

URBANO MONTE'S WORLD MAPS: SOURCES AND DEVELOPMENT

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Date of receipt: 25th of January, 2019

Date of acceptance: 25th of September, 2019

ABSTRACT

This article provides a window into late sixteenth-century map production by discussing the distinctive features, the use of sources, and the changes over time in the world maps of 1587, 1590, and c. 1604 by the Milanese nobleman Urbano Monte (1544-1613). His maps were the largest non-mural maps of the sixteenth century, laid out on a north polar projection, and designed to be rotated about their centerpoint so as to facilitate viewing of the details of the maps despite their large size. Although the maps' size might suggest that they were intended for nobles, the cartographer's desired audience was in fact students. The maps are compilations of both images and texts from a wide variety of contemporary maps and geographical treatises, the products of library research rather than interviews with explorers. Some of the changes he made from his 1587 to his 1590 map were motivated by *horror vacui*, the fear of leaving blank spaces on his map. His c. 1604 printed map, which only exists in Monte's proof copy, is an unpublishable mess, as Monte changed the projection he was using but did not alter the geography of his map accordingly.

KEYWORDS

History of cartography, Urbano Monte, Sixteenth century, Cartographic projection, *horror vacui*.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Historia cartographiae, Urbanus Montis, Saeculum sexdecim, Proiectio cartographica, Horror vacui.

In about 1567-68, Richard Hakluyt —the barrister who lived 1531-1591, cousin to and guardian of the famous writer about voyages of exploration who lived 1553-1619— wrote a letter to the cartographer Abraham Ortelius asking him to make a world map in a new format that he thought would be especially useful and convenient for lawyers, students, and citizens, and would sell better than any other type of map.¹ The elder Hakluyt was thus describing his conception of the ideal world map. One imagines that as far as circumstances and resources allowed, every world map was a realization of the cartographer's ideas about how such a map should be made, but we rarely find a passage where thoughts about the ideal form of a map are explicitly laid out in the early modern period.²

Hakluyt proposed a large map that would be suitable both for display in a large hall and for consultation and study.³ The map should be 12 feet (3.7 m) long and three or at most four feet high (91-122 cm), centered on the Prime Meridian through the Canary Islands, with 180° of longitude depicted in the six feet on either side of that center, and including the Arctic and Antarctic circles and “all the regions” in the north and south, presumably running to the poles.⁴ At the left and right edges of the map would be smooth rods onto which the map could be rolled, so that it could be accommodated on a table three or four feet square. The meridians should be marked every three feet, so that one would always be visible when the map was thus displayed. Hakluyt thus found a way to make a very large world map, something that can be difficult to show in a way that all of the details can be appreciated, easy to study.

1. The elder Hakluyt was interested in economic geography and owned a large world map: see Taylor, Eva Germaine Rimington, ed. *The Original Writings & Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1935: II, 396-397. His letter to Ortelius is supplied in Latin and an English translation in Taylor's work, Taylor, Eva Germaine Rimington, ed. *The Original Writings...: I*, 77-83. Also see Kraus, Hans Peter. *Monumenta cartographica*. New York: H.P. Kraus, 1969: 90-92, which includes reproductions of Hakluyt's diagram of the map with scales of latitude and longitude, and a drawing of the map with its rollers.

2. The ancient Greek geographer Strabo in his *Geographica* 2.5.10 had given his thoughts about the ideal size of a globe and a world map. The passage is translated into English in Strabo, *The Geography of Strabo*, trans. Hans Claude Hamilton, William Falconer. London – New York: G. Bell & Sons, 1903: I, 176: “Any one who is able will certainly do well to obtain such a globe. But it should have a diameter of not less than ten feet: those who cannot obtain a globe of this size, or one nearly as large, had better draw their chart on a plane surface, of not less than seven feet”.

3. On the display of maps in early modern homes see Woodward, David. *Maps as Prints in the Italian Renaissance: Makers, Distributors & Consumers*. London: British Library, 1996: 79-87; Rosen, Mark. “Maps as Decoration in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries”, *The Cosmos in the Palace: The Palazzo Vecchio Guardaroba and the Culture of Cartography in Early Modern Florence, 1563-1589*. Berkeley: University of California (PhD Dissertation), 2004: 90-122; Carlton, Genevieve. “Making an Impression: The Display of Maps in Sixteenth-Century Italian Homes”, *Worldly Consumers: The Demand for Maps in Renaissance Italy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015: 143-158.

4. It should be remarked that the dimensions Hakluyt proposed for the map would result in substantial distention of geographical features to the east and west. Giacomo Gastaldi's world map of c. 1561 (which covers 360° of longitude) is 91 × 180 cm, whereas Hakluyt suggests a map 91 × 366 cm, more than twice as wide. The unique surviving exemplar of Gastaldi's map is in the British Library, Maps C.18.n.1; it is well illustrated in Schilder, Günter. *Monumenta cartographica Neerlandica*. Alphen aan den Rijn: Uitgevermaatschappij Canaletto, 1986-: II, 36-37; and is discussed in Shirley, Rodney W.. *The Mapping of the World: Early Printed World Maps 1472-1700*. Riverside: Early World Press, 2001: 122-125.



A couple of decades later the Milanese nobleman Urbano Monte (1544-1613) came up with a very different solution to the problem of how to make a large map readily viewable. Despite his noble status Monte never held public office, but instead occupied himself with scholarship, particularly history and cartography, with administering the family property, and with philanthropic endeavors.⁵ In 1587 he completed a world map on sixty manuscript sheets that seems originally to have been accompanied by a geographical treatise. Those sheets were designed so that in each the map proper could be cut from its surrounding paper, and then all of the sheets assembled in rings to form a circular map on a north polar projection three meters in diameter (see illustration 1). In his geographical treatise, which survives in a manuscript from 1590, Monte explains how the map was to be mounted:

Come si possano accomodare et mettere insieme le Tavole per comporne di quelle un mappamondi Intiero, a forma Circolare

*Prima si deve ordinare una Tavola longa e larga cinque braccia come meglio sara grata a chi di questo mappamondo si diletta, o di Tela grossa inchiodata sopra un Telaro fatto in modo che con un gnomone o Police si possa sostenere e girare a torno, (Che cosi va girato questo Mappamondo volendo vederlo minutamente in ogni sua parte) overo sopra una Tavola d'asse leggeri che stiano dritte acioche non si getti via l'opera, Nel mezo della quali si faccia un segnetto a fine di porvi poi un Gnomone o Police per girarlo in torno che sia per modo di dire il Polo del Mapamondo al quali vi apestari l'angolo superiore della prima Tavola Triangolare dove è quella parte di stella che significa il Polo Artico, la qual Tavola è signata Prima...*⁶

Monte proceeds to give detailed instructions on how to assemble the sheets of the map, and indeed on each sheet there are notes indicating which sheet(s) should be above that sheet, and which below. The cartographer made sure that there was no way the map could be assembled incorrectly. The fact that the map was designed to be rotated means that the viewer could bring the part of the map he or she was

5. On Monte see: Argelati, Filippo. *Philippi Argelati Bononiensis Bibliotheca scriptorum Mediolanensium*. Milan: in aedibus palatinis, 1745: II, col. 957-959; d'Ascenzo, Annalisa. "Monti, Urbano (Monte dall'Angelo)", *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Alberto M. Ghisalberti, ed. Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1960-: LXXVI, 298-300; and Besozzi, Leonida. "Gli ultimi anni di Urbano Monti, geografo e cronista (1544-1613)". *Libri e documenti*, 21/3 (1995): 66-89.

6. "How the Sheets can be Arranged and Put Together to Make Them into a Complete World Map in the Shape of a Circle. First one has to order a board five braccia long and wide [2.975 m, or 9.76 feet], as will best please those who delight in this mappamundi, or a big canvas nailed over a frame made so that with a gnomon or knob one can support it and turn around (so that the mappamundi can be turned around for whoever wants to see every part of it closely), or on a board made of light planks that are flat so that the work does not fall off. In the middle of which a mark is written for the placing of a gnomon or knob to turn it around in order to indicate the pole of the mappamundi, which is where the top corner of the first triangular sheet should go, where is the part with the star that indicates the North Pole, which sheet is labeled the first...". Biblioteca del Seminario arcivescovile de Venegono. FV.B-VII-56, f. 285r. This manuscript (from the 1590 manuscript of Monte's work) is discussed below. Regarding the dimensions, in Milan the measure of 1 *braccio*, in use before the adoption of the metric system, was equal to 0.595 m: see Cardarelli, François. *Encyclopaedia of Scientific Units, Weights and Measures: Their SI Equivalences and Origins*. London: Springer, 2003: 88. On the mounting of the map also see the text quoted by Almagia, Roberto. "Un prezioso cimelio della cartografia italiana. Il Planisfero di Urbano Monte". *La Bibliofilia*, 43 (1941): 156-193, esp. 165-166.



interested in close for inspection, and all of the elements of the map, both the texts and the decorations, are oriented so as to be viewed looking from the outer edge of the map inward. The map is better suited to vertical display on a wall rather than horizontal: if it were displayed horizontally, there would be no good way for the viewer to see the parts of the world north of the equator, that is, in the center of the map. If the map were displayed vertically, with the viewer's eye more or less at the level of the equator, all of the map would be consultable. Monte's decision to make his huge map rotatable about its center as a way to make the details of the map—the many images and descriptive texts—accessible to the viewer is an unusual and probably original one.

1. The Three Manuscripts of Monte's Map

Monte's map survives in three manuscripts. The earliest is the 1587 autograph manuscript acquired by the David Rumsey Map Center at Stanford University in October 2017.⁷ It seems that this manuscript originally contained Monte's geographical treatise *Trattato universale, descrittione et sito de tutta la terra sinqui conosciuta* ("Universal Treatise: Description and Site of All of the Land Thus Far Known") which was written to accompany the map.⁸ In the Stanford manuscript the sheets of the map are all marked *Libro terzo* ("Third Book") at the top, indicating their place in the treatise, and the foliation indicates numbers of text pages missing between the sheets of the maps that exactly match the number of pages between the corresponding sheets of the map in the 1590 manuscript. The Stanford manuscript was Monte's working manuscript. It seems that Monte experimented with assembling the sheets in the rings that were to compose the wall map, presumably to make sure that they went together as he anticipated. He did this not by cutting the map sheets proper from their surrounding paper, but by folding under the right-hand edge of each map so that it would not cover the left-hand side of the adjoining sheet: those creases are still visible on the sheets. These experiments resulted in some changes: on sheet 55 of the 1587 manuscript a

7. The call number of the Rumsey Center manuscript is Stanford University. G1015 .M6 1587 F; high-resolution images of all of the sheets of the map, as well as an image of the whole map with the sheets digitally assembled, are available at <<https://searchworks.stanford.edu/view/12184890>>. The manuscript is described in the Sotheby's catalog: *Continental Autograph Letters and Manuscripts with a Section by Musicians and Composers and with Some Printed Music, Including an Important Manuscript Atlas of the World by Urbano Monti, 1587—which will be sold by auction— 12th May 1981-13th May 1981*. London: Sotheby Parke Bernet & Co., 1981: frontispiece and 28-37 (lot 53); Folter, Roland; Ludwig, Peter; Ludwig, Irene. *Cimelia: A Catalogue of Important Illuminated and Textual Manuscripts Published in Commemoration of the Sale of the Ludwig Collection*. New York: H.P. Kraus, 1983: 118-119 (lot 24); the Christie's catalog: *Cartography*. London: Christie's, 1998: 22, 29, for their sale in London, Wednesday 20 May 1998 at 11:30 am.; and in the Bonhams' catalog: *Fine Books, Maps & Manuscripts*. New York: Bonhams, 2012: 42-45 (lot 2081) and the cover.

8. Rainero, Romain H. "Un trattato inedito di un cartografo milanese del XVI secolo: Urbano Monte ed il suo 'Trattato Universale'", *Aspetti e problemi della geografia*, Giacomo Corna-Pellegrini, ed. Milan: Marzorati, 1987: II, 641-652; d'Ascenzo, Annalisa. *Cultura geografica e cartografia in Italia alla fine del Cinquecento: Il Trattato universale di Urbano Monte*. Rome: Viella, 2012.



centaur protrudes to the right beyond the edge of the map proper, but in the 1590 manuscript Monte moved it to the left so that it does not protrude.

Monte made other experiments with his 1587 manuscript. There are handwritten notes about things he considered adding to the map, for example on sheet 21, where he seems to have contemplated adding *la narrative* ("a descriptive text") and a couple of *uno bussolo/un bussolo* ("compass roses"). He also revised the geography in some parts of the map, and added the Great Wall of China to sheets 3 and 8. He did not add the Great Wall to the map in his 1590 manuscript, but it does appear on printed world maps that Monte made in 1603 and 1604, so it seems that he continued modifying the 1587 manuscript for many years.⁹

The second surviving manuscript of Monte's map is the 1590 manuscript, also written in Monte's own hand, in the Biblioteca del Seminario arcivescovile di Venegono.¹⁰ This manuscript includes Monte's *Trattato universale*, and seems to have been Monte's fair copy of his work. The map sheets in the Venegono manuscript are very similar to those in the 1587 manuscript, but Monte did make some changes. One of those changes is that he added decorative elements, particularly sea monsters and ships, to some of the maps, for example to sheets 21 and 36. He added these elements in order to reduce the amount of empty space in the oceans; that is to say, out of *horror vacui*.¹¹ The gratuitous nature of the added decorative elements is clear in comparing sheet 21 of the 1587 manuscript and the corresponding sheet of the 1590 manuscript (see illustrations 2 and 3). Indeed, Monte is quite candid that he added some decorative elements to his map just to fill space. For example, in his commentary on sheet 12 of the map he writes:

*Ho poi posto per compir con qualche cosa quel spatio di mare in questa Tavola voto, alcune Galere et navi fingendovi l'Armata del Re di Spagna, La Flota delle Indie, nel cui mezzo li ho anco posto una rota de i venti...*¹²

9. These two printed world maps by Monte are tipped into the Ambrosiana manuscript of his geographical treatise, Biblioteca Ambrosiana. MS A 260 inf., ff. 319v-320v and 286v-287r. The maps are discussed and reproduced in Shirley, Rodney. *The Mapping of the World...*: 253-255 (No. 139, pl. 189) and 263 (No. 247, pl. 194); and in Van Duzer, Chet. "The Cartography, Geography, and Hydrography of the Southern Ring Continent, 1515-1763". *Orbis Terrarum*, 8 (2002): 115-158, esp. 135-138 (fig. 11 and 12).

10. The shelfmark of the Venegono manuscript is Biblioteca del Seminario arcivescovile di Venegono. FV.B - VII - 56. The manuscript is discussed in Almagià, Roberto. "Un prezioso cimelio...": 156-193, where Almagià identifies it as manuscript S. There is a facsimile of the sheets of the map in the Venegono manuscript, but not of the geographical treatise, in Monte, Urbano. *Descrizione del mondo sin qui conosciuto*, Maurizio Ampollini, ed. Lecco: Periplo, 1994; and a CD-ROM facsimile of the manuscript published as *Il planisfero di Urbano Monte. Il fantastico mondo, viaggio nella geografia del '500 attraverso i testi del Fondo Valentini della Biblioteca del Seminario arcivescovile di Milano*. Lecco: Novantiqua Multimedia, 1999.

11. *Horror vacui* in artistic contexts is well defined by Braxton Soderman: "Horror vacui is the fear of empty space that results in the over-marking of visual space, excessive decoration that threatens to overwhelm what is being decorated, the stuffing of gaps and caesura with further representation". Soderman, Braxton. "'Don't Look... Or it Takes You': The Games of Horror Vacui". *Journal of Visual Culture*, 14/3 (2015): 311-316, esp. 311.

12. "Then, in order to fill with something this space in the sea on this map, I placed some galleys and ships, imagining there the armada of the King of Spain, the Fleet of the Indies, in whose midst I have



In fact Monte's sensitivity to *horror vacui* developed over time: in making the 1590 version of his map he occasionally added sea monster or ships to areas he had come to decide were too sparsely decorated, for example in sheets 21 and 36.

The third surviving manuscript of Monte's work is in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana and is dated 1590, but includes material as late as 1604.¹³ The manuscript contains the hand-written text of Monte's *Trattato universale*, but printed sheets of his maps, so the great expense of engraving the plates to print his map was paid, but it seems that the map was never published. The reasons for the lack of an edition are not far to seek. Monte decided to change the projection of his map so that the geography south of the equator is organized into four lobes, and the map has 64 sheets instead of 60.¹⁴ This entailed drastic changes to the plates and also extensive revisions of the text of the *Trattato*, so the manuscript is a mess. Not only are the revisions to the plates often visible, but Monte changed the projection without altering the map's geography; he moved meridians without moving the landmasses and islands with them. For example, in making his four lobes, the cartographer did not compress the eight islands that surround the South Pole into those lobes, but simply moved the meridians and cut away the parts of the islands and the oceans that were outside the lobes. These same desperate adjustments, and lacks of adjustments, are visible in Monte's single-sheet version of the map (see illustration 4). Monte was evidently eager to publish his work so that it could reach a broad audience, but given the bizarre, half-revised state in which he left his map plates, it is hard to imagine how there could be any path forward to that goal. On the backs of several of the map sheets in this manuscript there is offset —impressions of inked pages— from the same sheet of the map, which proves that more than one exemplar was printed of many of the sheets,¹⁵ but we do not know what became of these other sheets.

2. Distinctive Characteristics of the Map

Monte's map, particularly when the sheets are digitally assembled into the whole as has been done by the David Rumsey Map Center at Stanford, speaks to Monte's personality through the distinctive choices he made as a cartographer. The map's

also placed a wheel of the winds... ". Biblioteca del Seminario arcivescovile di Venegono. FV.B - VII - 56, f. 128r. He makes a similar statement in his commentary on sheet 19, on f. 162.

13. The shelfmark of the manuscript in the Ambrosiana is MS A 260 inf. The manuscript is discussed by Paolo Revelli: Revelli, Paolo. *I codici ambrosiani di contenuto geografico*. Milan: Luigi Alfieri, 1929: 30; and Almagià, Roberto. "Un prezioso cimelio... ", as manuscript A.

14. There are diagrams comparing the disposition of the sheets on the two versions of Monte's map in d'Asenzo, Annalisa. "L'ampliamento dell'orizzonte geografico e le rappresentazioni cartografiche nel XVI secolo. I mapamondi di Urbano Monte". *Geostorie*, 19/1-3 (2011): 111-140, esp. 125; for a diagram of the 64-sheet map that indicates the lobes see Almagià, Roberto. "Un prezioso cimelio... ": 160.

15. The map sheets in the Ambrosiana manuscript that include offset of the same map sheet are sheets: Biblioteca Ambrosiana. MS A 260 inf., f. 1, 2, 3, 17, 23, 25, 29, 30, 34, 35, 40, 41, 45, 47, 48, 49, 55, 57, 58, 59, and 61.



large size sets it apart from contemporary works. The assembled map would not be as large as the late thirteenth-century Ebstorf *mappamundi*, which measured 358 x 356 cm (close to twelve feet by twelve feet),¹⁶ and would not have been as large as the world maps in some of the Italian mural map programs of the sixteenth century, for example the mural map of the world by Giovanni Antonio Vanosino in the Sala del Mappamondo, Villa Farnese, Caprarola, completed in 1574.¹⁷ But the map would have been larger than any of the printed wall maps of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁸ Indeed, Monte was very conscious and proud of his map's special character: he ends his sonnet to the reader on sheet 42 of the map with the lines *E in dubio stò se in opera d'inchiostro / unqua si Trovi un Tal nel secol nostro* ("And I doubt whether among printed works / You will ever find such a map in our century").

The north polar projection is an unusual choice; not unprecedented, but it was used in a very small percentage of sixteenth-century maps.¹⁹ The projection was first used on a diagrammatic world map in a tract by Gualterus Ludd printed in 1507,²⁰ in a manuscript atlas of nautical charts made by Vesconte Maggiolo in 1511,²¹ in Gregor Reisch's *Margarita philosophica nova* of 1512,²² in manuscript world maps by Henricus Glareanus made c. 1510-20,²³ in Peter Apian's *Cosmographicus Liber* of

16. For full analysis and illustration of the Ebstorf *mappamundi* see Kugler, Hartmut. *Die Ebstorfer Weltkarte*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2007.

17. Kish, George. "The 'Mural Atlas' of Caprarola". *Imago Mundi*, 10 (1953): 51-56; Partridge, Loren. "The Room of Maps at Caprarola, 1573-75". *Art Bulletin*, 77/3 (1995): 413-444, esp. 440-442. On other mural cycles see Schulz, Juergen. "Maps as Metaphors: Mural Map Cycles of the Italian Renaissance", *Art and Cartography: Six Historical Essays*, David Woodward, ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987: 97-122; and Fiorani, Francesca. *The Marvel of Maps: Art, Cartography and Politics in Renaissance Italy*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.

18. On these wall maps see: Koeman, Cornelis; Schilder, Günter; van Egmond, Marco; van der Krogt, Peter. "Commercial Cartography and Map Production in the Low Countries, 1500–ca. 1672," *The History of Cartography*, David Woodward, ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007: III/2 1296-1383, esp. 1341-1358 (subchapter "Wall Maps Published in the Netherlands"), 1378 ("Wall Maps Published in Antwerp (Sixteenth Century)"), 1379-1380 ("Selection of Wall Maps —Mainly Prototypes— Published in Amsterdam, ca. 1590–ca. 1670"). The two latter sections include the dimensions of the maps listed.

19. See Shirley, Rodney W. "All the World Within a Circle-Some Unusual World Maps on a Single Polar Projection". *The Map Collector*, 10 (1980): 2-12. On a later map Monte says that he was inspired to use the north polar projection by a passage in Ptolemy's *Geography*: see Almagià, Roberto. "Un prezioso cimelio"....: 164-165. The passage in Ptolemy appears in Ptolemy, Claudius. *La geografia di Claudio Tolomeo Alessandrino*, ed. Girolamo Ruscelli. Venice: Appresso Giordano Ziletti, 1574: 74; and in Berggren, John Lennart; Jones, Alexander. *Ptolemy's Geography: An Annotated Translation of the Theoretical Chapters*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000: 82.

20. Ludd, Gualterus. *Speculi Orbis succinctis. sed ne poenitenda ne inelegans Declaratio, et Canon*. Strasbourg: Gruninger, 1507: f. 3r.

21. John Carter Brown Library. Z Codex 2 / 2-SIZE; see: d'Avezac, Marie Armand Pascal. *Atlas hydrographique de 1511 du Génois, Vesconte de Maggiolo*. Paris: C. Aine, 1871, and Harisse, Henry. *The Discovery of North America*. London – Paris: Henry Stevens and Son – H. Welter, 1892: 468-469. A high-resolution image of the chart is available via <<https://jcb.lunaimaging.com/luna/servlet>>.

22. Reisch, Gregor. *Margarita philosophica nova*. Strasbourg: Grüninger, 1512, in the *Tractatus de compositione Astrolabii*, which is the final work in the book.

23. Glareanus's maps on polar projections are in the Cladii Ptolomei. *Viri Alexandrini Cosmographie Liber... Incipit / [Beatissimo Patri Pavlo Secvndo Pontici Maximo. Opvs Donni Nicolai Germani Secvndvm Ptolomevm...]*.



1524,²⁴ in a world map by Giovanni Vespucci printed in 1524,²⁵ in Jacques Focard's *Paraphrase de l'astrolabe* of 1546,²⁶ in an untitled, detailed world map by Antonio Floriano printed in 1555,²⁷ in a manuscript world map in João de Lisboa's *Livro de Marinharia*, c. 1550-1560,²⁸ in a manuscript world map made by Bartolomeo Velho in about 1560,²⁹ in a world map in two hemispheres titled *Globus terrestris* made by Jost Amman in 1564,³⁰ and in an inset of the northern polar regions on Gerard Mercator's famous world map of 1569.³¹ It seems that Antonio Floriano's map was the most likely to have influenced Monte (see below).

Monte's plan that the map would be rotated is also distinctive. There is a medieval precedent for a *mappamundi* that pivoted about a central point, namely the fourteenth-century map made by Ambrogio Lorenzetti that adorned the Sala

Ulm: Leonardus Hol, 1482: fol. 30v, in the Universitäts und Landesbibliothek Bonn, Inc, 984, see <<http://digitale-sammlungen.ulb.uni-bonn.de/content/zoom/198859>>; and in (Providence, Rhode Island) John Carter Brown Library, Latin Codex 1, f. 26v and 27r, with high-resolution images available via <<https://jcb.lunaimaging.com/luna/servlet>>. For discussion of these maps see Wroth, Lawrence C. "The Early Cartography of the Pacific". *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 38/2 (1944): 87-268, esp. 131-136.

24. Apian, Peter. *Cosmographicus liber*. Landshut: Joannes Weyssenburger, 1524: f. 63r.

25. There are two surviving exemplars of Vespucci's map. The Harvard exemplar of the map is in the Houghton Library. p 51-2573, and a zoomable image of it is available at <<http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:FHCL:595281?buttons=y>>. The Wolfenbüttel exemplar in the Herzog August Bibliothek. 15 Astron. 2°. For discussion see Shirley, Rodney W. *The Mapping of the World...*: 58-59; Ferro, Gaetano; Faldini, Luisa; Milanesi, Marica. *Columbian Iconography*. Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 1992: 145-148; and Heitzmann, Christian. "Wem gehören die Molukken? Eine unbekannte Weltkarte aus der Frühzeit der Entdeckungen". *Zeitschrift für Ideengeschichte*, 1/2 (2007): 101-110.

26. Focard, Jacques. *Paraphrase de l'astrolabe*. Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1546: f. [188]v. The book is available in electronic format at <<http://www.archive.org>>.

27. Tooley, Ronald Vere. "Maps in Italian Atlases of the Sixteenth Century, Being a Comparative List of the Italian Maps Issued by Lafreri, Forlani, Duchetti, Bertelli and Others, Found in Atlases". *Imago Mundi*, 3 (1939): 12-47, esp. 17 (No. 23); Gallo, Rudolfo. "Antonio Florian and his Mappemonde". *Imago Mundi*, 6 (1949): 35-38; Shirley, Rodney W. *The Mapping of the World...*: 112-113 (No. 99). A high-resolution image of the map is available via the website of the Library of Congress at <<https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3200m.gct00410/?sp=3>>.

28. Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo. João de Lisboa. *Livro de Marinharia*: col. cart. 166 (map 20). The map is illustrated in color in de Albuquerque, Martim. *A Torre do Tombo e os seus tesouros*. Lisbon: Edições Inapa, 1990: 196.

29. Velho's map is in Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ge D-7824 (Res). An image of it may be found in <<http://gallica.bnf.fr>> most easily by searching for the title that the BnF assigned to the map, "Mappemonde en 24 fuseaux développés sur le pôle nord." For discussion see Cortesão, Armando; Teixeira da Mota, Avelino. *Portugaliae monumenta cartographica*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1987: II, 89-92 ("The Cartographer Bartolomeu Velho and his Work"); 93-94 ("Anonymous – Bartolomeu Velho, Chart in Gores of c. 1560") with plate 200.

30. On Amman's map see Shirley, Rodney W. *The Mapping of the World...*: 129 and plate 98; and Wolff, Hans America: *Early Maps of the New World*. Munich: Prestel, 1992: 78.

31. Mercator's 1569 map has been reproduced in facsimile as *Gerard Mercator's Map of the World (1569) in the Form of an Atlas in the Maritiem Museum 'Prins Hendrik' at Rotterdam*. Rotterdam: Maritiem Museum, 1961; and as *Atlas van der Wereld: De wereldkaart va Gerard Mercator uit 1569*. Zutphen: Walberg Pers, 2011. For a good short discussion of the map see Karrow, Robert W. *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century and Their Maps*. Chicago: Speculum Orbis Press, 1993: 389-390; and Shirley, Rodney W. *The Mapping of the World...*: 137-142.

del Mappamondo in Siena's Palazzo Pubblico.³² But it is most likely that Monte got the idea of a rotatable map from thinking about globes. Indeed, in the 1574 edition of Ptolemy's *Geography*, a work Monte used in making his map, there is a passage about rotating a large globe and the problems involved in consulting a large world map that may well have inspired Monte in this regard:

*Et se si veggono communemente Mappamondi di grandezza di due, o tre, o ancor quattro braccia per lungo o per largo... Percio che qual persona di tutta poltroneria, non che di studii, sarà quella così vezzosa de' suoi occhi, è delle sue mani, che tenga per incomodità sì grande il girar leggermente l'occhio, è la balla facilissimamente con la mano per vederla tutta, se ben ella fosse tanto grande, che diece huomini non l'abbracciassero? Il che quando fosse, conuerrebbe che per haverla in piano si facesse un'Mappamondo così lungo, che per volerlo veder parimente tutto, conuenisse muouere non solamente l'occhio, ma i piedi, le gambe, & tutta la persona intera.*³³

Another distinctive feature of Monte's map that is connected with its northern polar projection, and perhaps to some extent with its rotatability, is its southern continent. Many earlier sixteenth-century maps show a large southern continent that was a hypothetical construct, not based on any "pre-discovery" of Antarctica or Australia.³⁴ The configuration of Monte's continent is unusual: rather than being a continental landmass occupying the South Pole and the surrounding region, it is a ring of eight islands around the South Pole (see illustration 1). Similar rings of land or islands appear on earlier maps and globes, for example Johann Schöner's terrestrial globe of 1515, an anonymous world map of about 1530 added to a fifteenth-century manuscript of Ptolemy's *Geography*, and a world map in two hemispheres printed by Michele

32. Lorenzetti's rotating *mappamundi* is mentioned as a predecessor to Monte's in the Bonhams' catalog: *Fine Books, Maps & Manuscripts*. New York: Bonhams, 2012: 42-45 (lot 2081). On Lorenzetti's map see Kupfer, Marcia. "The Lost Wheel Map of Ambrogio Lorenzetti". *Art Bulletin*, 78/2 (1996): 286-310; and De Wesselow, Thomas. "Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Mappamondo: A Fourteenth-Century Picture of the World Painted on Cloth", *The Fabric of Images: European Paintings on Textile Supports in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, Caroline Villers, ed. London: Archetype, 2000: 55-65; and De Wesselow, Thomas. "The Decoration of the West Wall of the Sala del Mappamondo in Siena's Palazzo Pubblico", *Art, Politics, and Civic Religion in Central Italy, 1261-1352: Essays by Postgraduate Students at the Courtauld Institute of Art*, Joanna Cannon, Beth Williamson, eds. Aldershot, Brookfield; Ashgate, 2000: 19-68.

33. "And though one commonly sees world maps that are two, or three, or even four arms long or wide [4 braccia is 2.38 m or 7.8 feet]... Therefore which very lazy person (not a studious one) would be so dainty with regard to his eyes, and to his hands, that he would consider it a great inconvenience to lightly turn his eye, and to turn the globe very easily with the hand, in order to see it all, even if it was so big that ten men could not encircle it with their arms? Even if he were [so dainty], he would agree that in order to have it flat he would make a world map so long that if he wanted to see the whole thing, he would have to move not only his eye, but also his feet, his legs, and his whole body". Ptolemy, Claudius, *La geografia di Claudio Tolomeo Alessandrino*, ed. Girolamo Ruscelli. Venice: Appresso Giordano Ziletti, 1574: 58, in Ruscelli's commentary on Ptolemy's Book 1, chapter 20.

34. Richardson, William A. R. "Mercator's Southern Continent: Its Origins, Influence and Gradual Demise". *Terrae Incognitae*, 25 (1993): 67-98; Hiatt, Alfred. *Terra incognita: Mapping the Antipodes before 1600*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008; Van Duzer, Chet. "The Southern Continent on Norman Maps", *The World for a King: Pierre Desceliers' Map of 1550*. London: British Library, 2015: 59-72.



Tramezzino in Venice in 1554.³⁵ Monte's ring of eight islands is different from what appears on other maps, and his north polar projection results in extreme exaggerations in the size of these islands that ring the South Pole, that is, near the outer edge of the map. Given the great visual emphasis that these choices place on these southern islands, we might expect that Monte would devote considerable space to them in the geographical treatise he wrote to accompany the map, but such is not the case.

Instead of a discourse on the evidence for the existence of these islands, on their imagined inhabitants, the climate there, and the resources—and on the map there are many depictions of people and animals in the islands—there are just a few brief passages in his geographical treatise where Monte offers vague descriptions of the inhabitants of some of these southern islands as being barbarous idolaters.³⁶ And there are just two brief passages in which he offers any reason for believing that the islands existed. In his commentary on sheet 36, which shows part of the Terra de Lachac (one of the islands that forms the ring around the South Pole), Monte says *il qual paese e stato scoperto l'anno 1565, da Michele Lopes, essendosi partito dal porto della Nattività nella Nova spagna*.³⁷ Monte is borrowing here from Giovanni Lorenzo d'Anania's *L'universale fabrica del mondo*,³⁸ so d'Anania's error about Legazpi encountering the Terra de Lachac caused Monte's. And in Monte's commentary on sheet 37, he says that *La parte occidentale di Terra Galleca, scoperta circa vinti anni sono da Fernando Gallego, essendosi partito dal Perù*.³⁹ Gallego was the pilot of the first Pacific expedition (1567-69) of the Spanish explorer Alvaro de Mendaña de Neira; Monte is again borrowing from d'Anania.⁴⁰

35. Van Duzer, Chet. "The Cartography, Geography, and Hydrography of the Southern Ring Continent, 1515-1763". *Orbis Terrarum*, 8 (2002): 115-158; Van Duzer, Chet. "Cartographic Invention: The Southern Continent on Vatican MS. Urb. Lat. 274, Folios 73v-74r (c.1530)". *Imago Mundi*, 59/2 (2007): 193-222. High-resolution images of the Tramezzino map are available via the website of the John Carter Brown Library, <<https://jcb.lunaimaging.com/>>.

36. In the 1590 manuscript in Venegono see for example: Biblioteca del Seminario arcivescovile di Venegono. FV.B - VII - 56, f. 204r, in the commentary on sheet 30, and f. 218r, in the commentary on sheet 35. There are also some remarks about the inhabitants of the southern islands on the map itself in both the Stanford and the Venegono manuscripts.

37. "part of this land was discovered by Miguel Lopez de Legazpi in 1565 on a voyage that departed from the port of Barra de Navidad in New Spain". In the 1590 manuscript in Venegono this passage is on: Biblioteca del Seminario arcivescovile di Venegono. FV.B - VII - 56, f. 221r. On Legazpi's voyage see: Rubio Mañé, J. Ignacio. "La expedición de Miguel López de Legazpi a Filipinas". *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación*, 5/3-4 (1964): 427-798; and Valdepenas, Edna-Anne. *Miguel Lopez de Legazpi: Writings and the Colonization of the Philippines*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan (PhD Dissertation), 1996.

38. d'Anania, Giovanni Lorenzo. *L'universale fabrica del mondo*. Venice: Presso il Muschio: ad istanza di A. San Vito di Napoli, 1582: 272. Incidentally this information does not appear in the 1576 edition of d'Anania's work (if it did, it would be on page 231), so we know that Monte was using the 1582 edition of the book. On d'Anania, see: De Caro, Gaspare. "Anania, Giovanni Lorenzo d'", *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Alberto M. Ghisalberti, ed. Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1960-1997: III, 19-20.

39. "The western part of Terra Galleca (the island south of North America) was discovered about twenty years previously by Hernán Gallego on a voyage from Peru". In the 1590 manuscript in Venegono this passage is on: Biblioteca del Seminario arcivescovile di Venegono. FV.B - VII - 56, f. 224r.

40. There is also a brief text on the map that mentions the discovery of parts of the islands on sheet 27: *Terra de vista discoperta da Portughesi per fortuna ma non si fermorno* ("Terra de Vista discovered by the

There is a very revealing passage in Monte's commentary on sheet 32.⁴¹ He is talking about Nova Guinea, which is one of his eight circumpolar islands, and his phrasing makes it clear that he was using d'Anania as a source.⁴² D'Anania says that *fu ritrovato questo paese, che gli è lungo di costa piu di due mille miglia, da Viglia Lopes Spagnuolo; essendo mandato l'anno quarantacinque dalla nuova Spagna à scoprire le Malucche*, but Monte does not include this information in his text about the island.⁴³ This omission reveals that Monte had little interest in establishing a sound basis for believing that this ring of southern islands existed. As visually prominent as these southern islands are on the map, his interest lay elsewhere. Indeed, of the thirty-six triangularly-framed descriptive texts around the edge of the map—which are located very close to the southern islands—not one describes those islands; they instead describe lands and peoples closer to the center of the map.

3. A Cartouche and Monte's Iconographical Sources

As proud as he was of his map, and as keen as he was to make it visually impressive, Monte's artistic skills were rudimentary, and he was aware of this. In his commentary on sheet 29, he writes:

*... dove non lascio di dire, che vi siano anche alcuni mostri marini di giovenile età, detti Tritoni e sirene de quali meglio ne pareria, se la mano del scrittore havesse nel disegno in qualche minima parte fatto professione.*⁴⁴

It was perhaps for this reason that of the many cartouches on the map that contain descriptive text, only one has an artistically elaborate border, and that is the one on sheet 42, which contains Monte's brief address to the viewer of the map (see illustration 5).⁴⁵ Cartographers often copied the designs of elaborate cartouches from

Portuguese by chance, but they did not land there"). d'Anania, Giovanni Lorenzo. *L'universale fabrica del mondo...*: 272.

41. In the 1590 manuscript in Venegono this passage is on: Biblioteca del Seminario arcivescovile di Venegono. FV.B - VII - 56, f. 209r.

42. Monte writes: *... nova Guinea che alcuni dimandano il paese del Papue...* ("... la nuova Ghinea, ch'altri dimandano il paese del Papue..."), and d'Anania, Giovanni Lorenzo. *L'universale fabrica del mondo...*: 272.

43. "the island was discovered by Ruy López de Villalobos who was sent from New Spain in 1545 to discover the Moluccas". d'Anania, Giovanni Lorenzo. *L'universale fabrica del mondo...*: 272. On Villalobos's expedition see: De la Costa, Horacio. "The Villalobos Expedition 1542-1546". *Bulletin of the Philippine Historical Association*, 5 (1958): 1-11; and Varela, Consuelo. *El viaje de don Ruy López de Villalobos a las Islas del Poniente, 1542-1548*. Milan: Cisalpino-Goliardica, 1983.

44. "... where I will not omit to mention that there are also some young sea monsters, called Tritons and sirens, which would look better if the hand of the writer had, at even a minimal level, made drawing its profession". Biblioteca del Seminario arcivescovile di Venegono. FV.B - VII - 56, f. 200r. He makes a similar remark about his artistic ability in his commentary on sheet 19, on f. 162r of the Venegono manuscript.

45. On decorative cartouches on maps see Kish, George. "Cartouches: Notes on Decorative Maps". *LSA, The University of Michigan*, 4/3 (1981): 3-10; and Bosters, Cassandra; Hejbroek, Jan Frederik. *Kunst in*



pattern books or else from other maps, and it has proven possible to find the model that Monte used for this cartouche. He copied the design from the cartouche on an anonymous map of Scandinavia titled *Septentrionalium regionum Suetiae Gothiae Norvegiae Daniae et terrarum adiacentium recens exactaq. descriptio*, printed by Michele Tramezzino in 1558 (see illustration 6).⁴⁶ This map was one that appeared in atlases that in earlier literature were referred to as “Lafreri atlases” (after Antonio Lafreri, a publisher thought to be important in their production) and “Italian-Assembled-to-Order” atlases.⁴⁷ It is not at all surprising that a cartographer working in Italy in the late sixteenth century would make use of maps from an Italian composite atlas, but Monte’s use of one map from this cartographic milieu renders it more likely that he would have had access to others. In particular, Antonio Floriano’s world map on a north polar projection—which appears in Italian composite atlases—becomes a particularly likely influence in Monte’s choice of that projection; and Tramezzino’s world map in two hemispheres—also present in some of those atlases—becomes a very likely source of Monte’s ring of islands around the South Pole.⁴⁸

Another of Monte’s important iconographical sources⁴⁹ was a large printed world map by Giacomo Gastaldi titled *Cosmographia Universalis et Exactissima iuxta postremam neotericorum traditio[n]em* and printed c. 1561, which survives in just one exemplar in the British Library.⁵⁰ From this map Monte borrowed the image of Philipp II on a floating island in the Atlantic receiving obeisance from Atabalipa, the King of Peru (sheet 24); two images of a terrifying old man of the sea rising out of the waves which Gastaldi locates southeast of southern Africa, and Monte places off the western coast of South America (sheet 23) and in the southern ocean (sheet 38); a large sea monster with an imposing dorsal fin not far from Madagascar (sheet 29); and a man hitting a dragon with a club in the southern continent (sheet 34). Monte also borrowed

kaart: decoratieve aspecten van de cartografie. Utrecht: H & S, HES uitgevers, 1989.

46. On Tramezzino’s map of Scandinavia see Tooley, Ronald Vere. “Maps in Italian Atlases...”: 19 (No. 40); and Ginsberg, William B. *Printed Maps of Scandinavia and the Arctic, 1482-1601*. New York: Septentrionalium Press, 2006: 70-73. Monte copied other elements from this same map: a whirlpool off the coast of Norway on sheet 1, a sea creature called the xiphias on sheet 20, and a flying turtle on his sheet 42. A high-resolution image of the map is available at <<https://www.loc.gov/item/2006629142/>>.

47. The literature on these atlases is substantial; see for example Woodward, David. “Italian Composite Atlases of the Sixteenth Century”, *Images of the World: The Atlas through History*, John A. Wolter, Ronald E. Grim, eds. Washington DC: Library of Congress, 1997: 51-70; and Woodward, David. “The Italian Map Trade, 1480-1650”, *The History of Cartography*, David Woodward, ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007: III/1, 773-803 with an appendix pages 799-803 that lists all known Italian composite atlases.

48. On the presence of Floriano’s and Tramezzino’s maps in Italian composite atlases see Tooley, Ronald Vere. “Maps in Italian Atlases...”: 17 (No. 23), and 17 (No. 18), respectively.

49. Monte lists some of his cartographic and textual sources on sheet 25 of his map, and that list includes Gastaldi; the list on this sheet in his 1590 manuscript is transcribed by d’Ascenzo, Annalisa. *Cultura geografica...: 29*; also see her d’Ascenzo, Annalisa. “L’ampliamento dell’orizzonte geografico...”: 120; she discusses Monte’s use of his sources in d’Ascenzo, Annalisa. *Cultura geografica...: 119-151*.

50. The shelfmark of Gastaldi’s map in the British Library is British Library. Maps C.18.n.1; there is also a photocopy of the map in the Newberry Library in Chicago, with the shelfmark map4F G3200 1561. G3 1979 (PrCt). The map is well illustrated in Schilder, Günter. *Monumenta cartographica Neerlandica...: II*, 36-37; and is discussed in Shirley, Rodney W. *The Mapping of the World...: 122-125*. Also see Almagià, Roberto. “Intorno ad un grande mappamondo perduto di Giacomo Gastaldi (1561)”. *La Bibliofilia*, 41 (1939): 259-266, written before the map’s discovery.



various texts from Gastaldi's map; for example, on Monte's sheet 27 there is a brief text about the alleged discovery of one his southern islands, *Terra de vista discoperta da Portughesi per fortuna ma non si fermorno*, and it is borrowed almost verbatim from Gastaldi; on both maps this text is directly south of Africa.

4. Some of Monte's Textual Sources

Monte created his map by bringing together information from a variety of sources, going through contemporary geographical texts and maps to find the sentences and texts that he felt would help him create a rich and detailed image of the world.⁵¹ This process can be seen in the thirty-six triangular text blocks that Monte placed around the circular outer edge of the map proper. These texts describe peoples and places in the more central and densely inhabited parts of the map, and are located as far as possible beneath (i.e. south of) the region to which they apply.

In his *Geography* Ptolemy, Claudius placed the Prime Meridian through the Canary Islands just west of Africa and included in his world map 180° of longitude east of that line. Monte uses the same Prime Meridian in his map, and for the regions in the 180 degrees east of that line, he uses an edition of Ptolemy's *Geography* as the source of his descriptive texts—that is, he uses the an edition of the *Geography* for the eighteen descriptive texts at the edge of the map in its eastern hemisphere. Given that Ptolemy addressed the 180 degrees east of his Prime Meridian in his *Geography*, there is a logic in Monte's choice to use an edition of the *Geography* for his descriptive texts in that part of the map. At the same time, Monte was aware that Ptolemy's information was out of date, and rather than taking his descriptions from Ptolemy's text, he took them from modern supplementary texts that appear in Girolamo Ruscelli's translation and edition of the *Geography*, first published in 1561.⁵² This edition contains the twenty-seven traditional Ptolemaic maps and thirty-seven modern maps; each of the maps, both ancient and modern, is accompanied by Ruscelli's supplementary descriptive text—and it is from these modern descriptive texts that Monte draws, sometimes bringing together sentences from different parts of one of the texts, and occasionally adding sentences of his own.

For example, Monte's text on his India, which text appears on sheet 50, runs as follows:

51. Martin Waldseemüller went about creating his *Carta marina* of 1516 in the same way: see Van Duzer, Chet. "The Carta Marina, 1516", *Seeing the World Anew: The Radical Vision of Martin Waldseemüller's 1507 & 1516 World Maps*, John Hessler, Chet Van Duzer. Delray Beach – Washington DC: Levenger – Library of Congress, 2012: 49-68; and now Van Duzer, Chet. *Martin Waldseemüller's Carta marina of 1516: Study and Transcription of the Long Legends*. New York: Springer, 2019.

52. Ptolemy, , Claudius. *La Geografia di Claudio Tolomeo Alessandrino, Nuouamente tradotta di Greco in Italiano*, trans. Girolamo Ruscelli. Venice: Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1561. For discussion of this edition see Lee Phillips, Philip. *A List of Geographical Atlases in the Library of Congress, with Bibliographical Notes*. Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1909-1992: I, 126-128; and Sanz, Carlos. *La Geographia de Ptolomeo, ampliada con los primeros mapas impresos de América, desde 1507*. Madrid: Librería General V. Suárez, 1959: 206-219.



Della India

L'India è paese tanto grande che si dice esser ella sola la quarta parte de tutto il mondo, è chiamata India da l'Indo fiume grandissimo che la bagna, ma però piu grande vogliono alcuni che sia in qualchi loci Il fiume Gange per li molti fiumi ch'entrano in esso et dicono alcuni che è quel fiume che nel Genesi è detto fison che scende dal paradiso Terestre. Questo fiume Gange divide l'India in due parte, et dicesi una parte dentro o di quà, e l'altra fuori o di là dal Gange. È l'India quasi tutta paese fertilissimo et copioso de spetiarie d'ogni sorte, d'oro, argento ferro, et altri metalli, et di geme pretiosissime, raccolgono il grano due volte l'anno, et è il paese per tutto ripieno d'Elefanti et di serpenti con le scaglie di color d'oro.⁵³

Ruscelli's *Annotazione* following Ptolemy's eleventh map of Asia contains a passage that is almost identical, and it is abundantly clear that Ruscelli was Monte's source here:

L'INDIA è poese [sic] tanto grande, che si dice esser'ella sola terza parte di tutto il mondo. È chiamata India dall'Indo fiume grandissimo, che la bagna. Ma però piu grande in alcuni luoghi vogliono che sia il fiume Gange, per li molti fiumi, che entrano in esso, & dicono esser questo quel fiume, che nel Genesi è detto Fison, che scende dal Paradiso terrestre. Questo fiume Gange divide tutta l'India in due parte, onde la distinguere parimente in due nomi, dicendosi l'una India dentro, & di quà, l'altra fuori, o di là dal Gange. È l'India quasi tutta, paese fertilissimo, & copioso di spetierie d'ogni sorte, d'oro argento, ferro &c. & di gemme pretiosissime. Ricogliono il grano dui volte l'anno, & è il paese ripieno per tutto d'Elefanti, & di serpenti con le scaglie di color d'oro.⁵⁴

For the texts at the outer edge of the map in the western hemisphere Monte switched to a different source, an ethnographic compendium written by Johannes Boemus that was first published in 1520 with the title *Omnium gentium mores, leges et ritus*.⁵⁵ Monte was using an Italian edition that included Girolamo Giglio's description of the New World, and the earliest such edition was *Gli costumi, le*

53. "Of India India is such a large country that it alone is said to be a quarter of the world. It is called India from the very large river Indus, which runs through it, but in some passages they would have it that the River Ganges is larger because of the many rivers that enter into it, and some say that it is that river that in Genesis is called the Phison, which descends from the Terrestrial Paradise. This Ganges River divides India into two parts, and they say that one part is within or on this side of it, and the other is outside or beyond the Ganges. Almost all of the country of India is very fertile and copious of spices of every kind, of gold, iron, silver, and other metals, and of very precious gems. They harvest wheat twice a year, and the country is totally full of elephants and of snakes with scales the color of gold". Stanford University. G1015. M6 1587 F, f. 257 (Sheet 50).

54. "India is such a large country that it alone is said to be a third of the world. It is called India from the very large river Indus, which runs through it, but in some passages they would have it that the River Ganges is larger because of the many rivers that enter into it, and some say that it is that river that in Genesis is called the Phison, which descends from the Terrestrial Paradise. This Ganges River divides all of India into two parts, whence they distinguish it equally with two names, saying that one part is within or on this side of it, and the other is outside or beyond the Ganges. Almost all of the country of India is very fertile and copious of spices of every kind, of gold, silver, iron, etc., and of very precious gems. They harvest wheat twice a year, and the country is totally full of elephants and of snakes with scales the color of gold". Ptolemy, Claudius. *La Geografia di Claudio Tolomeo Alessandrino...*: without page number (*Annotazione*).

55. On Boemus's book see Schmidt, Erich. *Deutsche Volkskunde im Zeitalter des Humanismus und der Reformation*. Berlin: E. Ebering, 1904: 60-107; Lach, Donald F. *Asia in the Making of Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994: II/2, 336-337; and Raiswell, Richard. "Medieval Geography in the Age of Exploration: 'The Fardle of Facions' in Its English Context", *Renaissance Medievalisms*, Konrad Eisenbichler, ed. Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2009: 249-285.



leggi, et l'usanze di tutte le genti: raccolte qui insieme da molti illustri scrittori (Venice: P. G. Giglio, e compagni, 1558). Boemus's book was the source of all of the edge-of-the-map descriptive texts in the western hemisphere except for four, namely those about Japan (on sheet 53), Xalisco (sheet 54), Mexico (sheet 54), and the Gulf of California (sheet 55). Monte had a particular interest in Japan—he wrote an account of a visit of Japanese ambassadors to Europe in 1584-86, and also published a separate map of Japan⁵⁶ and the text at the edge of his map is condensed from the long text at the bottom of his printed map of Japan.⁵⁷ Monte's text about Xalisco comes from Francisco López de Gómara's *Historia delle nuove Indie Occidentali*, trans. Agostino di Cravaliz (Venice: Camillo Franceschini, 1576), ff. 289r-289v.⁵⁸ His texts about Mexico and the Gulf of California come from another work by López de Gómara, his *Historia di don Ferdinando Cortes*, trans. Agostino di Craualiz (Venice: Camillo Franceschini, 1576), ff. 110r-110v and 287v-288r respectively.

In a number of cases Monte could have chosen his descriptive text from a few of the works he was consulting. For example, there is information about the island of Hispaniola in Boemus, Ruscelli, and López de Gómara.⁵⁹ He chose Boemus as his source, and when he had such a choice he consistently selected Boemus as the source for the edge-of-the-map texts in the western hemisphere of his map.

Examining Monte's use of his iconographical and textual sources is revealing in terms of his methods for making his map: the map is a compilation, the product of library research rather than of interviews with explorers. The cartographer searched contemporary maps and geographical texts and borrowed from them the images and sentences that would help him create a new image of the world in a distinctive format that emphasized the features and details that he felt were most important.

56. On the Japanese embassy see Lach, Donald F. "A Japanese Mission in Europe, 1584-86", *Asia in the Making of Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965-1993: I/2, 688-706; Monte's account is supplied in modernized Italian in Monte, Urbano. "Compendio storico delle cose più notabili di Milano", *Anno 1585: Milano incontra il Giappone: testimonianze della prima missione giapponese in Italia*. Milan: Diapress, 1990: 237-253; on Monte's map of Japan see: Guglielmetti, Tiziana. "Il Giappone nella carta di Urbano Monte del 1589", *Incontri tra Occidente e Oriente. Saggi*. Venice: Università di Venezia, 1979: IV, 33-43; and Hubbard, Jason C. *Japoniae insulae: The Mapping of Japan: Historical Introduction and Cartobibliography of European Printed Maps of Japan before 1800*. Houten, Netherlands: HES & De Graaf Publishers, 2012: 137-138.

57. The text at the bottom of Monte's printed map of Japan is transcribed by d'Ascenzo, Annalisa. *Cultura geografica...*: 158-161.

58. On López de Gómara's works see: Wagner, Henry R. "Francisco López de Gómara and his Works". *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, 58/2 (1948): 263-282; Valcárcel Martínez, Simón. "Una aproximación a Francisco López de Gómara". *Caravelle: Cahiers du Monde Hispanique et Luso-Bresilien*, 53 (1989): 7-23.

59. The texts about Hispaniola appear in Boemus 1558, f. 191r; in Rucelli's edition of Ptolemy following the map titled *Ysla Espaniola Nueva*; and in López de Gómara's *Historia delle nuove Indie Occidentali* (1576), on f. 33.



5. Audience

It has been claimed that “Monte had envisioned his opus as gracing the walls of a Ducal Palace in Milan,”⁶⁰ and indeed the large size of the assembled map seems to suggest that it was intended for a large wall, and thus a noble household. Another author has suggested that the map was made for Philip II of Spain, based on Monte’s representation of Philip II on his throne in the Atlantic.⁶¹ However, neither Milanese nobility nor Philip II was Monte’s intended audience. One piece of evidence that Monte did not intend his map for a noble audience may be found in the central part of the map near the Prime Meridian where Monte places his address to the viewer of the map. On a manuscript map of this era cartographers would often paint the coat of arms of the person commissioning the map, and on a printed map would either have the symbol of their patron, or else would leave an area blank where the purchaser could have his symbol painted. Monte does no such thing: on sheet 25 he paints the Monte family coat of arms, with his own name in banners on either side of the blazon, and he affixed his own portrait below the cartouche on the adjacent sheet 42 that contains his address to the viewer (see illustration 7).⁶² A noble would not be interested in a map that bore the coat of arms of another noble, and Monte certainly knew this.

Moreover, the title of Monte’s geographical treatise clearly indicates that his intended audience was students. The treatise was removed from the 1587 manuscript at Stanford, and as a result there is no title page, but in long title of the 1590 manuscript in Venegono, Monte explains that he included the treatise with the map *per maggior intelligenza, et satisfatione de’studenti* (“for the better understanding and satisfaction of students”). He includes the same phrase in the long title of his manuscript at the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, which also bears a date of 1590, but contains material as late as 1604, and numerous revisions, including on the title page —so if Monte had wanted to change this part of the title in the years after 1590, he would have.⁶³

The scholarly nature of Monte’s work is also emphasized in some of the poems that Monte’s colleagues wrote for the treatise.⁶⁴ Bernadino Baldini, a physician and mathematician whose publications included both poetry and a treatise on

60. See the description of the 1587 manuscript later purchased by David Rumsey in *Fine Books, Maps & Manuscripts*. New York: Bonhams, 2012: 42-45 (lot 2081); also see the same suggestion in an article written by the author of the description in the Bonhams catalog, John J. S. Goss, “An Unusual Manuscript Wall Map by Urbano Monti 1544-1613”. *The Map Collector*, 15 (1981): 18-22, at 20.

61. In the Christie’s catalog, for their sale in London, Wednesday 20 May 1998 at 11:30 am: *Cartography*. London: Christie’s, 1998: 22-29, esp. 28-29.

62. For discussion of other maps that include portraits of their cartographers see Welu, James A. “Cartographic Self-Portraits”, *Imago et mensura mundi: atti del IX Congresso internazionale di storia della cartografia*, Carla Clivio Marzoli, Giacomo Corna Pellegrini, Gaetano Ferro, eds. Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1985: II, 525-539.

63. The shelfmark of the manuscript in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana is A 260 inf.; its title is transcribed in Almagaia, Roberto. “Un prezioso cimelio...”: 157.

64. For discussion of the introductory sonnets see: d’Ascenzo, Annalisa. *Cultura geografica...: 57-60*.



navigation,⁶⁵ writes: *Qui Ptolemaeas sectatur, et expetit artes, / Hoc omni studio nobile verset opus* ("He who eagerly follows and desires the Ptolemaic arts should peruse this noble work with great attention").⁶⁶ And Bernadino Usper⁶⁷ titled his poem *In Rudimenta Geografica urbani Montii, Dialogus Bernardini usper, ad Lectores* ("A dialogue on the Elements of Geography of Urbano Monte by Bernardino Usper, for the readers"). The title that Usper ascribes to Monte's work, *Elements of Geography*, clearly indicates that he understood that the work had an educational function.

6. Conclusions

Monte's map brims with personality and is wonderfully engaging, but his project came to a sad end. He was unable to stop revising the work, and as a result, left the plates of the printed version of his map in a bizarre, half-revised state that was unpublishable. But he never stopped believing in the importance of his project, or indeed in his own importance. As mentioned above, Monte included his own coat of arms and a portrait of himself in that 1587 and 1590 manuscripts of his map, an unusual choice in an era when the patron's symbols were those usually added to maps. In his printed map in the Ambrosiana he also includes a portrait of himself, but in this case he places himself between images of the explorer Alvise Cadamosto and Homer, and his portrait is much larger and more elaborately framed than theirs (see illustration 8). It is difficult to know whether this excess of ego might be connected in some way with the difficulties his map project encountered in its later years.⁶⁸

65. On Baldini see: Zambelli, Paola. "Baldini, Bernardino", *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Alberto M. Ghisalberti, ed. Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1960-1997: V, 481-482. His poetic works include his Baldini, Bernardino. *Carmina*. Milan: Paulum Gottardum Pontium, 1574, and his Baldini, Bernardino. *Liber de stellis, iisque, qui in stellis, et in numina conversi dicuntur homines*. Venice: Ex Officina Dominici Guerraei, & Io. Baptistae, fratrum, 1579. His treatise on navigation is Baldini, Bernardino. *Regola certissima di mesurare giustamente ogni spacio fatto dalli naviganti in mare*. Milan: dalla stampa dei Moscheni, 1556.

66. Baldini's poem is in the prefatory folios of the Venegono manuscript, and f. IIIv in the Ambrosiana manuscript.

67. Usper's poem is in the prefatory folios of the Venegono manuscript, and f. IVr of the Ambrosiana manuscript. I do not find information about Bernardo Usper, but he would seem to be related to Ludovico Usper, the author of one of the other poems to the reader in Monte's manuscript, and Ludovico owned maps. Specifically he owned globes, world maps, and a copy of Ptolemy's *Geography*; see: Woodward, David. *Maps as Prints...*: 82; and Carlton, Genevieve. *Worldly Consumers: The Demand for Maps in Renaissance Italy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015: 82, 91, and 96.

68. This research was undertaken with generous support from a David Rumsey Research Fellowship.



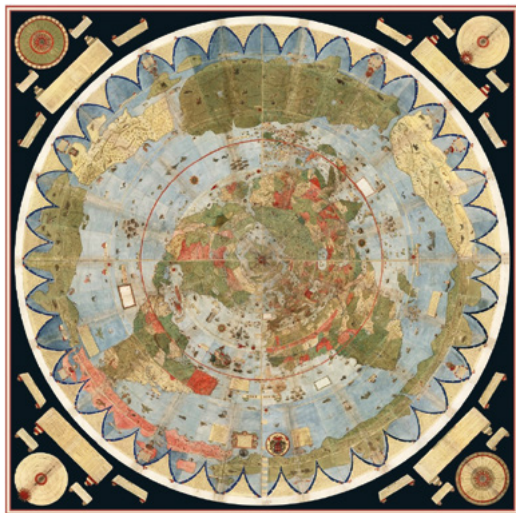


ILLUSTRATION 1. DIGITAL COMPOSITE OF URBANO MONTE'S WORLD MAP FROM THE 1587 STANFORD MANUSCRIPT (DAVID RUMSEY MAP CENTER, G1015. M6 1587 F). COURTESY OF THE DAVID RUMSEY MAP COLLECTION, DAVID RUMSEY MAP CENTER, STANFORD LIBRARIES.

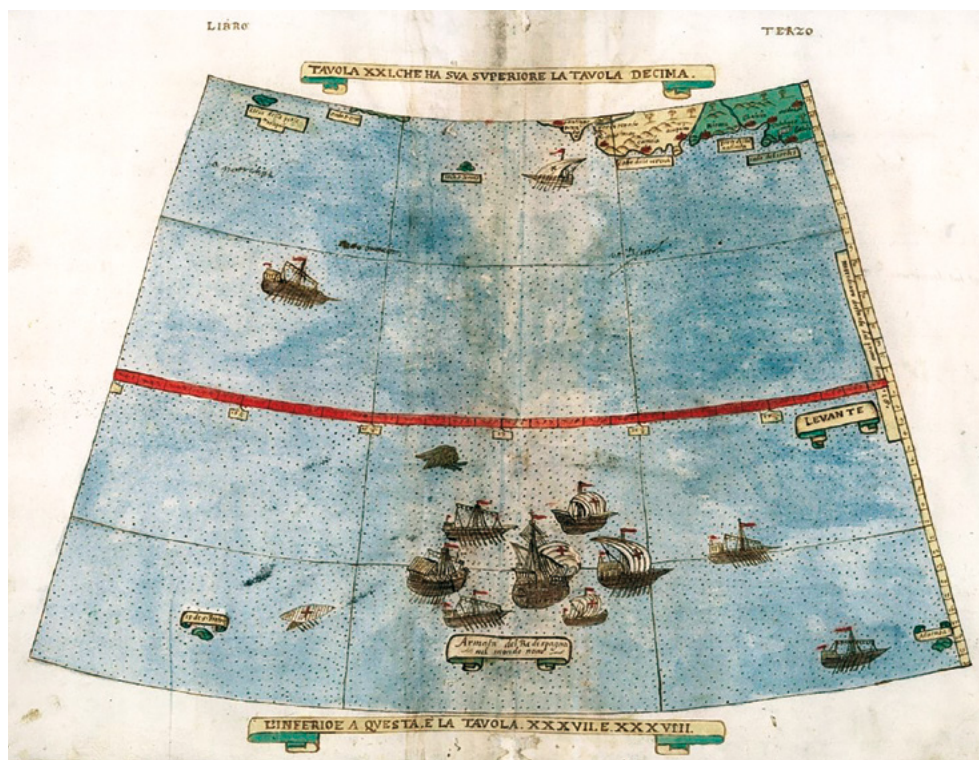


ILLUSTRATION 2. SHEET 21 OF URBANO MONTE'S WORLD MAP FROM THE 1587 STANFORD MANUSCRIPT; NOTE THE SUBSTANTIAL BLANK AREA IN THE SEA IN THE UPPER RIGHT. COURTESY OF THE DAVID RUMSEY MAP COLLECTION, DAVID RUMSEY MAP CENTER, STANFORD LIBRARIES.

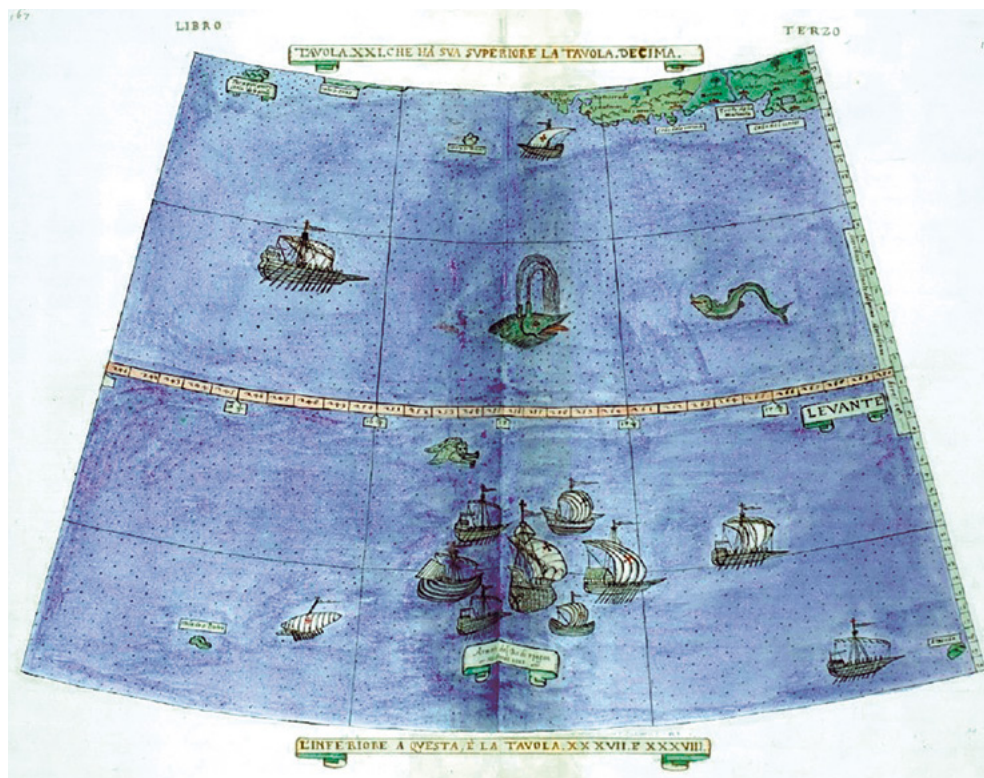


ILLUSTRATION 3. SHEET 21 OF URBANO MONTE'S WORLD MAP FROM THE 1590 VENEGONO MANUSCRIPT (BIBLIOTECA DEL SEMINARIO ARCIVESCOVILE DI VENEGONO, FV.B - VII - 56). MONTE HAS ADDED TWO SEA MONSTERS IN THE UPPER RIGHT TO REDUCE THE EMPTY SPACE ON THE MAP. COURTESY OF THE BIBLIOTECA DEL SEMINARIO ARCIVESCOVILE DI VENEGONO.

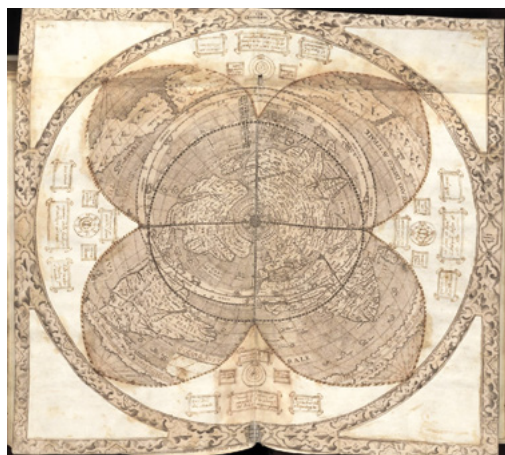


ILLUSTRATION 4. MONTE'S SINGLE-SHEET PRINTED VERSION OF HIS 64-SHEET WORLD MAP IN THE AMBROSIANA MANUSCRIPT OF HIS WORK, WITH LARGE SECTIONS OF THE SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE CUT AWAY AND NUMEROUS MANUSCRIPT ADJUSTMENTS—PARTICULARLY OF MERIDIANS IN THE SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE—IN A HALF-ACCOMPLISHED ATTEMPT TO REVISE THE MAP (MILAN AMBROSIANA A 260 INF. FF. 286v-287r).





ILLUSTRATION 5. DECORATIVE CARTOUCHE WITH MONTE'S ADDRESS TO THE VIEWER OF THE MAP ON SHEET 42 OF THE STANFORD MANUSCRIPT OF MONTE'S MAP. COURTESY OF THE DAVID RUMSEY MAP COLLECTION, DAVID RUMSEY MAP CENTER, STANFORD LIBRARIES.



ILLUSTRATION 6. DETAIL OF A CARTOUCHE ON THE MAP *SEPTENTRIONALIVM REGIONVM SVETIAE GOTHIAE NORVEGIAE DANIAE ET TERRARUM ADIACENTIVM RECENS EXACTAQ. DESCRIPTIO*, PRINTED BY MICHELE TRAMEZZINO IN 1558. IMAGE COURTESY OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

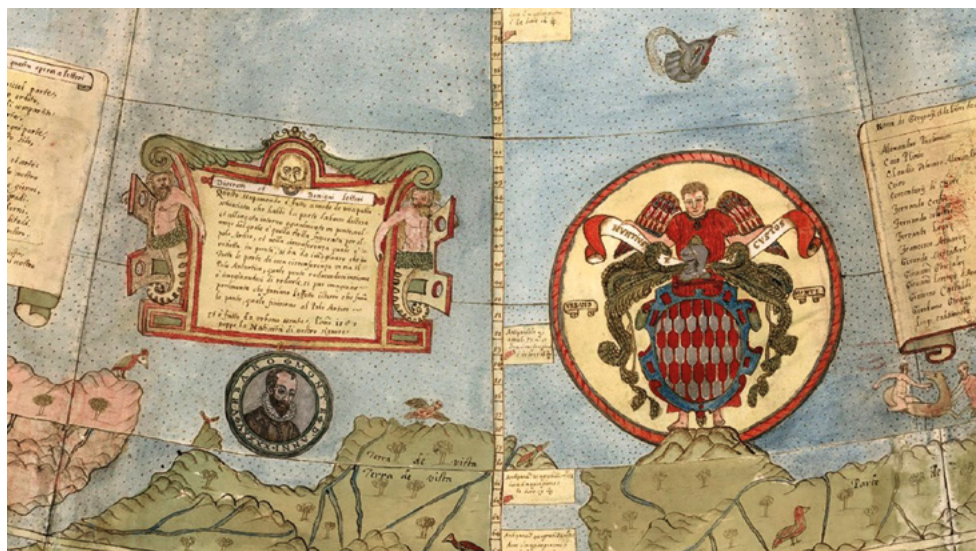


ILLUSTRATION 7. MONTE'S CARTOUCHE, SELF-PORTRAIT, AND COAT OF ARMS FROM SHEETS 42 AND 25 OF THE STANFORD MANUSCRIPT OF MONTE'S MAP. COURTESY OF THE DAVID RUMSEY MAP COLLECTION, DAVID RUMSEY MAP CENTER, STANFORD LIBRARIES.



ILLUSTRATION 8. MONTE'S ELABORATE SELF-PORTRAIT BETWEEN THOSE OF ALVISE CADAMOSTO AND HOMER IN THE AMBROSIANA MANUSCRIPT OF HIS WORK (MILAN, BIBLIOTECA AMBROSIANA MS A 260 INF., FF. 243V-244R, SHEET 45).

