending Asia to the South of the Equator; however, the influence of Ptolemy and Martellus was such that some cartographers still persisted in believing that America was part of Asia and Catigara itself remained located on the western coast of South America on the aforementioned maps. It also remained, anomalously, on the Harleian map, which showed America separated from Asia by ocean. (Fig.17) Reflecting this concept, Amerigo’s new continent remained on Oronce Fine’s map, located to the East of Africa and to the South of Java but, taking into account Magellan’s discovery of a strait between America and the Terra Australis (Tierra del Fuego being taken to be a part of that continent), attached to the Terra Australis as a northward projection of it, and called *BRASILLIE REGIO.* (Fig.31) On the Harleian mappemonde, Amerigo’s New World was made an attachment to *JAVE LA GRANDE* (Java Major, the actual Java) though retaining a *Baye de Bresille* as a vestige of its origin as a chart of the

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37. J.W. McGrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, London, Trubner, 1885, revised edition by Ramachandra Jain, New Delhi, Today & Tomorrow’s Printers & Publishers, 1974, p.204: “By the Great Gulf is meant the Gulf of Siam, together with the sea that stretches beyond it toward China”.
40. On his 1533 globe Schoener called it *Brasiliae Regio.* A hi-resolution image of the 1531 Fine’s map can be found at http://image.sl.nsw.gov.au/cgi-bin/ebindshow.pl?doc=crux/a127;seq=7
coast of Brasilia Inferior. (Fig.19) The excrescence on the southeast of BRASIELIE REGIO called REGIO PATALIS on Fine’s map evolved into the great C: de fremose on the Harleian: Fine’s map was, therefore, the forerunner of the Dieppe maps.

Edward Petherick was mistaken in saying the duplication of the American coast was made as a consequence of Magellan’s voyage: the Jagiellonian Globe of 1509-1511 shows that the bilocation of the New World/America took place before Magellan’s circumnavigation of 1519-22. Johannes Schoener’s globe of 1515, like Boulangier’s of 1514, depicted America but, like the Jagiellonian and Lennox, showed another continent to the South West, labelled BRASILIE REGIO. (Fig.32) Schoener said that his source of geographical information was the Newe Zeytung auss Presillg Landt [New Tidings from the Brazilish Land], printed in Augsburg, probably in 1514 and compiled from reports on the recent discoveries sent back to the Fugger banking house in Augsburg from their agents in Madeira.42 Presillg in the title means “Brazilish” or “Brazilic”, not “Brazil”. In other words, the Brazilish Land, Presillg Landt, was differentiated from Brazil proper, otherwise known as America. The Zeytung described the voyagers passing through a strait, like the Strait of Gibraltar, between the southernmost point of America or Brazil, and a land to the South West, referred to as “vndtere Presill” (in Latin, Brasilia inferior). This was probably a reference to the Rio de la Plata. The Zeytung said that Malacca was only six hundred miles from the western point of this Brazil.43 In Schoener’s 1520 globe, AMERICA had evolved into TERRA NOVA, AMERICA vel BRASILIA sive PAPAGALLI TERRA (Land of Parrots), while BRASILIE REGIO had become BRASILIA INFERIOR (a translation of vndtere Presill). (Fig.29) His 1533 globe showed the BRASILIAE REGIO as part of the TERRA AVSTRALIS, with an enormous peninsula, the REGIO PATALIS, attached to its southeastern part. (Fig.33) Oronce Fine’s 1531 map exhibits this cosmography, and the Dieppe maps show its further evolution, even though it was out of date by the time they were made in the 1540s and 1550s.

In claiming that Amerigo Vespucci discovered Australia Petherick may simply have been intending to make the point hyperbolically that the coastline of the Dieppe maps, taken by some to represent Australia, was the coast of the land discovered by Amerigo, misplaced into the Eastern Hemisphere.

The Jagiellonian Globe demonstrates that it was possible for early 16th century geographers to depict the same coastline, that of eastern South America, in two different places on the same map. This was a cosmographical concept, not based on actual surveys, but as Stevenson pointed out, assumed because the geographers of the time such as Waldseemüller, ignorant of the reality of the Pacific Ocean or of North America, thought Amerigo Vespucci’s newly discovered land was located in the Southern Hemisphere to the eastward of Africa.

The Jagiellonian Globe reminds us that we must try to look at the early maps through the eyes and with the knowledge of their makers, free of the preconceptions arising from our current geographical knowledge. As an authentic document from the early sixteenth century incorporating and demonstrating the cosmographic concepts of that time, it deserves consideration in any discussion of how the Dieppe maps came into existence.

43. Mark Graubard (transl), Tidings out of Brazil, commentary and notes by John Parker, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1957.
Captions for the illustrations:

**Figure 1.** Replica of the Jagiellonian Globe made of gilded wood, c.1974. Note the continent inscribed **AMERICA·NOVITER·REPERTA** in the southern part.

**Figure 2.** The Jagiellonian Clock incorporating the Jagiellonian Globe, c.1510. The Globe, containing the mechanism, is nested at the centre of the clockwork.

**Figure 3.** *Globus Jagellonicus*. Tadeusz Estreicher delineavit. Note South America, inscribed **TERRA DE BRAZIL, MUNDUS NOVUS** and **TERRA SANCTAE CRUCIS**, and in the Eastern Hemisphere, **AMERICA·NOVITER·REPERTA**, located to the eastward of Africa and Madagascar.

**Figure 4.** Waldseemüller globe gores, 1507. Nordenskiöld, *Atlas till kartografiens äldsta historia* (Stockholm, 1889, Plate XXXVIIa. Note the strait between the northern part of “America” and the unnamed land to the northward, the western coast of which is undelineated. On his first voyage, Amerigo Vespucci hoped to sail through this (non-existent) strait to reach Malacca.

**Figure 5.** *Lenox Globe*. B.F. De Costa delineavit. Note the same land mass in the southern part of the Eastern Hemisphere as in the Jagiellonian Globe, but unlike on that globe, unnamed. De Costa thought this could have been a representation of Australia, but the inscription **AMERICA·NOVITER·REPERTA** on the Jagiellonian Globe demonstrates that to its maker it represented the continent newly discovered by Amerigo.

**Figure 6.** *Lenox Globe*. As illustrated in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 9th edition, Volume X, 1874, Fig.2.

**Figure 7.** The Tross Gores, Louis Boulengier of Albi delineavit. A.E. Nordenskiöld, *Atlas till kartografiens äldsta historia*, Stockholm, 1889, Plate XXXVIIa. Note that there is no continent in the southern part of the Eastern Hemisphere, and **AMERICA·NOVITER·REPERTA** is inscribed on South America.

**Figure 8.** Jean Rotz, Chart of the Eastern Hemisphere, 1542. *Facsimiles of Old Charts of Australia in the British Museum*, London, Trubner, 1885. Note that the continent called **The Lande of Java** extends to latitude 60º South. Note also the channel dividing the **lytil Java** from **The Lande of Java**.

**Figure 9.** Jean Rotz, Chart of the Western Hemisphere, 1542. *Facsimiles of Old Charts of Australia in the British Museum*, London, Trubner, 1885. Note the channel terminating at either end in **marignon** (Maranão) and **the ryver of Platta** that divides **the lande of brazil** from the rest of the American continent, and note that the land westward of the Gulf of Mexico is inscribed **the Indyes of occident**, indicating a belief in the possibility that it was connected to Asia.

**Figure 10.** *Gorffo fremoso* on the Waldseemüller map, 1507.

**Figure 11.** *Gorffo* on the Waldseemüller map, 1507.

**Figure 12.** *iamaiqua* and *Isabella* on the Waldseemüller map, 1507. Possibly the inspiration for the islands **lamagna** and **Yesaill** on the Harleian map of *Jave la Grande*. 
Figure 13. *Rio Seguro* on the Waldseemüller map, 1507.

Figure 14. The Vallard map of the South Land, 1547.

Figure 15. *Costa dangeroza* on the 1547 Vallard map of the South Land. Possibly taken from *C. d’angra negros* on the coast of Brazil.

Figure 16. *C. de Frye* and *R. de ianeyro* on the Desceliers map, *Amerique ou bresill*, 1550. C.H. Coote, *Autotype Facsimiles of Three Mappemondes*, Aberdeen, 1898. Compare with Fig.21, *Cap fria* and *Rio de enero* on the Vallard map of the South Land.

Figure 17. *CATIGARA* on the western coast of the Harleian map, *LA TERRE:DV:BRESILL*, mid-1540s. C.H. Coote, *Autotype Facsimiles of Three Mappemondes*, Aberdeen, 1898. Catigara, according to the Ptolemaic cosmography, was the southeasternmost point of Asia, so its placement by the Harleian mapmaker on the West coast of South America is a relic of the belief of Columbus that he had reached, not a new continent, but the eastern part of Asia: the Harleian mapmaker’s *Bresill* was, therefore, considered to be an extension of Asia. Note also *Esta costa no fue vista* on the opposite, East coast, possibly the origin of *neufue* on the Harleian map of Jave la Grande.


Figure 19. Harleian map, *JAVE LA GRANDE*, mid-1540s. *Facsimiles of Old Charts of Australia in the British Museum*, London, Trubner, 1885. Note *Coste dangereuse* and *Coste des Herbaiges* on the North East coast; and *Baye bresille* and *Havre de Sylla* on the North West coast (compare with *R: La cylla* on Fig.25).

Figure 20. Desceliers map, 1550, where Jave-la-Grande is not named but shown a great northward projection to the South of Java of the of the *TERRE AVSTRAILLE. Facsimiles of Old Charts of Australia in the British Museum*, London, Trubner, 1885. This continent was called on the 1546 Desceliers map, *TERRE AVSTRALLE NON DE TOUTE DESCOUVERTE*.

Figure 21. *Cap Fria* and *Rio de enero* on the 1547 Vallard map. Compare with Fig.16 *C: de Frye* and *R. de ianeyro*, and with Fig.16 *R. de ianeyro* and *R: seguro*.

Figure 22. *Rio merico* and *Ilha Plata* on the 1547 Vallard map, derived from the *Mare Americum* and *Rio de la Plata* of South America.

Figure 23. *Rio patos* on the 1547 Vallard map. Compare with *Coste des Herbaiges* on Fig.19 and with *Cap des Herbaiges* on Fig.20.

Figure 24. *Rio seguro* on the 1547 Vallard map. Compare with *Rio seguro* on Fig.26.


Figure 27. *Cattigara* and the *Sinus Magnus*, Bartolomé Colon and Alessandro Zorzi, 1504. Note *Catticara sinarum statio* (“Catigara port of the Chinese”) on the West coast of the peninsula (or isthmus) of which the eastern side was discovered by Columbus in 1502. Note also *Cariai* (“Cariay”) on the East coast, where Columbus thought he was close to the gold mines of Champa.

Figure 28. *ASIA* and *MONDO NOVO*, Bartolomé Colon and Alessandro Zorzi, 1504. Note the retrete is shown as a strait between the *MONDO NOVO* and *ASIA*, with *cattigra* (Cattigara) forming the southeasternmost point of *ASIA*. Note also *Cariai* on the East coast, thought by Columbus to be on the coast of Champa.

Figure 29. Globe of Johannes Schoener, 1520, Franz von Wieser, *Magalhães-Strasse und Austral-Continent. Auf den Globen Johannes Schöner. Beitrage zur geschichte der Erdkunde im xvi. Jahrhundert*, Innsbruck, 1881. Note *BRASILIE REGIO*, shown as a continent separate from *AMERICA vel BRASILIA*; that is, Brazil is placed on the map twice, indicating belief by Schoener that the new continent discovered by Amerigo Vespucci in 1500 was separate from that found by other discoverers, such as Columbus, Ojeda, Vincente Pinzon, de Lepe, Niño and Guerra, Bastidas, Cabral and de Lemos.

Figure 30. *Cattigara* on Oronce Fine, *Nova Universi Orbis Descriptio*, 1531. *Rare Maps from the State Library of New South Wales*.

Figures 31 and 31a. *Brasielle Regio* and *Regio Patalis* on Oronce Fine, *Nova Universi Orbis Descriptio*, 1531. *Rare Maps from the State Library of New South Wales*. Note *BRASILLIE REGIO* shown located to the east of Africa, as part of the *TERRA AVSTRALIS*. Note also *Cattigara* located on the West coast of south America, which is joined in the North to Asia, reflecting the Ptolemaic concept that Catigara was southeasternmost point of Asia.


Figure 33. Globe of Johannes Schoener, 1533, Franz von Wieser, *Magalhães-Strasse und Austral-Continent. Auf den Globen Johannes Schöner. Beitrage zur geschichte der Erdkunde im xvi. Jahrhundert*, Innsbruck, 1881. Note *BRASILIE REGIO* shown as part of the *TERRA AVSTRALIS*. Note also the *REGIO PATALIS* (“extensive region”), the forerunner of the *C: de Fremose* on the Harleian map of *IAVE LA GRANDE*.

Figure 34. *Cattigara* to *Cape St Vincent*, Bartolomé Colon and Alessandro Zorzi, 1504. Note the inscription above and below the Equator in the *Oceamus Meridio*: “Secondo Marino e Colombo, da C. San Vincentio a Catticara g.225, son hora 15; secondo Ptolemaio in fino a Cattigara g.180 che sia hora 12” (According to Marinus [of Tyre, the “Tyrian Seaman”] and Columbus, from Cape St. Vincent to Catigara is 225 degrees, that is 15 hours; according to Ptolemy, the distance to Catigara is 180 degrees, which is 12 hours).
Fig 30a

Fig 31
Fig 32

Fig 33

31
Fig 34