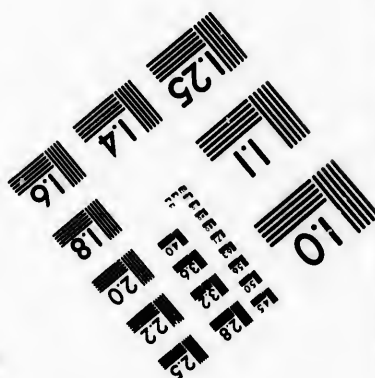
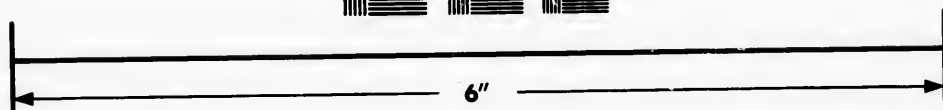
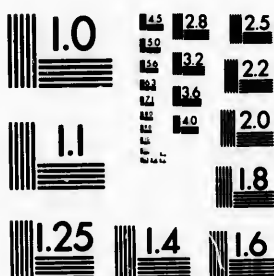


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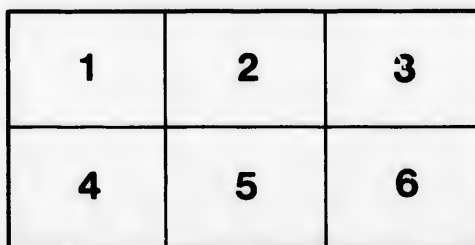
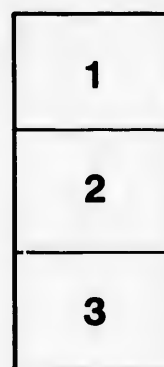
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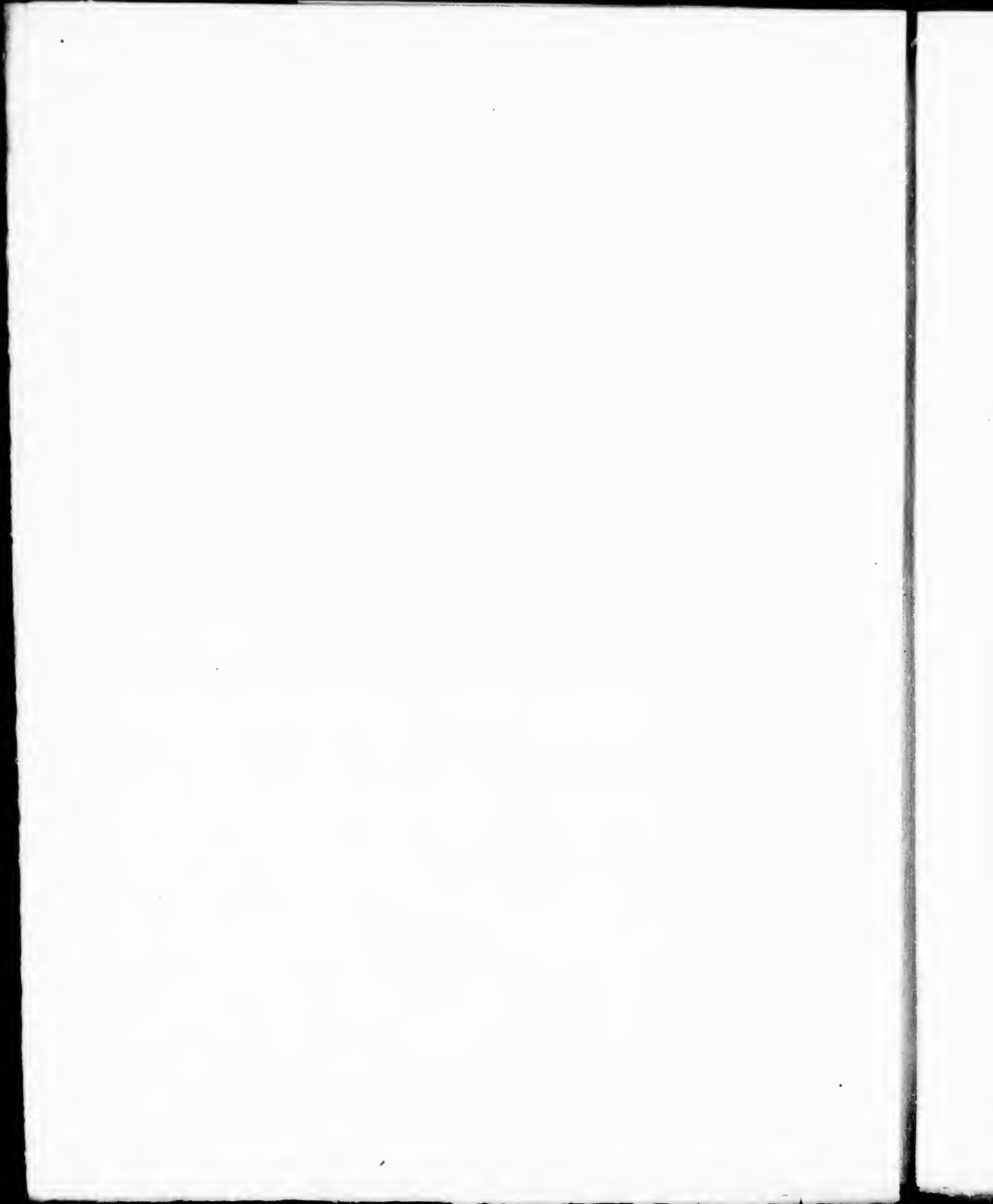
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THE VOYAGES OF THE BROTHERS ZENI





**The Annals of the Voyages of  
the Brothers  
Nicolo and Antonio Zeno  
in the North Atlantic about the end  
of the Fourteenth Century  
and  
the Claim founded thereon to a  
Venetian Discovery of  
America**



**A Criticism and an Indictment**

**By Fred. W. Lucas**

Author of "Appendiculae Historicae" and part  
Editor of "The New Laws of  
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TO  
MY FRIEND  
CHARLES HENRY COOTE  
AT WHOSE SUGGESTION THIS BOOK WAS UNDERTAKEN  
AND WHOSE SYMPATHY HAS ENCOURAGED  
ME TO CARRY MY WORK TO  
A CONCLUSION



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## PREFACE.



THE Zeno story has been the subject of so much discussion and speculation, embodied in the writings of so many authors, that some explanation of the reasons for adding yet another criticism upon it may reasonably be looked for. It is hardly too much to say that no other story of travel ever published has given rise to such an amount of doubt, perplexity, and misunderstanding extending over so long a period. Published anonymously in Venice, in 1558, the story purported to have been compiled from ancient papers belonging to the distinguished Venetian family of Zeno, and to describe the voyages in the North Atlantic of two members of that family, the brothers Nicolò Zeno and Antonio Zeno, at the end of the fourteenth century. From internal evidence, it appears that the compiler was also a member of the same family, and it is now generally admitted that he was one Nicolò Zeno, a man of some mark, who was born in 1515, and died in 1565. Both the narrative and the map of the North Atlantic which purports to illustrate and explain it, were at first accepted as genuine; but doubts as to their truthful character quickly arose; and, from that day to this, discussion and speculation have been rife among the historians of geography as to their proper interpretation.

The following work is the outcome of a friendly difference of opinion discussed between Mr. C. H. Coote, of the British Museum, and myself, some six years ago, as to the oft-debated identity of the Island of "Frisland" of the Zeno story. The result was the discovery of a common ground of agreement between us upon one point:—viz., that



this question, and others arising out of the genesis of the younger Zeno's book and map, had never been satisfactorily answered, and that further investigation and reconsideration of the whole subject, from the point of view of the student of the geographical discoveries and of the cartography of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, was desirable. Mr. Coote then suggested that we should examine the subject afresh and write upon it in collaboration. It soon became apparent, however, that the pressure of exceptionally urgent public duties and other unavoidable circumstances would render it impossible for Mr. Coote to give the time necessary for doing his share of the work. It has therefore fallen to me to collect and arrange the materials for and to write the book; but I have had the inestimable advantage of Mr. Coote's sympathy and of the valuable advice and assistance which his commanding knowledge of cartography has enabled him to give me during the progress of the work.

The late Mr. R. H. Major edited, for the Hakluyt Society, in 1873, a well-known book which, until recently, has been regarded as the greatest authority in the English language upon the subject of the reputed travels of the brothers Zeni. Since that date, several important ancient maps of the Northern Regions (said to have been visited by the Zeni) have come to light:—for example, the long-lost Olaus Magnus *Carta Marina* of 1539, discovered at Munich in 1886, which proves Major's scepticism as to its actual existence, in any form differing from that of the well-known map of 1567, to have been utterly mistaken; and the Zamoiski map of 1467, the appearance of which confirms Admiral Zarhtmann's statement that he had seen a manuscript map evidently, from his description, of a similar character, and renders Major's opinions upon these cartographical questions no longer of value. Many other writers, English, Danish, Swedish, German, French, Italian, and American, have also written since 1873 upon the alleged travels of the Zeni. Most of these writers have taken Major's view, and have contended for the authenticity of the younger Zeno's work of 1558. A notable exception is Professor Gustav Storm, who, in a paper to be referred to later on, has made a most able and most destructive criticism on the Zeno story and map.

There can be no doubt, too, that, if only on account of the immense advantages which photography and its ancillary processes offer for the production of accurate and reliable copies of rare or unique maps, the modern student possesses facilities for the study of comparative carto-

graphy which were beyond the reach of students of twenty or thirty years ago.

Neither presumption on my part, nor disrespect for the opinions of former writers, can be inferred from the fact that the conclusions in this book are sometimes directly at variance with those of Major and others; for, though the old ground has been gone over again, and new tracks found, this has been done by the aid of new lights.

The investigation was entered upon with an open mind, and I have been led to the definite conclusions arrived at as to the fraudulent character of the younger Zeno's work, by the impartial consideration of the evidence afforded by many books and maps, the titles and dates of which have been given fully in every instance, so that readers may themselves easily refer to the authorities if disposed to do so.

I trust that the facts and arguments have been so presented that the conclusions may be generally accepted; that it may even be hoped that the last word has been written on this great and mischievous imposture; and that the Zeno narrative and map may henceforth cease to be regarded as reliable sources of history and geography.

The literature and cartography relating, more or less directly, to the alleged voyages of the brothers Zeni and to the remarkable "Carta da Navegar" which illustrated the work of the younger Zeno, are very voluminous. Though I have given at the end of this book a list of nearly four hundred maps and books bearing upon the subject, I am aware that that list is by no means exhaustive.

The supposed pre-Columbian discovery of America by Antonio Zeno at the end of the fourteenth century, has long been one of the stock stories of nearly all histories of America and of histories of Venice and of Venetian literature and commerce. It is, however, to be noticed that, of late years, the story has been quietly dropped out of Mr. Henry Harrisse's *The Discovery of North America* and Sir Clements R. Markham's *Columbus*. It survives, however, in the works of those who, without investigating the matter for themselves, adopt Major's opinion as final and conclusive. Examples of the latter class of works are Mr. Charles I. Elton's *Career of Columbus* and Mr. John Fiske's *Discovery of America*. Other authors, as, for instance, the late Mr. Justin Winsor in his *Christopher Columbus*, admit the story, but upon a doubtful footing.

It has been thought well not to be sparing in the matter of the reproduction of maps. It was originally intended to give only the

eighteen facsimiles contained in the plates at the end of this volume and the numbered figures in the chapter on the "Carta da Navegar;" but, as the proofs came in, I was tempted to utilize the blank spaces at the backs of half-titles, at the ends of chapters, etc., to reproduce in facsimile some of the other maps mentioned in the work.

My sincere thanks are due to many friends for advice and assistance of various kinds: amongst others, to Mr. Coote, for perusing my manuscripts and for reading and approving the proofs of the whole of the text and of Appendices III., IV., and V.; to Cavaliere Caputo, the learned Librarian of the Biblioteca Estense, Modena, for his courtesy in procuring for me a photograph of a portion of the Cantino map; to Mr. Joseph Lucas, for the translation made for me of Professor Storm's paper on the travels of the Zeni; and, last but not least, to Mr. Miller Christy, for his permission to reproduce the projection made for him of a portion of the Molineux globe, for his care and patience in reading and criticising the proofs of this book, and for his many valuable suggestions, of which I have freely availed myself.

In spite of all care, it can scarcely be hoped that errors have been altogether avoided. If such be found, I beg the readers' indulgence.

FRED. W. LUCAS.

LONDON,  
May, 1898.





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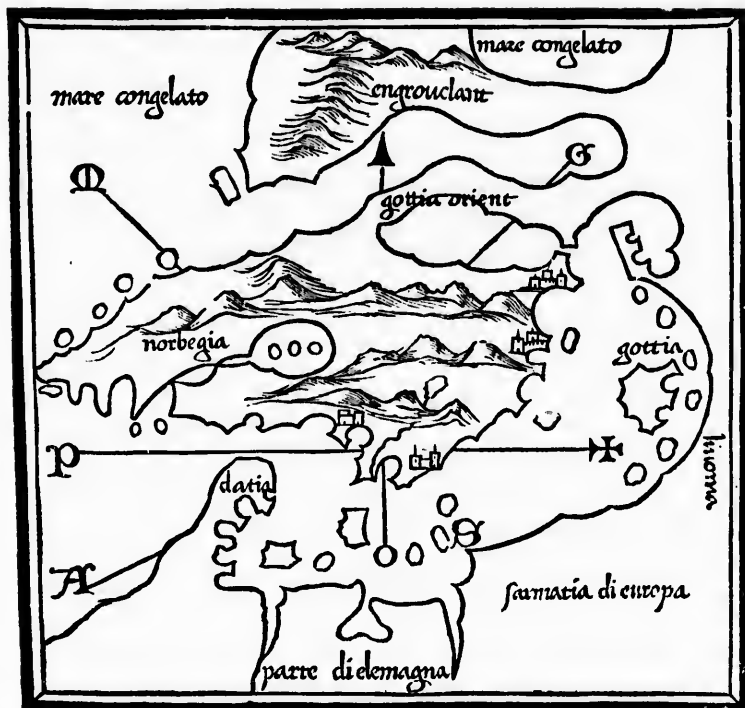
# THE VOYAGES OF THE BROTHERS ZENI.

## PART I.

### THE STORY OF THE BOOK.







MAP OF THE NORTH. From Bordone's *Isolario*, Venice, 1528.



## SECTION I.

### THE ZENO BOOK AND ITS CONTENTS.



N the month of December, 1558, or shortly afterwards, there was published in Venice a small octavo book with the following title :

*De i Commentarii del/ Viaggio in Persia di M. Caterino Zeno il K./ & delle guerre fatte nell' Imperio Persiano,/ dal tempo di Vssuncassano in quà./ Libri due./ Et dello Scoprimento/ dell' Isole Frislanda, Eslanda, Engrouelanda, Esto/ tilanda, & Icaria, fatto sotto il Polo Artico, da/ due fratelli Zeni, M. Nicolò il K. et M. Antonio./ Libro vno./ Con vn disegno particolare di/ tutte le dette parte di Tramontana da lor scoperte./ Con gratia, et priuilegio./ [Device] In Venetia/ Per Francesco Marcolini. MDLVIII./*<sup>1</sup>

The book contains fifty-eight printed folios and a woodcut map. On the recto of the first folio is the above title, and the printer's device with the motto *Veritas filia Temporis* on a scroll interwoven therewith. The verso is blank. The second folio is occupied on both sides by the Dedication, which, translated, is as follows :—

“To the most Reverend/ my Lord Messire/ Daniel Barbaro,/ the chosen Patriarch of/ Aquilegia./ Francesco Marcolini, his humble servant./ My most Reverend Lord, in publishing the Annals of all the Persian Wars made during the time of Vssuncassano, with the Travels of the Magnificent Messire Caterino Zeno, the Knight, made by his Lordship as Ambassador from this most illustrious State to the aforesaid King of Persia, and who was the first to have the courage to go on an Embassy

<sup>1</sup> “Annals of the Journey in Persia of Messire Caterino Zeno, the Knight, and of the wars carried on in the Persian Empire in the time of Ussuncassano. Two books. And of the Discovery of the Islands Frislanda, Eslanda, Engrouelanda, Estotlanda, and Icaria, made under the North Pole, by the two brothers Zeni, Messire Nicolò, the Knight, and Messire Antonio. One book. With a detailed map of all the said parts of the North discovered by them. With permission and privilege. Venice: by Francesco Marcolini. 1558.”

so important and so difficult; and of the Discovery of the Islands Frislanda, Engrouelanda, Estotilanda and Icaria, made by the Magnificent Messire Nicolò, the Knight, and the Magnificent Messire Antonio Zeni,—I have wished to adorn the beginning of the work with the celebrated name of your most Reverend Lordship, more especially on account of the brotherhood in love which your most Reverend Lordship has with the Magnificent Messire Nicolò Zeno. Those who read the book will find marvellous accounts of wars, of the customs, costumes and food of the nations, and of the situations of the countries, of the different animals and of the fisheries. And, amongst other marvels, the Magnificent Messire Nicolò, the Knight, relates that he saw in Grolandia, situate beneath the North Pole (where are extreme cold and snow and great masses of Ice), a Monastery of Friars, called Saint Thomas, rather miraculous than marvellous, because these fathers protect themselves from the very great cold without any fire, and, by watering the soil with the boiling water which issues from a mountain near their Monastery, they make it produce herbs, flowers and fruits necessary for food; and, what seems to me even more marvellous is, they cook their bread without fire with the afore-said boiling water, so that by their skill they cook it better than if it was done in a well-heated oven. And they heat their dwellings and the Church, as with a stove, in the same manner, so that the rough people of those countries consider these Friars as Gods, and honour and obey them as their Lords. In Venice, in December, 1558."

Folios 3 to 5 contain the author's preface, without signature. On the recto of folio 6 is a table of *errata*. Folio 7, the first which has a number, is wrongly marked "6," but the numeration of the rest of the folios (8-58) is correct. The account of the travels of Caterino Zeno in Persia, towards the end of the fifteenth century, begins on the verso of folio 6 and ends on the verso of folio 43. With this portion of the book it is not proposed to deal in the present volume.<sup>1</sup> The recto of

<sup>1</sup> The travels of Caterino Zeno in Persia, whilst Ambassador from Venice to that country (1471-1473), entirely differ in character from the alleged Northern Voyages of Nicolò and Antonio Zeni in the fourteenth century, and the two accounts, though bound between the same covers, form totally distinct works. The account of the Northern Voyages has its own peculiar history, told by the author himself: there is no corroborative evidence. On the other hand, there can be no doubt as to the main facts of Caterino Zeno's Embassy. His travels were of much later date, and his statements are corroborated, to some extent, by several independent accounts of events in Persia contemporary with, or immediately following, those described by the compiler of the *Annals*: for instance, by the stories of Josafa Barbaro (1436-1487), of Contarini (Caterino Zeno's successor as Ambassador, 1473-1477), and of Angiolello (1462-1524). Trans-

folio 44 is blank; the verso contains a skeleton pedigree of the Zeno family, intended to illustrate the connection between the author or compiler, Nicolò Zeno, and the earlier Nicolò Zeno and Antonio Zeno, the two brothers whose adventures are narrated in the subsequent part of the book. On the recto of folio 45 is the following sub-title:

*Dello scoprimento dell' l'Isole Frislanda, Eslanda, Engroueland Esto- tilanda, & Icaria, fatto per due fratel- li Zeni M. Nicolò il Caualiere, & M. Antonio Libro Vno col di- segno di dette Isole.*<sup>1</sup>

This narrative is finished on the recto of folio 58, and on the verso the printer's device and motto again appear, but from a different woodblock, and with printer's register below.<sup>2</sup>

The map referred to in the title and sub-title is a woodcut measuring 378 by 283 millimètres within the border rules. It bears the superscription: "CARTA DA NAVEGAR DE NICOLÒ ET ANTONIO ZENI FVRONO IN TRAMONTANA LANO.M.CCC.LXXX."<sup>3</sup> The degrees of latitude from 60° to 76° North are marked and numbered; the degrees of longitude are marked but not numbered.<sup>4</sup> A facsimile of the map, from a copy in the British Museum, will be found on Plate XI. in the Appendix.

The narrative contained in the latter part of the book, under the sub-title quoted above, the map, and the veracity of their author, have been the subjects of much discussion and speculation among geographers down to the present day. Their importance from a

lations of all these, with some later accounts of Persian travel, are given in *Travels of Venetians in Persia* (Hakluyt Society, 1873), in which the two first-named narratives are edited by Lord Stanley of Alderley, and those of Caterino Zeno and Angiolello are translated and edited by Mr. Charles Grey. Mr. Grey erroneously attributes (p. i, n.) the authorship both of the preface to, and the account of, Caterino Zeno's travels to Ramusio, totally ignoring the fact that the whole of Ramusio's text is reprinted from the *Annals* of 1558. The accounts of Caterino Zeno's travels and those of Nicolò and Antonio Zeni have only one feature in common, viz., that the compiler, in both cases, unfortunately lost, or inadvertently destroyed, the original documents from which his histories should have been drawn, and was, therefore, driven to make the best stories he could from imperfect and inferior materials. An editor of, or commentator upon, the Northern Travels may properly regard the Persian Travels as an entirely distinct work from that with which he is dealing, and is fully justified in leaving them out of his consideration.

<sup>1</sup> For translation of this sub-title, see next page.

<sup>2</sup> Facsimiles of all the parts of the book dealt with in the present work, will be found in Appendix I., and of the map on Plate XI.

<sup>3</sup> Translation: "Chart of the Navigation of Nicolò and Antonio Zeni who were in the North in the year 1380."

<sup>4</sup> In the copper-plate, reproducing the map as edited by Nicolò Zeno the younger for Ruscelli's Italian edition of Ptolemy, published in Venice in 1561, the degrees of longitude are numbered from 315° on the West to 50° on the East, the prime meridian being apparently that of Ferro, and outside those limits they are marked, but without numbers, from 270° on the West to 90° on the East (See Plate XII. in the Appendix).

practical point of view has long ceased to exist, but they still possess an historical and literary interest, because upon the story contained in the text is founded a claim, on behalf of the Venetians, to a pre-Columbian discovery of America, and also because the acceptance of the "*Carta da Navegar*" as genuine, by Gerard Kaufmann (Mercator) and Abraham Ortelius, the two leading cartographers of the latter half of the sixteenth century, was the cause of great confusion in the maps drawn during the latter part of that century and for nearly two hundred years afterwards.

It is the object of the present work to throw light upon, and to sum up, the question which has been so long discussed.

The narrative itself consists of letters from Nicolò Zeno to his brother Antonio, and from Antonio to another brother Carlo, together with connecting passages supplied by the editor or compiler, the later Nicolò Zeno their descendant. Translated it reads as follows:—

[HEADING OR SUB-TITLE.]

[*Folio 45.*] "Concerning the Discovery of the Islands Frislanda, Eslanda, Engroueland Estotilanda, and Icaria made by the two brothers Zeni Messire Nicolò, the Knight, and, Messire Antonio. One book, with a map of the said Islands."

[FAMILY HISTORY OF THE ZENI. By Nicolò Zeno the younger, the Compiler of the Work.]

"In the year of our Salvation 1200, Messire Marin Zeno, a man very famous in Venice, was elected, on account of his great abilities and the force of his character, Governor in some of the Republics of Italy, in the administration of which he always bore himself so well, that he was beloved, and his name greatly revered, even by those who had never known him personally. Amongst other good works of his, it is particularly recorded that he quelled certain grave civil discords that arose amongst the Veronese, which might have been expected to give rise to war, if his extreme activity and good counsel had not been interposed. To this man was born a son, Messire Pietro, who was the father of the Doge Rinieri, which Doge, dying without leaving any children of his own, made Messire Andrea, the son of his brother Messire Marco, his heir. This Messire Andrea was Captain-General and Procurator, and had a very high reputation on account

of the many rare qualities which he possessed. His son, Messire Rinieri, was an illustrious Senator, and many times a Councillor. From him descended Messire Pietro, Captain-General of the League of Christians against the Turks, who was called *Dragone*, because he bore upon his shield a Dragon, instead of a *Manfrone*, which he had first. He was the father of the great Messire Carlo, the most illustrious Procurator and Captain-General against the Genoese, in those perilous wars which were carried on whilst almost all the greater Princes of Europe were fighting against our liberty and Empire, in which, by his own valour, as Furius Camillus did for Rome, he delivered his country from the imminent risk which it ran of becoming the prey of its enemies; for which reason he acquired the cognomen *The Lion*, bearing the figure of a lion, in perpetual memory of his prowess, depicted upon his shield. The brothers of Messire Carlo were [*folio 46*] Messire Nicolò, the Knight, and Messire Antonio, the father of Messire Dragone, to whom was born a son, Messire Caterino, who begat Messire Pietro, from whom descended another Messire Caterino, who died last year, the father of Messire Nicolò, who is still living."

[THE VOYAGE OF NICOLÒ ZENO. From his letter to his brother Antonio.]

"Now Messire Nicolò, the Knight, being a man of high spirit, after the termination of the aforesaid Genoese war in Chioggia, which gave our ancestors so much to do, conceived a very great desire to see the world, and to travel, and to make himself acquainted with the various customs and languages of men, in order that, when occasion arose, he might be better able to do service to his country, and to acquire for himself fame and honour. Therefore, having built and fitted out a ship from his own private means, of which he possessed an abundance, he left our seas, and, having passed the Straits of Gibraltar, sailed for some days across the Ocean, always holding his course towards the North, with the intention of seeing England and Flanders. While in these seas, he was assailed by a great tempest. For many days he was carried by the waves and the winds without knowing where he might be, until, at last, discovering land, and not being able to steer against such an exceedingly fierce storm, he was wrecked upon the Island Frislanda. The crew and a great part of the goods which were in the ship were saved; and this was in the year one thousand three hundred and eighty. The Islanders, running together in great numbers, all ready-armed, attacked Messire Nicolò and his men, who,

all wearied by the storm they had passed through, and not knowing in what country they might be, were not able to make the least counter attack, or even to defend themselves against the enemy so vigorously as the danger demanded. Under these circumstances, they would probably have been badly treated if good fortune had not so ordered that, by chance, a Prince with an armed following happened to be in the neighbourhood. He, understanding that a large ship had just been wrecked upon the Island, hastened up, on hearing the uproar and cries which were made against our poor sailors; and, after chasing away the people of the country, he spoke in Latin, and demanded of what nation they were, and whence they came; and, when he discovered that they came from Italy, and were men of the same country,<sup>1</sup> he was filled with the greatest joy. Then, assuring them all that they should receive no injury, and that they were come into a place in which they should be most kindly treated, and well looked after, he took them under his protection on his good faith."

"This man was a great Lord, and possessed some Islands called Porlanda, near to Frislanda on the south side, the richest and most populous in all those parts. He was named Zichmni, and, besides the aforesaid little Islands, he ruled over the dominion of the Duchy of Sorant,<sup>2</sup> situate on the side towards Scotland."

[BY THE COMPILER.]

"Of these parts of the North it occurred to me to draw out a copy of a navigating chart which I once found [*folio* 47] that I possessed among the ancient things in our house, which, although it is all rotten and many years old, I have succeeded in doing tolerably well, and which, placed before the eyes of those who delight themselves with such things, will serve as a light to make intelligible that which, without it, they would not be so well able to understand."

[FROM NICOLÒ ZENO'S LETTER TO HIS BROTHER ANTONIO.]

"Besides being a man of such position as I have stated, Zichmni was warlike and valiant, and, above all, most famous in maritime affairs. Having gained a victory the year before over the King of Norway,

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of this passage is obscure. It is commented upon hereafter in the 2nd Section of Part II.

<sup>2</sup> In the text it is printed *Sorano*, but in the table of *errata* on folio 6 it is corrected to *Sorant*. It is called "Sorand" on the map.



who ruled over the Island, Zichmni, being a man who desired by deeds of arms to make himself yet more illustrious than he was already, had come down with his people to attack and acquire for himself the country of Frislanda, which is an Island much larger than Ireland. Therefore, perceiving that Messire Nicolò was a prudent person, and greatly skilled in maritime and military matters, he commissioned him to go on board the fleet with all his men, directing the Captain to pay him respect, and to avail himself of his counsel in all things, as that of one who knew and understood much from his long experience in navigation and arms. This fleet of Zichmni's consisted of thirteen ships (two only propelled by oars, the rest small vessels, and one ship), with which they sailed towards the West, and with little trouble made themselves masters of Ledovo and Ilofe, and of some other small Islands. Turning into a bay called Sudero, they took, in a port of the country called Sanestol, some boats laden with salt fish. At this place finding Zichmni, who, with his army, had come by land, having taken possession of all the country behind him, they stayed there a little. Then making sail towards the West, they came at last to the other headland of the Bay; thence turning round again, they found some Islands and lands which were all reduced into the possession of Zichmni. The sea in which they were sailing was, so to speak, full of Shoals and Rocks, so that, if Messire Nicolò had not been their Pilot, with his Venetian mariners, all that fleet, in the judgment of all that were in it, would have been lost, because of the little experience which Zichmni's men had in comparison with that of ours, who were, so to say, born, bred and grown old in the art [of navigation]. The fleet having thus done those things which have been mentioned, the Captain, by the advice of Messire Nicolò, decided to put into port at a place called Bondendon, to enquire as to the success of Zichmni's campaign. There they learnt, to their great pleasure, that he had fought a great battle and routed the enemy's army. In consequence of that victory, the whole island sent Ambassadors to make submission to him, raising his standards throughout the whole country and in the villages. Therefore, they decided to wait in that place for his coming, assuring themselves confidently that he must soon be there."

"Upon his arrival they made great [*folio 48*] demonstrations of joy, as well on account of the victory by land as of that by sea; for which latter all the Venetians were so much honoured and extolled that no one could speak of anything else than of them, and of the valour of



Messire Nicolò. Then the Prince, who was very fond of valiant men, and especially of those who bore themselves well in naval affairs, sent for Messire Nicolò, and, after having commended him with many honouring words, and having praised his great activity and genius in the two matters (namely, the preservation of his fleet and the acquisition of so many places without any trouble to himself [Zichmni]), in which, as he said, he acknowledged a very great and important benefit, he made Messire Nicolò a Knight, and honoured, and made very rich presents to, all his people. Departing from that place, in the manner of a triumph for the victory achieved, he went in the direction of Frislanda, the principal city of the Island. This place is situated on its South-eastern side, at the entrance to a bay, of which there are many in that Island, in which they take fish in such abundance that they lade many ships with them, and supply Flanders, Brittany, England, Scotland, Norway and Denmark, deriving very great riches from this traffic."

[NICOLÒ JOINED BY ANTONIO. NICOLÒ'S VOYAGE TO GREENLAND, from his own written account.]

"All the above information, Messire Nicolò wrote in one of his letters to Messire Antonio his brother, praying him to come to find him, with some ships. And, as he [Antonio] was no less desirous than his brother had been to see the world and to have converse with various nations, and so to make himself illustrious and a great man, he bought a ship, and, steering in that direction, after a long voyage, and many perils passed, finally joined Messire Nicolò, safe and sound, who received him with the greatest delight, both because he was his natural brother and because he was his brother in valour also."

"Messire Antonio stayed in Frislanda and lived there fourteen years, four with Messire Nicolò and ten alone. There they grew into such grace and favour with the Prince that, partly to gratify Nicolò, but even more because he was excessively useful to him, he made him Captain of his fleet, and sent him with a great armament to attack Estlanda [Shetland], which is on the side between Frislanda and Norway. There they inflicted many injuries, but, understanding that the King of Norway was coming against them, with a large fleet of ships, to divert them from that war, they set sail in a Tempest so terrible that, being driven upon certain rocks, a great number of their ships were lost, and the remainder sought safety in Grislanda, a large

Island, but uninhabited. The fleet of the King of Norway, likewise assailed by the same storm, was wrecked and totally lost in those seas. Zichmni, being informed of this by a small ship of the enemy which ran by good fortune into Grislanda, having first repaired his fleet, [*folio 49*] and perceiving himself to be near Islande<sup>1</sup> on the North, determined to attack Islanda, which, exactly in the same manner as the others, belonged to the King of Norway; but he found the country so well fortified and furnished for defence that he could not but have been repulsed, as he had such a small fleet, and that, small as it was, likewise very badly provided both with arms and men. On this account, he abandoned that enterprise without having done anything, and attacked, in the same channels, the other Islands called Islande, which are seven in number, that is to say, Talas, Broas, Iscant, Trans, Mimant, Damberg, and Bres. Taking possession of them all, he built a fort in Bres, in which he left Messire Nicolò, with some small ships, some men and provisions; and, as it appeared to him that he had done enough for the time with so small a fleet, he returned safely to Frislanda with the remainder. Messire Nicolò, remaining in Bres, determined to set forth in the spring on a voyage of discovery. So, fitting out his not very large ships, in the month of July, he made sail towards the North, and arrived in Engroueland<sup>2</sup> [Greenland]. There he found a Monastery of the order of Preaching Friars, and a Church dedicated to St. Thomas, near to a mountain which cast out fire like Vesuvius and Etna. There is there a spring of hot water with which they warm the buildings in the Church of the Monastery, and the chambers of the Friars, the water in the kitchen being so boiling that, without any other fire, it serves all their needs; and bread, being put into copper cooking-pots without water, is cooked as in a well-heated oven. And there are little gardens covered in in the winter, which,

<sup>1</sup> There is evidently some confusion in the mind of the narrator here: Hakluyt translates "Islande," the Islands, but the termination "lande" is Teutonic, though it has the Italian plural final tacked on to it, and there is no such Italian word meaning Islands. Major suggests that "Islande" is a misprint for "Eslanda," or the Shetlands, both here and eight lines lower down, where the names of "l'altre Isole, dette Islande" are given, "Talas, Broas, Iscant, Trans, Mimant, Damberg, and Bres," which can fairly be identified with some of the Shetlands; but in the "Carta da Navegar" these islands are grouped with Islanda, which is undoubtedly Iceland. The only conclusion is that the narrator did not himself understand what he was writing about, and has consequently failed to make his statement intelligible to his readers.

<sup>2</sup> Throughout the whole book, Greenland is called "Engroueland," or "Engrouiland" (not "Engroneland" as Major prints it), except once, viz., in the extract from Antonio Zeno's letter given on folio 57, where it is called Grolanda. On the map the names are given as "Engronelant" and "Crolandia." Marcolini, in the Dedication, calls it "Grolandia" and "Engroueland."

being watered with this water, are preserved from the snow and the cold, which in these parts, on account of their situation being so very close under the Pole, are exceedingly severe. From these [gardens] are produced flowers and fruits and herbs of various kinds, just as they are in temperate climates in their seasons, so that the rough and wild people of these countries, seeing these supernatural effects, consider the Friars as Gods, and bring them fowls, flesh, and other things, and hold them all as Lords in the greatest reverence and respect. In the manner, then, which has been described, these Friars warm their habitations when the ice and snow are severe, and they can, in a moment, warm or cool a room by increasing the water to certain limits, or by opening the windows and letting in the fresh air."

"In the fabric of the Monastery no other materials are used than those which are furnished by the fire [volcano], for the hot stones, which issue like sparks from the fiery mouth of the mountain, are taken at the time when they are at their hottest, and water is thrown upon them, which causes them to split open and to become pitch, or very white and very tenacious lime, which, when once set [*folio 50*], never deteriorates. And the scorix, likewise, when they have become cool, serve in place of stone to make walls and arches, as, when once they have grown cold, it is no longer possible to dissolve them or to break them, unless indeed they are cut with iron; and arches made of these are so light that they need no buttresses, but always last well and remain in good order. In consequence of their possessing such conveniences, these good fathers have erected such dwellings and walls that it is a wonder to see them. Most of the roofs are made in the following manner: the wall being carried to its proper height, they then incline it inwards little by little as they go on, so that in the middle it forms a rain-proof arch;<sup>1</sup> but they have not much appre-

<sup>1</sup> *Tanto che nel mezzo forma un giusto piover.* This passage is difficult to translate. Hakluyt, the first translator, has omitted it altogether from both his editions of 1582 and 1600. Megisser (*Septentrio Novantiquus*, 1613, p. 240) has done the same, and has also left out the whole preceding sentence which describes the construction of the roofs. Pontanus (*Rerum Danicarum Hist.*, 1631, p. 753) renders it *sicut in medio relinquatur impluvium*. The *impluvium* was the tank in the floor of the hall in a Roman villa beneath the square opening, called *compluvium*, in the roof, the latter being so sloped as to shoot the rain into the *impluvium*: the word is also used for the open space itself (Smith, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiq. Art. Domus*). Major (*Voyages of the Zeni*, Hakluyt Soc., 1873, p. 14), translates the passage by "so that in the middle it forms a passage for the rain," which is no clearer than the original. The method of lighting by holes in the roof in the Northern regions is mentioned by Olaus Magnus (*Hist. de Gentibus Septentrio*: Rome, 1555. Lib. XII. capp. 2 and 3), but his descriptions do not give the idea that the openings were in the nature of the Roman

hension of rain in those parts, because the Pole being, as has been said, very cold, the first-fallen snow melts no more until nine months of the year have passed, for so long does their winter last."

"They live on wildfowl and fish, since, in the place where the warm water enters the sea, there is a tolerably large and capacious harbour, which, by reason of the boiling water, never freezes even in the winter. Here, therefore, there is such a concourse of sea-fowl and fish that they catch an almost infinite number, which provides support for a great many people of the vicinity, who are kept in continual employment, as well in working on the buildings as in catching birds and fish, and in a thousand other matters which are required in the Monastery."

"The houses of these people surround the mountain, and are all circular in shape and twenty-five feet in diameter. They make them narrow in towards the top, in such a way as to leave above a little aperture, by which the air enters, and which gives light to the place; and the earth is so warm below that they do not feel any cold within. Hither, in the summer, come many boats from the neighbouring islands, and from the cape upon Norway, and from Treadon [Trondhjem], and bring to the Friars all the things which they can desire, and they trade with these for fish, which they dry in the open air and in the cold, and for skins of different sorts of animals. Thus they acquire wood for burning, and timber, excellently worked, for building, and grain, and cloth for clothing; for, in exchange for the two things mentioned,<sup>1</sup> nearly all the neighbouring people are desirous of selling their merchandise; and so, without trouble or expense, they have whatever they wish."

*compluvium*. It would seem from the next passage in the text, viz., "but they have not much apprehension of rain in those parts," and from that, a few lines further on, which describes "the little aperture at the top by which the air enters, and which gives light to the place," that the object of the openings is to obtain light and ventilation while excluding rain and snow. Dr. Rink (*Danish Greenland*, pp. 176-180), in describing the old Greenland houses, mentions as characteristic of their suitability for the severe climate, the airtightness of the walls and roofs, and adds that "Ventilation is afforded chiefly by the long narrow doorway which forms the entrance to the house," and "that a venthole was also made in the roof." "In the south the winter-huts have to be protected against rain and thaw occasionally in the cold season; in the north the frost generally prevails sufficiently to make this measure superfluous." Neither the *impluvium* of Pontanus' translation, nor Major's "passage for the rain," seems to suit the case. The compiler probably did not understand the information upon which he founded his description, whatever its sources may have been; but it seems ridiculous to suppose that the object of building the roof was to let in the rain, and the above somewhat free, but not inadmissible, rendering, has therefore been adopted.

<sup>1</sup> "The two things mentioned" are, apparently, dried fish and skins.

"There come together in this Monastery Friars from Norway, Sweden, and other countries, but the greater part are from Islande<sup>1</sup>; and there are always in this port many ships, which cannot get away because the sea is frozen, awaiting the spring thaw."

"The boats of the fishermen they make like the shuttles<sup>2</sup> which the weavers use to make cloth. Taking the skins of fishes, they fit them over the bones of the same fish, of which they make a frame, and sew them together, and lay them over many times double. They turn these boats out so strong and sound, that it is [*folio 51*] certainly a miraculous thing to observe how, during tempests, they fasten themselves inside, and allow them to be carried over the sea by the waves and the winds without any fear of being wrecked or drowned; and, if they do strike on the land, they stand safely many blows. They have a sleeve at the bottom which they keep tied in the middle, and, when water enters the boat, they take it in one half [of the sleeve] and close it above with two wooden shutters, then taking the ligature from below, they drive out the water. However many times they have to do this, they do it without any trouble or danger."

"Since the water of the Monastery is sulphurous, it is conducted into the rooms of the Superiors by means of certain vessels<sup>3</sup> of copper, tin, or stone, so hot that, like a stove, it warms the habitation very well, without introducing any stench or other noxious odour. Besides this, they lead other spring water through a culvert underground, so that it may not freeze, as far as the middle of the courtyard, where it falls into a large copper vessel which stands in the midst of a boiling spring, and so they warm the water for drinking and for watering their gardens."

"They have in the mountains all the commodities which they can most desire. Nor do these good fathers put themselves to any other trouble than that of cultivating their gardens, and making beautiful, charming, and, above all, commodious buildings; nor for this do they want for good, clever, and industrious workmen, although pagans, and they pay them largely. To those who bring them fruits and seeds they are liberal without limit, and lavish in their expenditure. On these accounts, there is a very great concourse of people there seeking employment and instruction, in order to earn in that place

<sup>1</sup> See Note 1 on p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Navicelli*, literally, "little ships," so named from their resemblance in shape to boats.

<sup>3</sup> *Vasi*, literally, "vessels," probably means here pipes or conduits.

such good wages and better living. They use, for the most part, the Latin language, especially the Superiors and the principal men of the Monastery."

[BY THE COMPILER.]

"So much is known of Engroueland [Greenland], concerning which Messire Nicolò described all the foregoing particulars, and more especially the river discovered by him, as may be seen in the map made by me. At last, not being used to such severe cold, he sickened, and, soon after returning to Frisland, he died there."

"Messire Antonio succeeded to his riches and honours, but, although he tried many ways, and begged and prayed much, he could never succeed in getting back to his own home, because Zichmni, being a man of spirit and valour, had resolved from the bottom of his heart to make himself master of the sea. Wherefore, availing himself of the services of Messire Antonio, he desired that he should sail with several small ships towards the West, to obtain information as to the existence of some very rich and populous Islands on that side, discovered by some of his fishermen; which discovery Messire Antonio narrates in one of his letters, written to his brother Messire Carlo, with so much detail that, except that we have changed the old language and style, we have let the matter stand as it was."

[THE FRISLAND FISHERMAN'S STORY. FROM ANTONIO ZENO'S letter to his brother Carlo.]

[*folio 52.*] "Twenty-six years ago, four fishing boats sailed [from Frisland], which, driven by a great tempest, wandered many days, lost, as it were, upon the sea, until, when at last the weather moderated, they found an Island, called Estotilanda, lying to the Westward, and distant from Frislanda more than a thousand *miglia*, on which one of the boats was wrecked. Six men who were in it were seized by the islanders, and conducted to a most beautiful and largely populated city. The King who ruled there summoned many interpreters, but found none who had any knowledge of the language of these fishermen, except one who spoke Latin, and who had been cast upon the same Island by a similar tempest. This man, demanding of the castaways, on behalf of the King, who they were and whence they came, gathered all their statements, and reported their effect to the King, who, when he fully understood their case, willed that they should stay in that

country. Wherefore, obeying this command, because they could not do otherwise, they remained five years in the Island and learnt the language. One of them in particular, having been in different parts of the Island, reports that it is very rich, and abundant in all the good things of this world; that it is rather smaller than Iceland, but more fertile, having in the middle a very high mountain from which spring four rivers, which water it. The inhabitants are quick-witted, and possess all the arts which we have. It is believed that in earlier times they have had commerce with our countrymen, because this man said that he saw Latin books in the King's library, which none of them at the present time understand. They have a distinct language, and letters. They get, by mining, metals of all sorts, and, above all, they have abundance of gold. Their trade is with Engroueland [Greenland], whence they receive furs, and sulphur, and pitch. And, towards the South, he says, there is a great country very rich in gold, and populous. They sow grain and make beer, which is a kind of beverage which the Northern people use as we do wine. They have woods of immense extent. They construct their buildings with walls, and there are many cities and villages. They make small ships and navigate them, but they have not the loadstone, nor can they indicate the North by the compass. On this account, these fishermen were held in great esteem, so much so that the king despatched them, with twelve small ships, towards the South, to the country which they call Drogio; but during the voyage they met with so great a tempest that they gave themselves up for lost. Nevertheless, in trying to escape from one cruel death, they delivered themselves into the clutches of another much more terrible, for, being taken into the country,<sup>1</sup> most of them were eaten by the ferocious inhabitants, who feed upon human flesh, which they consider a most savoury viand."

"But this fisherman, with his companions, by showing the natives the method of taking fish with nets, saved their lives; and, fishing every day in the sea, and in the fresh waters, they caught many fish, and gave them to the Chiefs; by which means [*folio* 53] the fisherman acquired so much favour that he was held dear, and was beloved and much honoured by everyone. His fame spread among the adjacent nations, and a neighbouring Chief conceived so great a desire to have him in his service, and to see how he exercised his wonderful art of

<sup>1</sup> Presumably "Drogio," though it is not so stated explicitly either here or in any other part of the narrative.

taking fish, that he made war upon the other Chief, by whom the fisherman was protected; and prevailing at last, because he was the more powerful and warlike, the fisherman was handed over to him, with his companions. During the thirteen years which he spent continuously in the parts aforesaid, he says that he was transmitted in this manner to more than twenty-five Chiefs, they being constantly stirred up to make war one against another, solely for the sake of having him in their service; and so, as he went on wandering, without ever having a fixed abode in one place for any length of time, he came to know from actual experience almost all those parts."

"He says that it is a very large country, and like a new world; but the people are ignorant, and destitute of all good qualities, for they all go naked, and suffer cruelly from the cold; nor have they learnt how to cover themselves with the skins of the beasts which they take in hunting. They have no metal of any sort. They live by hunting, and carry lances of wood sharpened at the point, and bows, the strings of which are made of the skins of animals. They are a people of great ferocity, and fight together to the death, and eat one another. They have Chiefs, and certain laws, which differ much amongst them."

"But, the further one goes towards the South-west, the greater civilization one finds, because there the climate is more temperate, so that there are cities, and temples of idols wherein they sacrifice men, whom they afterwards eat. In these parts they have some knowledge of gold and silver, and use them."

"Now this fisherman, having dwelt in these countries so many years, purposed, if he could, to return to his fatherland; but his companions, despairing of the possibility of ever seeing it again, let him depart, wishing him a successful journey, and they themselves remained where they were. Then he, commending them to God, fled through the woods towards Drogio, and was made most welcome, and kindly treated by a neighbouring Chief who knew him, and who had great enmity against the other Chief [from whom he had run away]; and so, going from the hand of one to that of another of the same Chiefs with whom he had been before, after much time and considerable hardships and fatigues, he arrived finally in Drogio, where he dwelt the three following years. Then, by good fortune, he learnt from the Countryfolk that some ships had arrived upon the coast, and he conceived good hopes of accomplishing his desire. He went to the coast, and, enquiring from what country the ships came, learnt to his



great pleasure that they were from Estotilanda. Then, having begged to be taken away, he was willingly received, because he knew the language of the country; and, there being no one among the sailors who understood it, they used him as their interpreter. Afterwards, he frequently made [*folio* 54] that voyage with them, until he grew very rich, and, having built and equipped a ship of his own, returned to Frislanda, bearing to the Lord of it [Zichmni] news of the discovery of that very rich country. In all this he was credited, because the sailors confirmed as true many other new things which he reported. It is on account of this affair that the Lord Zichmni has resolved to send me with a fleet towards those parts; and there are so many who wish to go over there, on account of the novelty of the thing, that I think we shall be a very strong force, without any public expense."

[BY THE COMPILER.]

"This is what is contained in the letter which I have cited above. I have stated its tenor here in order that another voyage which Messire Antonio made may be better understood. On this voyage he sailed with many people and ships, not, however, being appointed Captain, as he thought at first he would have been, because Zichmni decided to make the exploration in person; and I have a letter about this expedition, which states as follows:—"

[THE LETTER FROM ANTONIO ZENO TO HIS BROTHER CARLO ZENO DESCRIBING HIS WESTERN VOYAGE IN VAIN SEARCH OF ESTOTILANDA AND DROGIO, AND THE FINDING OF ICARIA AND GREENLAND.]

"Our great preparations to go into Estotilanda were commenced under an evil omen; for, three days exactly before our departure, the fisherman, who was to have been our guide, died. Notwithstanding this, our Chief would not abandon the intended voyage, and took with him as guides, instead of the dead fisherman, some of the sailors who had returned from that Island with the latter. And so we steered our course towards the West, and discovered some islands subject to Frislanda; and, passing certain rocks, we stopped at Ledovo, where we remained seven days for the sake of the repose, and to furnish the fleet with some necessary things. Departing from thence, we arrived, on the 1st of July, at the Island of Ilofe; and, because the wind made for us, we passed onward, without the least thing to hinder us, and went far out into the deepest ocean. Not long after, a storm assailed us, so

fierce that, for eight days at a stretch, it kept us at work, and cast us about so that we knew not where we might be, and we lost a large proportion of the ships. At last, the weather having become calm, we got together the ships which had been separated from the others, and, sailing with a good wind, we discovered land in the West.<sup>1</sup> Keeping our course directly for it, we arrived in a quiet and secure port, and we saw people, almost infinite in number, armed and ready to strike, running towards the shore to defend the Island. Thereupon, Zichmni ordered his people to make signs of peace, and the Islanders sent to us ten men, who could speak ten languages, but we could not understand any of them, except one who was from Islanda<sup>2</sup> [Iceland]. This man, being conducted into the presence of our Prince, and asked by him how they called the Island, and what people inhabited it, and who ruled over it, replied, that the Island was called Icaria, and that all the Kings who had ruled over it were called Icarus, after its first King, who, as they said, [*folio 55*] was the son of Dædalus, King of Scotland, who, having made himself master of the Island, left his son there as King, and left also those laws which the Islanders still used; and that, after these things were done, purposing to sail further on, he was drowned in a great storm; that, on account of his death in this manner, they still called that sea Icarian, and the King of the Island Icarus. Also that, because they were satisfied with that state which God had given them, they did not wish to change their customs in any particular, nor would they receive any foreigner; that they therefore prayed our Prince that he would not seek to violate those laws which they had preserved in happy memory of their King, and had observed down to that time; adding that he would not be able to do it without his own certain destruction, they being all prepared to abandon life, rather than to give up, on any account, the use of those laws. Nevertheless, in order that it might not appear that they altogether refused intercourse with other men, they said, in

<sup>1</sup> Major (*Voyages of the Zeni*, Hakluyt Soc., 1873, p. 26) has a note on this passage to the effect that *da ponente* here means that the adventurers discovered land "on its western side," and not "to the westward," referring, for his reason, to the subsequent passage stating that they sailed round about the island, *circondandol'isola*, and found a port on the eastern side. But *circondare* means to encircle, to surround, to make the circuit of, and not to go half way round. Besides, if Major is right, then, as Zichmni had been sailing westward with a favourable wind, it follows that the land must have been discovered behind him. There seems no reason for abandoning the ordinary meaning of the passage, viz., that the land was discovered to the west, or in front of the fleet.

<sup>2</sup> Major, *Op. cit.*, p. 27, translates *Islanda* in this passage *Shetland*. This is only one of many liberties which he has taken with the text of 1558.

conclusion, that they were willing to receive one of us, and to give him a high position amongst them, and to do so solely in order to learn my (*sic*) language and to have an account of our customs, just as they had already received those other ten men who had come to the Island from ten other different countries. To these things our Prince made no other reply than to make enquiry as to where there was a good harbour. Then he feigned to depart, and, making a circuit of the Island, in full sail, put into a port pointed out to him on the Eastern side. There the sailors disembarked, to obtain wood and water, with as much despatch as possible, as they doubted whether they might not be attacked by the Islanders; nor was their fear vain, for those who dwelt near by, making signs to the others with fire and smoke, quickly armed themselves, and, the others joining them, they came down to the shore, armed with weapons and arrows, in such numbers against our people that many were left killed and wounded; nor did it avail us that we made signs of peace to them, for, as if they were fighting for their all, they grew more and more exasperated. Therefore, we were forced to set sail, and to go along in a great circle round the Island, being always accompanied, along the mountains and shores, by an infinite number of armed men. Then, doubling the Cape at the North of the Island, we found very great shoals, amongst which, for ten days continuously, we were in much danger of losing the fleet, but, luckily for us, the weather was very fine all the while. Passing thence as far as the Cape on the East of the island, we saw the Islanders, always keeping pace with us on the summits of the mountains and along the shore, with cries and arrow-shots from afar, showing towards us more and more the same inimical mind. We therefore determined to stop in some safe port, and to see if we could not speak [*folio 56*] once more to the Islanders; but we did not succeed in this design, for the people, little better than beasts in this respect, remained continually in arms, with the deliberate intention of resisting us if we should attempt to land. Wherefore Zichmni, seeing that he could not do anything, and that, if he should remain obstinate in his purpose, victuals would soon be wanting in the fleet, set sail with a fair wind and sailed six days to the Westward; but, the wind changing to the South-west, and the sea therefore becoming rough, the fleet ran before the wind for four days. At last land was discovered, but we greatly feared to approach it, on account of the swelling seas, and because the land observed was unknown to us. Nevertheless, by God's aid, the wind dropped and

it became calm. Then some men from the fleet went to the land in rowing boats, and not long after returned and reported, to our very great delight, that they had found a very good country and a still better harbour. At which news, having hauled up our ships and small vessels, we went on shore, and, having entered a good harbour, we saw afar off a great mountain which cast forth smoke; this gave us hope that inhabitants would be found in the Island, nor, for all that it was so far off, did Zichmni delay sending a hundred good soldiers to reconnoitre the country and to report what kind of people inhabited it. In the meanwhile, the fleet was supplied with water and wood, and many fishes and sea-fowl were caught; they also found there so many birds' eggs that the half-famished men were able to eat their fill."

"While we remained here, the month of June<sup>1</sup> came in, during which season the air in the island was more temperate and mild than can be expressed. In spite of this, not seeing anyone there, we began to suspect that so beautiful a place was, nevertheless, uninhabited, and we gave to the port and to the point of land which ran out into the sea the names of Trin and Capo di Trin. The hundred soldiers who had gone away returned, after eight days, and reported that they had been over the island and to the mountain; that the smoke proceeded from it because, as they had proved, at the bottom of it was a great fire; that there was a spring from which was produced a certain matter, like pitch, which ran into the sea; that many people inhabited the neighbouring parts, half savage, and sheltering themselves in caves; that these were of small stature and very timid, for, directly they saw the soldiers, they fled into their caves; and that there was a large river there, and a good and safe harbour. Zichmni, being informed of these things, and seeing that the place had a healthy and pure climate, and very good soil, and rivers, and so many peculiar advantages, began to think of making his dwelling there, and of building a city. But his people, who had already endured a voyage so full of hardships, began to rebel, and to say that they wished to return home, because, [*folio* 57] as the winter was near, if they let it come in, they would not be able afterwards to get away until the following summer; so he retained only the rowing boats, with those men who were willing to remain there,

<sup>1</sup> It will be observed that this date is wrong. The expedition must have started on or before the 23rd of June; for, as appears above (see p. 18), it stayed seven days at Ledovo, and afterwards arrived at Ilofe on the 1st of July.

sending back all the others in the remaining ships; and he desired, against my will, that I should be the Captain. I departed therefore, because I could not do otherwise, and sailed towards the East for twenty days continuously without ever seeing land; then, turning towards the South-east, after five more days I sighted land, and found that I had reached the Island Neome. Knowing this country, I perceived that I had passed Islanda. Wherefore, having procured fresh provisions from the Islanders, who were under the dominion of Zichmni, I sailed in three days, with a fair wind, to Frislanda, where the people, who believed that they had lost their Prince, because of the long time that we had spent upon the voyage, received us with signs of the greatest joy."

[BY THE COMPILER.]

"After this letter I find nothing further, except what I judge from conjecture. I gather, from a clause in another letter, which I give below, that Zichmni built a town in the port of the island newly discovered by him; also, that he did his best to explore the whole country, together with the rivers in various parts of Engroueland [Greenland], because I see these described in detail in the map, but the description is lost. The clause in the letter is as follows:—"

[EXTRACT FROM ANOTHER LETTER FROM ANTONIO ZENO TO CARLO ZENO.]

"As to those things which you seek to know from me concerning the customs of the men, the animals, and the neighbouring countries, I have written about all these a separate book, which, please God, I shall bring home with me. In it I have described the countries, the monstrous fishes, the customs and laws of Frislanda, of Islanda [Iceland], of Estlanda [Shetland], of the Kingdom of Norway, of Estotilanda, of Drogio, and, lastly, the life of Nicolò the Knight, our brother, with the discoveries made by him, and matters relating to Grolanda<sup>1</sup> [Greenland]. I have also written the life and exploits of Zichmni, a Prince certainly as worthy of immortal remembrance as any other who has ever lived in this world, on account of his great valour and many good qualities. In this life may be read of his discoveries in Engrouiland (*sic*) [Greenland] on both sides, and of the city built by

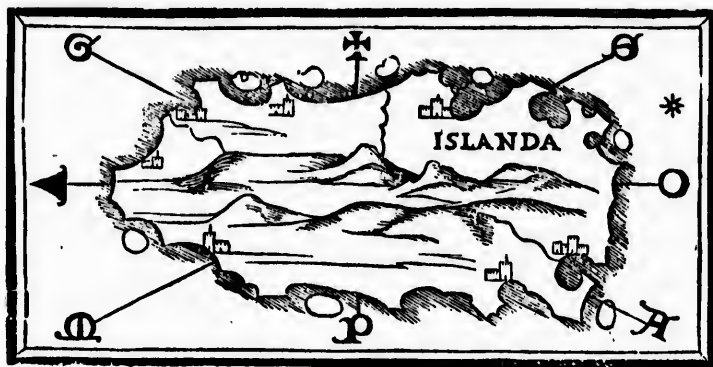
<sup>1</sup> That is, that part of Greenland alleged to have been visited by Nicolò Zeno, the traveller, in the neighbourhood of the monastery. This is called "Engroueland," or "Engrouiland," throughout the narrative, except in this place; in the map Grolanda is rendered "Crolandia."

him. Wherefore, I will say no more to you in this letter, hoping soon to be with you, and to satisfy you concerning many other things *viva voce*."

[BY THE COMPILER.]

"All these letters were written by Messire Antonio to Messire Carlo, his brother, and I grieve that the book and many other writings, in which perhaps these very same projects may have been carried out, have come, I know not how, unhappily to harm; because, being still a boy when they came into my hands, and not understanding what they were, I tore them in pieces and destroyed them, as boys will do, which I cannot, except with the keenest regret, now call to mind. Nevertheless, in order that so fair a memorial of such things may not be lost [*folio 58*], I have placed in order in the above narrative what I have been able to recover of the aforesaid materials, to the end that I may, to some extent, make reparation to this present age, which, more than any other yet gone by, is interested in the many discoveries of new lands in those parts where, it might have been thought, they would be least expected, and which is very much given to the study both of recent accounts, and of the discoveries of unknown countries made by the great spirit and enterprise of our ancestors."

"THE END."



From Bordone's *Isolario*, Venice, 1528, fol. 1.



## SECTION II.

### THE COMPILER AND THE PUBLISHER OF THE BOOK.



THE author or compiler of the book was one Nicolò Zeno,<sup>1</sup> a member of a distinguished patrician family, which had given a Doge, and several notable statesmen and warriors to Venice, and from which Cardinal Zeno descended. Nicolò Zeno, the compiler, was a direct descendant of the Antonio Zeno whose travels are described in the book, and was connected through his great-grandmother with the reigning families of Persia and Cyprus.<sup>2</sup> He was born on the 6th of June, 1515. He was *Savio di Terra-firma* and a member of the Council of Ten. He was sent, in 1543, as one of the members of an embassy to the Emperor Charles V.<sup>3</sup> He had a considerable contemporary reputation, both in public life, as a writer, and as a mathematician and geographer. He is said to have compiled a large work, the *Cronaca* or *Storia Universale*, divided into decades, but the only portion printed was the little volume of *Annals*, the title of which is given above. The remainder of the work is said to have been still in manuscript when it was lost. Nicolò Zeno died on the 10th of August, 1565.

<sup>1</sup> The only definite authority for the attribution of the authorship of the text of the narrative to Nicolò Zeno is Moletius, in his edition of *Ptolemy*, Venice, 1562 (Tab. xvii. Additarum. Text) :—" *Ut videre est in commentariolis rerum Persarum, harumque partium inventionis, qui lingua Italica typis dati sunt a Clariss. Nicolao Geno, eorum atnepos.*" The Dedication bears the name of Francesco Marcolini, but, from expressions in the book, it would certainly appear that the compiler was a member of the Zeno family.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix III.

<sup>3</sup> Zurlo *Dissertazione*, 1808, p. 31, and Casali, *Annale della Tipografia Veneziana di F. Marcolini de Forli*, 1861.



Francesco Marcolini, the printer and publisher of the book, was also a man of some note. He was born in Forli, and went to Venice about 1534. There, his great and varied abilities soon brought him into friendly, and even intimate, relations with such leading intellectual men as Daniel Barbaro, to whom he dedicated the *Annals*, Jacopo Tatti Sansovino, the architect and sculptor, Luigi Dolce, Antonio Doni, Titian and Pietro Aretino. He is said to have been an excellent "amateur" in architecture and drawing, a clockmaker, an antiquary, an author, a sculptor and a wood-engraver. His design for the bridge at Murano was chosen from among many others. Aretino, writing to Sansovino in 1545, calls this bridge "a miracle of construction." As a printer, Marcolini produced numerous important works, many of them illustrated.<sup>1</sup>

The story of the map and book, gathered from the latter, is as follows:—The compiler (who for convenience may be called Nicolò "the younger," to distinguish him from Nicolò *il Cavaliere*, one of the travellers) says that, when quite a boy, he came into possession of a book written by Antonio Zeno (the traveller) describing "the countries, the monstrous fishes, the customs and laws of Frislanda, of Islanda, of Estlanda, of the kingdom of Norway, of Estotilanda, of Drogio, and, lastly, the life of Nicolò, *il Cavaliere*, our [Antonio's] brother, with the discoveries made by him, and the matters relating to Gro-landa;" and of a document, also by Antonio, describing "the life and exploits of Zichmni, a prince certainly as worthy of immortal remembrance as any other who has ever lived in this world, on account of his great valour and many good qualities. In this life may be read of his discoveries in Engrouilanda (*sic*) on both sides, and of the city built by him." He also became possessed of certain old family letters. The book and many other writings, says the compiler, had come, he knew not how, unhappily to harm, because he, being still a boy when they came into his hands,<sup>2</sup> and not understanding what they were, tore them in pieces and destroyed them, as boys will do, which he could not, except with the keenest regret, then call to mind. Nevertheless, in order that so fair a memorial of such things might not be lost, he had placed in order in his narrative what he had been able to recover of the aforesaid materials, to the end that he might to some

<sup>1</sup> Zaccaria, *Catalogo ragionato di opere stampate per Francesco Marcolini*, Fermo, 1850.

<sup>2</sup> Nicolò Zeno the younger was born 6th June, 1515; the *Annals* was not published before December, 1558, when he must have been upwards of forty-three years old.



extent make reparation to that age, which, more than any other yet gone by, was interested in the many discoveries of new lands in those parts where they might have been least expected, and which was very much given to the study both of recent accounts, and of the discoveries of unknown countries made by the great spirit and great enterprise of his ancestors.<sup>1</sup>

In another place, the compiler says<sup>2</sup> that it occurred to him to draw out a copy of a navigating chart of the northern parts, which he once found he had amongst the ancient things in his house. This, although the chart was all rotten, and many years old, he had succeeded in doing tolerably well, and which [copy], placed before the eyes of those who took a delight in such things, might serve as a light to make intelligible that which, without it, they would not be so well able to understand.

Such is Nicolò the younger's own account of the materials which he possessed for his work, and of the manner in which he made use of them.

Some of the names in the text and upon the map, as, for instance, "Islanda" and "Engroueland" were not new; others, as "Estotiland" and "Drogeo," had not been heard of before.

There was nothing improbable in the alleged voyage of the Venetian brothers into the North Sea, for reasons stated further on. The compiler of the book was a nobleman of reputation, and had, according to his own statements, drawn his facts from original documents, preserved, though in a damaged condition, in the archives of his family.

His book went forth to the world with the prestige of the well-known names of Zeno, Barbaro and Marcolini attached to it; and it appears to have been at once accepted, without question, as genuine history and geography; indeed, there seems to have been no reason why, at that time, it should not have been so accepted. The cartography of the Northern Atlantic was still confused. Many non-existent islands appeared upon the best maps of the time. It was still a question whether Greenland was united to the Continent of Europe,<sup>3</sup> or to America, or to both,<sup>4</sup> or whether it was part of Asia,<sup>5</sup> or an island. The latter question was, indeed, still open until Peary's recent explorations settled the fact that it is an island.

<sup>1</sup> Ff. 57 and 58.    <sup>2</sup> Ff. 46 and 47.    <sup>3</sup> *Ptolemy*, 1482, and many later editions.

<sup>4</sup> Ziegler's *Schondia*, 1532. "Some are of opinion that this West England is firm land with the north-east parts of *Meta Incognita*, or else with *Groenland*," (Hakluyt, vol. iii., 1600, p. 77.)

<sup>5</sup> Ruysch's map in *Ptolemy*, 1507.



### SECTION III.

#### THE INFLUENCE OF THE ZENO BOOK AND MAP.



THE Zeno map (Plate XI.), which bears the date MCCCCLXXX., was copied in Ruscelli's Italian edition of "Ptolemy," published in Venice in 1561<sup>1</sup> (Plate XII.), with some slight alterations, viz., the elimination of every alternate parallel of longitude, and the addition of figures indicating the number of degrees to those left (taking the longitude of Ferro as the prime meridian), the extension of the sea between the North of Europe and "Crolandia," over the tract marked in the original map "mare et terre incognite," the addition of the names "Grone-land" and "Guardus Insula," and some variations in the spelling of the other names. The editor of the "Ptolemy" credits Nicolo Zeno the younger with the revision of the map, and speaks of him as being "in those two most noble sciences, that is to say, history and geography, universally held to have, at this day, few equals in the whole of Europe." The same map appears in the "Ptolemy" of Moletius, published in Venice, in Latin, in 1562.<sup>2</sup> It follows the map of "Schonladia Nvova," which is an enlarged and simplified copy of Gastaldi's map, "Schonlandia Nova," in the Italian "Ptolemy" of 1548 (Plate VI.). Moletius is careful to point out that the two maps given by him differ considerably, although each contains nearly the same parts of the world, and to explain that he has placed them together, so that the older navigations and travels might be better

<sup>1</sup> "Nvova Tavola Settentrionale," No. XXXV. of the new maps.

<sup>2</sup> "Tabula XVII. additarum, et XXVI., secundum seriem numerorum."

compared with the more recent. He then refers to the Zeno story as being "printed in the Italian language by the most distinguished Nicolò Zeno," and he dedicates his commentary on the sixth and seventh chapters of "Ptolemy" to Caterino Zeno, son of Nicolò the younger.

The Zeno narrative, with a few interpolations chiefly relating to the family, next appears in the second edition of the second volume of Ramusio's *Navigazioni et Viaggi*, published in Venice in 1574.<sup>1</sup>

The Zeno narrative and map were accepted as genuine by Gerard Kaufmann, better known as "Mercator," and its errors, or falsities, are reproduced in his great map of the world, published at Duisburg in 1569 (a facsimile of the pertinent portion of which is given on Plate XIII.). On this map the name "Estotiland" appears for the first time upon the continent of America. It is interesting to compare that portion of this map which has reference to the Zeno question with so much of the corresponding portion as appears on the same great cartographer's map of Europe, published in 1554, four years before the publication of the Zeno map (see Plates VII. and XIII.). The unfortunate acceptance by Mercator of Zeno's representations has probably done more than anything else to disseminate the errors of the Zenian geography, as Mercator's maps were reprinted and recopied very frequently. The first edition of "Ptolemy" in which they appeared was that of 1578. After Mercator's death, in 1594, the plates of his maps were bought by Jodocus Hondius, who used them in the 1605 edition of "Ptolemy," in "Mercator's Atlas," first published in Amsterdam in 1595, and in other works; and the maps were also reproduced by other publishers, in several forms and languages, with more or less alteration, and with, or without, acknowledgment.<sup>2</sup>

In 1570, Abraham Ortelius published at Antwerp his *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, which contained two maps embodying Zeno's

<sup>1</sup> It is to be noted that Ramusio himself died in 1557, before the publication, in 1559, of the first edition of the second volume of the book which continued to pass under his name. Zarhlmann mentions a 1564 edition of the second volume, but it was unknown to Haym (*Biblioteca Italiana*, 1771), and Sabin (*Dist. of Books relating to America*, 1888), in his elaborate collation of the various editions of Ramusio, states definitely that the 1574 edition of the second volume was the second edition, and adds that he could find no proof of the existence of a 1564 edition.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. gr. *Gerardi Mercatoris Atlas*, folio, Amsterdam, 1605. *Atlas Minor, Gerardi Mercatoris*, oblong 4to, Amsterdam, 1610. *P. Bertii Tabularum Geographicarum contrarium Libri Septem*, oblong 4to, Amsterdam, 1618. *Theatrum Geographiæ Veteris* (Bertius), 1618. *Historia Mundi, or Mercator's Atlas*, folio, London, 1635.

material, viz., "Americæ sive novi Orbis nova descriptio," and "Septentrionalium Regionum Descrip." (Plate XIV.). The map of Europe in the same volume, though it covers nearly the whole ground of the Zeno map, shows no trace of Zeno's influence, except that "Monasterium S. Thomæ" is marked upon the coast of Greenland. In the text prefixed to Map 45, "Sept. Reg. Descrip.," the editor, in speaking of "Frislandia," refers to the travels of Nicolò Zeno, and gives a short epitome of the parts of the narrative relating to Frisland, Icaria, and Greenland.<sup>1</sup> The fuller remarks, quoted by Hakluyt, in favour of the Zeni, as mentioned below, first appear in the 1592 edition of the *Theatrum Orbis*, in the text prefixed to Map 6, "Mare pacificum vel del Zur." Both Mercator and Ortelius identify Drogeo with "Dus Cirnes Gallis," a mysterious island supposed to have been discovered by some French navigators, which appears on several maps of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Frisland appears, together with Iceland and Feroe, on the map, dated 1570, by Sigurdus Stephanus,<sup>2</sup> the head of the school at Skaiholt. None of the other names initiated by Zeno are shown.

In 1576, Martin Frobisher made his first voyage in search of a new passage to Cataya, China, and the East India, by the North-west. Coming to Greenland, in 61° N. lat., he mistook it for "Frisland," and, in his second and third voyages, undertaken in 1577 and 1578, he fell into the same error.<sup>3</sup> He was no doubt misled by the Zeno map, which puts the southern point of Greenland between 65° and 66° N. lat., and the south of Frisland in 61° N. lat., about the true position of Cape Farewell. It is evident that he used that map as a guide, for, in the account of his second voyage, "Frislande," or "West Frislande," is stated to have been sighted in 60° 30' N. lat., and it is added that it "appeareth by a description set out by two brethren Venetians, *Nicholaus* and *Antonius Zeni*, who, being driven off from *Ireland* with a violent tempest, made shipwracke here, and were the first knowen Christians that discovered this land about two hundred yeares sithence, and they have in their Sea-cardes set out every part thereof. . . . And for so much of this land as we have sayled

<sup>1</sup> In this same text, in the 1592 edition of Ortelius, is interpolated a passage referring to the supposed recent visit of the English (Frobisher) to Frislandia, and to the name "Anglia Occidentalis," or West England, given to it by them, on the 20th June, 1578.

<sup>2</sup> Torfaeus, *Gronlandia Antiqua*, Havniæ, 1715.

<sup>3</sup> Hakluyt, 1589, pp. 619, 623, and 630; ed. 1599-1600, vol. iii., pp. 30, 33, 40, 58, 62, 77.

alongst, comparing their carde with the Coast, we find it very agreeable."<sup>1</sup>

In Frobisher's "Articles and orders to be observed for the Fleete," on his third voyage, the captains are enjoined, "If any ship shall happen to lose company by force of weather, then any such ship or ships shall get her into the latitude of (sic) and so keep that latitude until they get *Frisland*."<sup>2</sup>

In the account of Frobisher's third voyage the following passage occurs:—

"The twentieth of June, at two of the clocke in the morning, the General descried land, and found it to be West *Frisland*, now named West *England*. Here the Generall and other Gentlemen went ashore, being the first knowen Christians that we have true notice of that ever set foot upon that ground, and therefore the Generall tooke possession thereof to the use of our Sovereign Lady the Queene's Majestie. . . . Some are of opinion that this West *England* is firme land with the North-east partes of *Meta Incognita*, or else with *Groenland*."<sup>3</sup>

Porcacchi di Castiglione (1576) gives<sup>4</sup> a map of Iceland drawn with the fictitious Zenian Islands to the east of it. In the accompanying text, which is apparently taken from the exceedingly rare Italian pamphlet by Olaus Magnus, descriptive of his great map of 1539 (Plate IV.), and from the larger work, by the same author, published in 1555, also referring to his great map,<sup>5</sup> there is no allusion to the Zeni or their voyages, nor is there any trace of the Zeno influence on any of the other maps in Porcacchi's book.

In the *Private Diary of Doctor John Dee*,<sup>6</sup> under the date November 28th, 1577, are the following entries:

"I spake with the Quene hora quinta. I spake with her secretary Walsingham. I declared to the Quene her title to Greenland, Estetiland, and Friseland;" and, under the date June 30th, 1578, "I told

<sup>1</sup> Hakluyt, 1599-1600, vol. iii., p. 62. Mr. Miller Christy has a copy made from a MS. map preserved in the library at Hatfield House, showing Frobisher's discoveries. Upon the original are indicated, in pencil, Frisland, Drogio, and Estotiland, in the positions in which the draughtsman evidently expected those islands would be found. The map is dated 6th June, 1576, and is signed by W. Borough. Frobisher sailed on the 15th of the same month.

<sup>2</sup> Hakluyt, 1599-1600, vol. iii., p. 76.

<sup>3</sup> Hakluyt, vol. iii., pp. 76, 77.

<sup>4</sup> *L'Isole piu Famosi del Mondo*, fol. Venice, 1576, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Opera breve, laquale demonstra, e dichiara, overo da il modo facili de intendere la charta, over delle terre frigidissime de Settentrione*, etc. Venice, 1539 (Brit. Mus. C. 55, c. 2), and *Historia de gentibus Septentrionalibus*, etc. Rome, MDLV.

<sup>6</sup> Edited by J. O. Halliwell (Camden Society). Published 1842.

Mr. Daniel Rogers, Mr. Hackluyt of the Middle Temple being by, that Kyng Arthur and King Maty, both of them, did conquer Gelindia, lately called Friseland."

In his map,<sup>1</sup> dated 1580, but prepared, as appears from the endorsement, before Frobisher's third voyage in 1578, Dr. Dee shows Iceland, without the Zenian Islands off the Eastern point; Icaria, Groeland, and Engroueland, Estotiland (as an island between 60° and 70° north latitude, and in the longitude of Cuba), Frisland, Neome, and Podalida. For Drogeo he substitutes "Orbeland aliis Dus Cirnes." In the endorsement on the map he says, "Circa Anno 530. King Arthur not only Conquered *Iseland*, *Groenland*, and all the Northern Isles compassing unto *Russia*, but even unto the North Pole (in manner) did extend his jurisdiction: and sent Colonies thither, and unto all the Isles between *Scotland* and *Iseland*, whereby yt is probable that the last-named *Friseland Iland* is of the Brytish ancient discovery and possession: and also seeing *Groeland* beyonde *Groenland* did receive their Inhabitants by Arthur, it is credible that the famous Iland *Estotiland* was by his folke possessed. Circa A° 1353. The Latin Books in the King's Library in *Estotiland*, by no history (yet heard of) can most probably be ascribed to any other Mens bringing thither, than by the foresayd Colonies sent by King Arthur."

On a map of America and the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, published by Rasciotti<sup>2</sup> at Venice in 1583, are shown "Island," with "Icaria" due west of it, "Drogeo de Francesi," and "Estotiland," which latter is placed on the continent of America.

Lorenzo D'Anania accepts<sup>3</sup> the Zeno narrative as true, and shows Icaria, Frisland, and Estotiland, on the map of America, which first appears in the edition of his work published in 1582.

The Zeno narrative next appears in English, translated from Ramusio's Italian version, in Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages*, 1582,<sup>4</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Dr. John Dee's map. Original in the British Museum (Cottonian MS., Aug. 1. 1. art. 1).

<sup>2</sup> *Remarkable Maps of XV., XVI., and XVII. Centuries*. Edited by C. H. Coote. Muller, Amsterdam, 1894, Part I., Map 12.

<sup>3</sup> *L'Universale Fabrica del Mondo*, etc., in Venetia, 1582, p. 178 et seqq.

<sup>4</sup> *Divers Voyages touching the discoverie of America and the islands adjacent unto the same, made first of all by our Englishmen and afterwards by the Frenchmen and Britons. . . . With two mappes annexed hereunto . . . imprinted at London for Thomas Woodcotte . . . 1582.* For facsimiles of the translation referred to above, and of Lok's map, see Appendix II. and Plate XV. The other map in the book, ("Thorne's," 1527), does not bear upon the Zeno question. There is a facsimile of it in Nordenskjöld's *Facsimile Atlas*.

in the second map (Lok's) Greenland is marked "N. and A. Zeno, 1380." The translation does not appear in the same author's *Principall Navigations Voiages and Discoveries*, 1589, which is devoted to English travels only, but it re-appears, with a few additions and some variations in spelling, in the third volume of the *Voyages, Navigations, Traffiques, and Discoveries*, published in 1599-1600.

We find a note of suspicion in Hakluyt's remarks which follow the account in his larger edition of 1599-1600. "For the more credite and confirmation of the former Historie of Messer *Nicholas* and Messer *Antonio Zeno* (which for some fewe respects may perhaps bee called in question) I have heere annexed the iudgment of that famous Cosmographer *Abraham Ortelius*, or rather the yealding and submitting of his iudgment thereunto: etc."<sup>1</sup> He then quotes a passage attributing to Antonio Zeno a discovery of America a century before that by Columbus. This passage from Ortelius quoted by Hakluyt is from the text prefixed to Map 6, "Mare Pacificum vel del Zur," and does not appear in any edition of the *Theatrum Orbis* earlier than that of 1592. A clause is interpolated, in the text prefixed to the map "Sept. Regionum descrip.," in this edition, stating that Frisland was called by the English *Anglia Occidentalis*. The name West England was first given by Frobisher to Greenland, which he thought was Frisland, on the 20th June, 1578, when on his third voyage.<sup>2</sup>

The principal names of the Zeno map appear, however, upon the "Typus Orbis Terrarum," from Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis*, which map was provisionally issued with the 1589 edition of Hakluyt, "untill the comming out of a very large and most exact terrestriall Globe, collected and reformed according to the newest, secretest, and latest discoveries, both Spanish, Portugall, and English, composed by M. *Emmerie Mollineux* of *Lambeth*, a rare Gentleman in his profession, being therein for divers yeeres, greatly supported by the purse and liberalitie of the worshipfull marchant M. *William Sanderson*."<sup>3</sup> The globe here mentioned was finished in 1592, and the only known example extant is now preserved in the Library of the Middle Temple, in London. It shows Frislanda, Drogeo (which appears as part of Labrador, and not as an island), and some other Zenian names, which are omitted in the important map of which it was, probably, the

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, vol. iii., 1600, p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, vol. iii., 1600, p. 77.

<sup>3</sup> Hakluyt, 1589, "To the Reader."



original source. Buss Island,<sup>1</sup> supposed to have been discovered on Frobisher's third voyage in 1578, is delineated for the first time on this globe. The map, now known as the Molineux Map, or Wright's Map, was published in 1599,<sup>2</sup> and contains a few of the Zeno materials which appear in the more reputable company of the discoveries of Frobisher and Davis. It should form part of Hakluyt's work of 1599-1600, but rarely does so.

On the 14th October, 1586, John Davis wrote to Mr. William Sanderson:—"The *Sunneshine* came into *Dartmouth* the fourth of this moneth: She hath been at *Island*, and from thence to *Groenland*, and so to *Estotiland*, from thence to *Desolation*, and to our *Marchants*, etc. . . . I hope I shall finde favour with you to see your Card, etc."<sup>3</sup>

Frisland is mentioned in the account of the apocryphal voyage of Lorenzo Ferrer Maldonado to the Straits of Anian, alleged to have taken place in 1588.<sup>4</sup> The account of this voyage was first brought to the notice of the public by a translation from the Spanish Manuscript in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, by Amoretti, the librarian of that establishment. The voyage has long been discredited, but it is mentioned here as it was referred to, amongst others, by Zurlo in support of the Zeno story.

There is no suggestion of Zenian material in Sebastian Munster's edition of *Ptolemy*, 1542, nor in the editions of his *Cosmography*, published, during his lifetime, in 1544 and 1550; but, in some of the posthumous editions of the latter work we find some Zenian names and islands incorporated in the maps. For instance, in the Basle edition of 1588, Map 1, *Estotilandt* appears upon America. In Map 3,

<sup>1</sup> Of course "Buss Island" has really no direct connection with the Zenian narrative, as it was first mentioned only in 1578; but it afterwards became so confused, and even identified, with the Frisland of the Zeni, that it is necessary to refer to it.

<sup>2</sup> There are two states of the Molineux Map. The first impression was reproduced with Admiral Markham's *Voyages and Worlds* John Davis (Hakluyt Society, 1880), with a note on the map by Mr. C. H. Coote. The second impression (which may be distinguished from the first by a fourth cartouche in the South Pacific, containing an inscription referring to the voyages of Drake, Sarmiento, and Candish), is reproduced in Nordenskjöld's *Facsimile Atlas*, Plate L. Very few copies of the first impression are extant; the last, sold by public auction at Christie and Manson's on the 19th June, 1894, fetched £375 (Quaritch). This copy formerly belonged to Sir James Hay Langham, Bart. The Molineux Map is now generally accepted as that referred to in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, Act III., Scene 2, as "the new map with the augmentation of the Indies."

<sup>3</sup> Hakluyt, 1589, p. 786, and 1599-1600, vol. iii., p. 108.

<sup>4</sup> A translation of a copy of this account obtained from Don Filipe Banza, Superintendent of the Hydrographical Department in Madrid, is given in the second appendix to Barrow's *Voyages into the Arctic Regions*, 1818. See also Justin Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. ii., p. 455, and vol. viii., p. 110.



"New Europa," *S. O. Tome*, appears on Greenland. In Map 19, "Regiones Septentrionales," the Zenian names are given on *Gronlandt*, which is shown as a large triangular island, as in Ortelius (Plate XIV.); *Friesland* is shown with only the names *Cabaru*, *Ocibar*, *Godineck*, and *Sorand* upon it, and the islands *Neome*, *Podalida*, *Ilofe*, *Ledeve*, *Grislandt*, *Icaria*, and *Estotilandt* also appear. The Shetlands are called *See landt*. Munster died in 1552, six years before the Zeno book was published, and it has been suggested that his *Cosmography* was one of the sources of parts of the Zeno narrative. But, if this be so, the position is reversed in the later editions of the *Cosmography*, and Munster's honoured name, without his will, has helped to spread the Zenian myths.

Livio Sanuto credits<sup>1</sup> the Zeni brothers with the discovery of the parts nearest to the Pole, and refers to the map and narrative as authorities upon the true boundaries of Greenland.

Myritius<sup>2</sup> mentions the Monastery of St. Thomas in Engroneland, Frisland, and Nicolò Zeno.

Peter Plancius shows Frisland, Cape Trin, and Estotiland, on his "Orbis Terrarum Typus," 1594. He also shows the Island of Bus. No copy of Plancius's earlier map of 1592 is now known to be extant.

Cornelius Wytfliet,<sup>3</sup> writing in 1597, fully accepts the brothers Zeni as the first discoverers of Labrador, under the name of Estotiland, and, in his map of "Estotilandia et Laboratoris terra," puts the names "Estotilandt" and "Terra de Labrador" together. He also shows upon the Greenland coast the names of the rivers and promontories which are to be found on the Zeno map. Frisland also appears, but Drogeo and Icaria are not shown, except upon his general map of the world.

The accounts of the Monastery of St. Thomas, of the volcanoes, of the hot springs, and of their use for warming the monks' chambers and cooking their food, appear in the first Latin edition of Linschoten's voyages, 1599,<sup>4</sup> and also in the French edition of 1610, but the *Historia Trium Navigationum* (recording the voyages of Barentz in 1594, 1595, and 1596), which contains the accounts, is not in either the first edition, in Dutch, 1596, or in the first English edition, 1598.

<sup>1</sup> *Geografia*, Vinegia, 1588, ff. 14 and 17.

<sup>2</sup> *Opusculum Geographicum*, Ingoldstadt, 1590, Part II., chapter xix.

<sup>3</sup> *Descriptionis Ptolemaeae Augmentum*, Louvani, 1597. Eighteen out of the nineteen maps in this work are reproduced in Nordenskjöld's *Facsimile Atlas*.

<sup>4</sup> *Navigatio ac Itinerarium Johannis Hugonis Linscolani*. Hagae Comitum, 1599. Part II., p. 18.

The Latin edition also contains a map of the Northern regions, attributed to William Barentz, which shows Estotiland and part of Frisland, and has some of the Zenian names on the coast of Greenland. This map, on a reduced scale, also appears in De Bry,<sup>1</sup> 1601. There is, however, no mention of the monastery, nor of the other Zenian details as to Greenland, in the original account of the three voyages by Gerrit de Veer,<sup>2</sup> published, in Dutch, Latin, and French, at Amsterdam, in 1598, from which Linschoten made his Abstract; nor in the Italian edition, published at Venice in 1599; nor in the English translation, published in London in 1609. The Zenian details in Linschoten's Latin edition of 1599 are, therefore, interpolations by the editor, who was, according to Camus,<sup>3</sup> Linschoten himself.

Matthias Quad, in his *Compendium Universi*,<sup>4</sup> quotes the Zeno story as an authority. The same author, in a later work, gives a map, avowedly copied from Gerard Mercator,<sup>5</sup> which shows Frisland, Estotiland, and Drogeo.

In a map dated 1605, by H. P. Resen,<sup>6</sup> Frisland and Estotiland are shown, with some curious legends attached. It is more fully referred to below in the chapter which deals with the "Carta da Navegar."

The map, engraved by Hessel Gerritsz, to illustrate Hudson's voyages,<sup>7</sup> shows Yslandt, Frisland and Bus, and Groenlandia, but the latter bears none of the Zenian names. This map on a reduced scale is used by Levinus Hulsius (Part XII., Oppenheim, 1614).

In the account of James Hall's voyage of 1606<sup>8</sup> Frezeland is mentioned; it is not, however, stated that he saw it, but that he saw land which he supposed to be Busse Island, more to the westward than it was placed in the marine charts.

<sup>1</sup> *Tres Navigationes Hollandorum in modo diſſam Indiam*. Francofurti, 1601. Part III. of De Bry's *Petits Voyages*.

<sup>2</sup> *Waerachtighe Beschryvinghe van drie ſeylagien, etc.* Amsterdam, 1598.

<sup>3</sup> *Mémoire sur la Collection des Grands et Petits Voyages*, par A. G. Camus, Membre de l'Institut National Imprimé par l'ordre et aux frais de l'Institut, Paris. Frimaire an XI. (1802), p. 191 n.

<sup>4</sup> *Compendium Universi, completius Geographicarum Enarrationum Libros sex*. Colonia Agrippinæ, 1600. Book 6.

<sup>5</sup> "Typus Orbis Terrarum ad imitationem universalis Gerhardi Mercatoris" in *Geographisch Handbuch*, Coln, 1600; and the Latin translation *Fasciculus Geographicus*, Coln am Rein, 1608. The map is reproduced in Nordenskjöld's *Facsimile Atlas*, Plate XLIX.

<sup>6</sup> Reproduced in "Om Østerbygden" of K. J. V. Steenstrup (*Aftryk af Meddelelser om Grønland*, IX.). Copenhagen, 1886.

<sup>7</sup> *Descriptio ac delineatio Geographica Detentionis Freti*, etc., Amsterdam, 1612.

<sup>8</sup> *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, 1625, vol. iii., p. 822.

Frisland and Estotilandia are shown on the map, dated 1606, by Gudbrand Thorlacius, Bishop of Hølen.<sup>1</sup>

Mention of Ditmar Blefken's mendacious and libellous booklet<sup>2</sup> ought not to be omitted, as it has been supposed by some authors to confirm Zeno's description of Greenland. Blefken gives an account, (which, he says, he heard from a blind monk while he was in Iceland in 1563), of the Monastery of St. Thomas in Greenland, where the monk said he had been in 1546. The account contains details corresponding closely to those given by Zeno. The authenticity of Blefken's narrative has been so entirely disproved by Arngnim Jonas,<sup>3</sup> and its falsities so thoroughly exposed, that even Major, who frankly admits that he would have been glad of Blefken's support, if he could have accepted it, abandons it utterly, and points out that, as Blefken's book was not published till forty-nine years after Zeno's narrative appeared, he might easily have borrowed his accounts from the latter. That he did so is the more likely as he states that *insulæ quæ Ebudæ vocantur* lie off the north-east extremity of Iceland, where Zeno shows his seven misplaced islands, Mimant, Troas, Bres. etc.

A German version of Zeno's narrative is given by Megisser,<sup>4</sup> and is accompanied by maps of Frisland and the Shetlands, on the same plate with a map of the Faroes (which latter group of islands does not appear on the Zeno map, unless under the guise of Frisland), all taken from Mercator's Atlas;<sup>5</sup> also, by a map of Iceland, reduced from Bishop Gudbrand Thorlaksen's large map of that island,<sup>6</sup> and by a map of "Engronelant," which bears Zenian names. On Abraham Goos's globe, published by Joh. Janssonius at Antwerp in 1621, *St. Thomas* is shown upon Greenland, together with *Frisland* and *Buss*.<sup>7</sup>

Sieur Pierre D'Avity<sup>8</sup> refers, apparently with credence, to the discovery of Estotiland by fishermen of *Freslande*, and its subsequent recognition by Antonio Zeno in 1390.

An abstract of the Zeno voyages appears in *Purchas His Pil-*

<sup>1</sup> Torfæus, *Gronlandia Antiqua*, Havnix, 1715.

<sup>2</sup> *Islandia, sive populorum et mirabilium quæ in ea insula reperiuntur accuratior descriptio: cui de Gronlandia sub finem quedam adjecta*. Hague, 1607.

<sup>3</sup> *Anatomie Blefkeniana*. Hølen, 1612.

<sup>4</sup> *Septentrio Novantiquus oder Die Neue Nort Welt*. Leipsic, 1613.

<sup>5</sup> *Historia Mundi*, Amsterdam, 1606; London, 1635. Map 6, p. 29.

<sup>6</sup> Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. Antwerp, 1595. Map 103.

<sup>7</sup> Reproduced in facsimile in *Remarkable Maps of the XIV., XV., and XVIth. Centuries*. Muller, Amsterdam, 1894, Part I., No. 9.

<sup>8</sup> *Les Estats, Empires, et Principautez du Monde*. Paris, 1622, p. 264.

grimes, 1625.<sup>1</sup> A second and fuller notice, in *Purchas his Pilgrimage*,<sup>2</sup> the author concludes thus:

"This History I have thus inserted at large, which, perhaps, not without cause in some thinges, may seem fabulous; not in the *Zeni*, which thus writ, but in the Relations they received from others. Howsoever; the best Geographers are beholden to these Brethren, for that little knowledge they have of these parts; of which none before had written: nor since have there been any great in-land Discoveries." And he refers to Ortelius, Hakluyt, Botero, and Maginus, in support. In "The course from *Island to Groneland*," which follows Ivar Boty's Treatise in *Purchas*, the following occurs:<sup>3</sup> "If you see Ice that commeth out of *Trolebothon*, you shall goe more Southerly, but not too farre South for feare of *Freesland*, for there runneth an hard streame. And it is fiteene miles or leagues from *Freesland*."

"Item. *Freesland* lyeth South and *Island* East from *Gronland*."

Pontanus, in his Danish history, 1631,<sup>4</sup> prints a Latin version of the Zeno narrative in full, leaving its credibility to the judgment of the reader, but accepting it himself as true. He does not, however, elsewhere in his text (except in a quotation from Wytfliet) mention any of the peculiar Zenian islands. Arngrim Jonas, more fully referred to below, comments upon this somewhat remarkable inconsistency.<sup>5</sup>

Luke Foxe, who sailed the Northern Seas in 1631, gives an abstract of the Zeno narrative, and, in the "Polar Card," which illustrates his book, shows Frisland, but all other traces of the Zeno map are wanting. The Island of "Buss" is shown. He also quotes Arngrim Jonas, and Ditmar Blefken. As to the Zeno narrative, he says:

"This writer acknowledging that Originall copies of the Zenij's Letters, were by him carelessly torne in peieces in his youth, which losse he now griued at, I doubt in this, he was enforced in many things, to patch vp, as his memorie would serve, so as there may be some likelihood of vntruths, howsoever I doe beleeeve, the first Copies were true, though this is subiect to mistakings."<sup>6</sup>

The only reference to the *Zeni*, in Foxe's account of his own

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, vol. iii., p. 610.

<sup>2</sup> *Purchas his Pilgrimage* (a distinct work from *his Pilgrimes*, but usually treated as vol. v. of the larger book). Fourth edition, 1626, pp. 807-809.

<sup>3</sup> *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, vol. iii., p. 520.

<sup>4</sup> *Rerum Danicarum Historia, libri x.* Amsterdam, 1631, pp. 755-763.

<sup>5</sup> *Specimen Islandiæ.* Amsterdam, 1643, p. 161.

<sup>6</sup> *North West Fox.* London, 1635, pp. 12 and 181.

voyage, is the following wild conjecture : "nor will I be persuaded, but that if there were a *Dorgio*, as is mentioned by the Zeni, that that tract of land on the S. betwixt *Frobrishers* (*sic*) strait and *Cape Farewell*, is the same."<sup>1</sup>

On "The Platt of Sayling for the Discoverye of a Passage into the South Sea, 1631, 1632," as the map illustrating James's voyage is entitled,<sup>2</sup> *Prezeland* is shown, but there is no other Zenian name, and no allusion to the Zeni in the text. The course of the voyage, however, did not touch any of the Zenian localities except the South-western point of Greenland.

In Willem Jansz (Blaeu) and Herman Allertsz (Coster's) "*Grote Werelts Caerte*," revised by Franciscus Hoieus, and published by Hugo Allardt, about 1640,<sup>3</sup> *St. Thomaz*, and some other Zenian names, appear on Greenland, and *Frisland* is shown, but *Icaria*, *Estotiland*, and *Drogeo* are absent.

Hugo Grotius<sup>4</sup> refers to *Frislanda* and *Estotilanda* on the authority of Zeno's narrative. De Laet, in his notes on Grotius, shows that he doubts the story.<sup>5</sup> In his answer to the second dissertation of Grotius, after denying that he had said that all the statements in the Zeno narrative seemed to him to be false, but only those concerning *Estotiland*, the King's library, and the fisherman's story, De Laet adds, that if he had said that he thought nearly all the statements false, he would not have considered that he had said anything except the truth.<sup>6</sup>

Mothe le Vayer is quoted by Terra Rossa<sup>7</sup> and Zurla,<sup>8</sup> as saying, on p. 71 of his *Geographie* (which we have not seen), when treating of North America, that the land of *Estotiland* in Davis's Straits was discovered in 1390, and that neither Christopher Columbus, nor Amerigo Vespucci, was the first to find the New World, for, more than a hundred years before them, Antonio Zeno, a Venetian, went into that part of the continent by order of the King of *Frislanda*, called *Zichmno* (Zurla has *Zichim*).

La Peyrere, in his *Relation du Groenland*, addressed to Mothe

<sup>1</sup> *North West Fox*. London, 1635, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> *The Strange and Dangerous Voyage of Captain Thomas James*, etc. London, 1633.

<sup>3</sup> *Remarkable Maps*, etc. Edited by C. H. Coote. Muller, Amsterdam, 1894; Part I., Nos. 7 and 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Dissertatio de Origine Gentium Americanarum*. Amsterdam, 1642.

<sup>5</sup> *Notæ Diss. Hugonis Grotii, De origine Gent. amer.* Amsterdam, 1643, pp. 20-22.

<sup>6</sup> *Responsio ad Diss. Secundam Hugonis Grotii*, etc. Amsterdam, 1644, p. 11.

<sup>7</sup> *Riflessioni Geografiche*. Padova, 1686, folio 5.

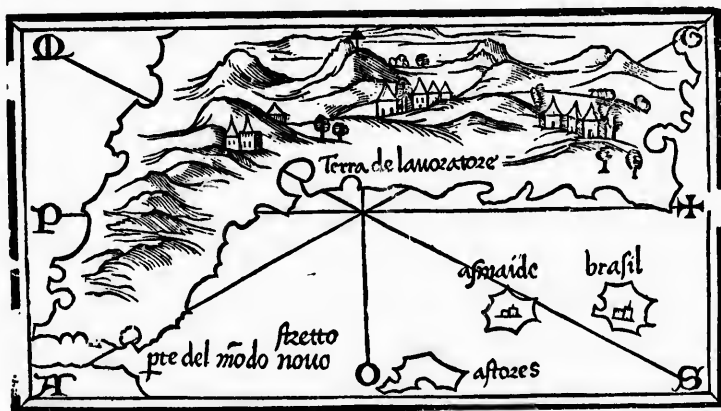
<sup>8</sup> *Dissertatione*, 1808, p. 120. *Marco Polo*, vol. ii., pp. 78, 79.

le Vayer, mentions the Monastery in Greenland dedicated to St. Thomas,<sup>1</sup> on the authority of the versified chronicle of the Danish priest, Claude Christophersen (Lyscander), who died about 1635.<sup>2</sup> He also shows *Frisland* on the "Carte de Groenland" which illustrates his book, but there is no other sign of the Zeno story on the map, and no mention of the Zeni in the text.

The Zeno story was accepted and supported by many other geographers and authors, and its materials incorporated in many books and maps; but enough has been said to show that, for nearly a hundred years after the publication of the little volume of *Annals*, and its accompanying map, they were generally looked upon as authentic.

<sup>1</sup> *Relation du Groenland*. Paris, 1647, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.



LABRADOR [Greenland] from Bordone's *Isolaria*, Venice, 1528, fol. 6.



## SECTION IV.

### DOUBTS AND CONTROVERSY.



WHILE geographers and authors were spreading the Zeno Map and narrative broadcast as authentic documents, practical navigators were finding out that there was at least as much fiction as fact in the map. At first they gave the map credit, and tried to fit to it the newer discoveries in the northern world. Frobisher, as we have seen, thought that Greenland was Zeno's Frisland. Mercator, working upon Davis's discoveries, made Cape Desolation, Cape Chidley, and Sander-son's Hope, agree with Zeno's "Af," "pr Hoen," and "pr Hit," respectively.<sup>1</sup> But the Island of Frislanda, "much larger than Ire-land,"<sup>2</sup> and having a large and lucrative trade with "Flanders, Brittany, England, Scotland, Norway, and Denmark,"<sup>3</sup> had disappeared from the face of the earth; "Icaria," too, was gone, legend and all. The positions of these islands, as far as they could be calculated from the map, had been sailed over again and again, but the wonderful lands were not there. Professor Storm refers<sup>4</sup> to the Diary of a Voyage of Christen Nielson, a Dane, made in 1579, in which, when he came to the place where Frislanda should have been, according to the Zeno Map, he has noted, "here we were, as the Captain (the Englishman James Alday) said, thirty miles from a land which was

<sup>1</sup> Lelewel, *Geographie du Moyen Age*, vol. iv, p. 98 n. (35).

<sup>2</sup> *Annals*, folio 47.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, folio 48.

<sup>4</sup> *Om Zeniernes Reiser*, p. 3, where *Grønlands Historiske Mindesmaerker*, iii. 644, which contains the Diary, is referred to.



called Frisland;" but, adds Storm, one sees also from the Diary that the ship went backwards and forwards in this sea without hitting upon Frisland.

Arngrim Jonas, a native of, and resident in, Iceland, who, in 1592, was commended to the world by the Bishop of Hólen as "an honest and learned young man,"<sup>1</sup> was the author of "The Commentary of Iceland,"<sup>2</sup> printed by Hakluyt, and of other works on that island,<sup>3</sup> directed partly to the refutation of fables about it, and of the libels upon its inhabitants. In his *Specimen Islandiæ* he exposes many of the falsities, both of the history and geography, of the *Zeno Annals*. He denies absolutely the existence of the Zenian Islands to the east of Iceland, and derides the account of the flourishing winter gardens in Greenland.

Arnoldus Montanus, and Ogilby, the editor of the English edition of Montanus's work, in referring to Zeno, say<sup>4</sup> that "he has set down many things that have little resemblance to truth according to what is since found by credible navigators; and therefore we cannot depend on Zeno's discovery."

Moses Pitts, in his fine *English Atlas*,<sup>5</sup> though he shows "Frisland," and some other Zenian names, in the map of the World on Mercator's projection, and on his map of the North Pole and parts adjoining, refers to the Zeni in terms of disparagement thus: "tho there be grounds sufficient to make us doubt some of their relations yet not to reject them," and writing of "Freesland or Friseland," he says, "They [the Zeni brothers] describe the inhabitants to be good Christians, very civil, and to be governed by a great Lord whose name was *Zickmay*, whose mighty conquests and strange accidents may be read in *Hackluit*. It is not our business to write or repeat romances."

Another author, a man of mark in his day, who ventured to doubt the truth of the Zeno story, was the French geographer, Michel Antoine Baudrand. In his *Geographical Dictionary*, 1681, he makes<sup>6</sup> some very pertinent criticisms and awkward queries as to the

<sup>1</sup> Hakl., 1599, vol. i., p. 552.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Crymogæa, or History of Iceland*, 1609. *Anatomie Blefkeniana*, Hólen, 1612. *Specimen Islandiæ Historicum*, Amsterdam, 1643, p. 142 et seq.

<sup>4</sup> *De Nieuwe en onbekende Weereld*, Amsterdam, 1671; and *America*, London, 1671.

<sup>5</sup> *English Atlas*, Oxford, 1680, folio, vol. i., pp. 10 and 13.

<sup>6</sup> *Geographia ordine litterarum disposita*, Paris, 1681, in Latin, afterwards published in French in 1701. This book was a new edition, much amplified, of the work of Ferrarius, published in 1670.



existence, not only of Frisland, but of that part of the imaginary Great Southern Continent called "Beach," which, it was claimed, had been discovered by Marco Polo, a countryman of the Zeni. He ventures to ask "where are they?" and proceeds to express his doubts as to their existence, giving for a reason as to Frisland, the absolute silence of other authors, and of French, English, Danish, and Belgian navigators about it. In this, however, as will have been seen, he is not quite accurate.

This expression of scepticism on the part of Baudrand brings upon the field a comic figure, raging furiously, Padre Dottore Vitale Terra Rossa. In his *Riflessioni Geografiche*,<sup>1</sup> a book which is as much an attack on Baudrand as a defence of the Venetian nobles, he claims to have proved that the patricians of Venice first discovered all the lands anciently unknown, also America and Terra Australis; that an exact and perfect concordance of the old and new geography is desirable, for the honour of the Venetian noblemen; and he contends, in opposition to Baudrand, that none of the geographical accounts published by his clients are feigned or fabulous. He is intensely indignant with Baudrand for writing in disparagement of the Venetian nobility,<sup>2</sup> but feels only called upon to refute three out of "the arbitrary catalogue of lies,"<sup>3</sup> viz., those relating to Beach, Frislanda and Java Minor, and he is content to prove the existence of those places by showing that "they are on many maps." "Beach" and the Great Southern Continent would, however, have proved unfortunate examples for him, had he lived long enough to learn that the huge continent shown around the South Pole, covering nearly one-sixth of the surface of the globe, which he may have been accustomed to see on the maps of Mercator and Ortelius, and of other much later cartographers, had no existence, and that it is in fact represented only by two, or perhaps three, large islands and a good many little ones.

In several maps in Speed's Atlas, 1627,<sup>4</sup> and in a map of Visscher's published in 1652,<sup>5</sup> the Great Southern Continent, with Beach upon it, and Frisland, in the North Sea, both still appear.

On a terrestrial globe by Padre Coronelli, dated 1688, and preserved in the Palazzo Bianco at Genoa, "Labrador" bears this legend in

<sup>1</sup> *Riflessioni Geografiche circa le terre incognite Distese in ossequio perpetuo della Nobilita Veneziana*, Padua, 1686.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 85.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 90.

<sup>4</sup> *A Prospect of the most Famous Parts of the World*, by John Speed. London, 1627.

<sup>5</sup> In Seller's *Atlas Terrestris*. Circa 1660.

Italian: "Estotilandia, or the New Bretagne and Terre de Labrador, discovered by Antonio Zeno, a Venetian patrician in 1390, before the other countries of America were known." Frisland is not shown, but about the place where it usually appears is the legend, "Between the degrees 59 and 64 of North Latitude, and 349 and 353 Longitude, many place the island Frislande, discovered 300 years ago by Nicolò Zeno, a Venetian Noble, in the name of the King of Denmark, but, as the sailors who have so often navigated this sea have never been able to find it, so these think, either that it must have been submerged or that the report of it is fabulous." Zurla refers to the *Isolario*<sup>1</sup> of Coronelli in support of the Zeno story. He also quotes an inscription upon the general map of America, in the *Nouveau Theatre du Monde* by Peter Vander Aa, as follows: "Terra Labrador *Hispanis*, Nova Britannia *Anglis*, Estotilandia *Danis*, Canada Septentrionalis *Gallis*, inventa anno 1390 ab Antonio Zeno."

Cellarius, in his *Historia Medii Ævi*, 1712, refers to the visit of Antonio Zeno to the shores of America.

Some of the Zenian names and islands are mentioned in the books and maps of many other authors of the seventeenth century, for example, Nicolaus Belga (1603), Blaeu (1643), Visscher (1650), Sanson (1660), Dudleo (1661), Cluverius (1676), Van Keulen (1698).

Torfæus, a native of Iceland, and royal historiographer to the King of Denmark, a learned man well qualified to form a judgment upon the subject, rejects<sup>2</sup> the Zeno narrative altogether.

The French geographer, Guillaume de l'Isle, shows an undefined island "Frisland" upon his maps. He appears to have held that it had formerly been continuous with Iceland, and had been submerged by some natural convulsion. In the map entitled *Hemisphere Occidental*<sup>3</sup> he identifies "Bus Island" with "Frisland," but in later editions of the same map, omits both altogether.

Moreri<sup>4</sup> is another authority quoted in confirmation of Zeno, but he is not a strong supporter, as he describes Frisland as "a supposed country" in the Northern Ocean, so called on account of the great cold there. "Its inhabitants live almost entirely on fish, and nearly all their commerce is in this fish, or in other marine monsters. This is what some authors say, but, on looking closely into the matter, as

<sup>1</sup> Coronelli's *Isolario* forms vol. ii. of *Atlante Veneto*, Venice, 1695-6.

<sup>2</sup> *Historia Vinlandiæ Antiquæ*, Havniæ, 1715. Prefatio ad Lectorem.

<sup>3</sup> *Hemisphere Occidental*, 1720. In the *Nouveau Atlas*, Amsterdam, (1733?).

<sup>4</sup> *Le Grand Dictionnaire Historique*, Amsterdam, The Hague, and Utrecht, 1724.

no one has ever found the country, those who know these parts best declare that there is no such place as Frisland, and that what has been mistaken for it is some part of Greenland." It is true that he mentions Estotiland, but with an "*On dit.*" He does not mention the Zeni, nor any of the Zenian localities, under separate headings.

Hans Egede, a Danish missionary, who endeavoured, with royal sanction, to re-discover and revive the lost colonies of Greenland, refers, in his description of that country written about 1741, to the accounts by Zeno and Blefken of the Monastery of St. Thomas, but does not accept them as true.<sup>1</sup>

Morisotti refers to the voyages of the Zeni, and mentions *Frislandia*, *Estotiland* and some other Zenian localities.<sup>2</sup>

The French historian, Charlevoix, speaks of the Estotiland of the Zeni as "un pays fabuleux et qui n'a jamais existé que dans l'imagination des deux frères Zani, nobles Venetiens."<sup>3</sup> He also says: "que la Frislande, si elle existe, n'est peut être qu'une partie du Groënland, ou de l'Islande; et qu'il n'y a nul fond à faire sur tout ce qu'en ont débité les deux Frères Zanis: que l'Estotiland, suivant le rapport de ces deux Nobles Vénitiens, est fort éloigné de la Frislande, puisque de leurs tems il n'y avoit aucun Commerce entre ces deux Pays, et que ce fut par un pur hasard, que des Pêcheurs eurent connoissance de ce Dernier; que le Royaume enchanté, dont le Souverain avoit une si magnifique Bibliothèque, a disparu depuis qu'on a parcouru le Nord de l'Amérique."

Peter Kalm, the Swedish naturalist, records a discussion which he had, in 1748, with Dr. Mortimer, the secretary of the Royal Society of London, and says that he saw in the library of the Society a map of the missing island of Friesland, engraved in 1666, showing the names of many havens and places on the island. Kalm seems to favour the theory of submergence.<sup>4</sup>

David Crantz, in his *History of Greenland*, originally written in High Dutch in 1765, and translated into English two years later, refers to the alleged voyages of the Zeni as of doubtful authenticity.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *A Description of Greenland*, 1745, p. 19 et seq.

<sup>2</sup> *Orbis Maritimi Historia*, Dijon, 1743, pp. 593 and 615.

<sup>3</sup> *Histoire Generale de la Nouvelle France*, 1744, vol. i., p. 3, and vol. iii., p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> *Kalm's Account of his Visit to England on his way to America in 1748*, translated by Joseph Lucas, 1892 (from "En Resa til Norra America . . . Pehr Kalm," Stockholm, 1753), pp. 114 and 115.

<sup>5</sup> *History of Greenland*, London, 1767, vol. i., p. 273.

Martinière, in his *Geographical Dictionary*, expresses his disbelief in the Zeno story.<sup>1</sup> Zurla, however, claims that Martinière's description of Frislanda, which is simply taken from one of the maps of the Zenian Frisland, is a precise and distinct confirmation of the "Carta da Navegar."

Marco Foscarini, Doge of Venice, writing in 1752,<sup>2</sup> treats the account of the voyage of the Zeni as true. On the other hand, in referring to the story, Tiraboschi,<sup>3</sup> a native of Bergamo, while modestly declining to decide the question of its truth or falsity, points out several of the more glaring improbabilities in it, as throwing doubt upon it. As far as we have been able to ascertain, he is the only Italian author, except Coronelli, who does not accept it without question.

In 1783, Vincenzo Formaleone, in his *Saggio sulla antica de Veneziani*, claims the discovery of the new world for the Zeni.<sup>4</sup> In the same year, according to Casali, Formaleone published in Venice the *Storia Curiosa delle aventure di Caterino Zeno, da un antico originali manoscritto ed ora per la prima volta publicata*; but the manuscript had never existed, the imposture was soon discovered, and Formaleone acknowledged that in the composition of the work, he had plundered the writings of Nicolò Zeno and of Ramusio, inserting many apocryphal particulars.<sup>5</sup> We have been unable to see this work of Formaleone's, of which there is no copy in the British Museum; but, although it relates apparently only to the Persian part of the Zeno *Annals*, it has been mentioned, on the above authority, as indicating the small amount of credence to be accorded to Formaleone's testimony.

In 1784, Dr. John Reinhold Forster wrote, in German, his *History of the Voyages and Discoveries made in the North*, which was translated into English and published in London in 1786. In it he takes up the cudgels on behalf of the Zeni, and says that,<sup>6</sup> after himself narrowly inspecting and translating the book, "it was in the highest degree evident to me, that the whole of this relation is true, as, in fact,

<sup>1</sup> *Le Grand Dictionnaire Geographique Historique et Critique*, 1768, Under v. Estotilande.

<sup>2</sup> *Letteratura Veneziana*, Venice, 1752, p. 406.

<sup>3</sup> *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, Modena, 1772-95, vol. v., 1775, p. 101 et seq.

<sup>4</sup> "Così l'ardito Fiorentino, Americo Vespucci, rapì al Colombo la gloria di dare il nome al Mondo nuovo: gloria per altro non sua; poichè rapita anch'essa ai nostri Zeni" (p. 10).

<sup>5</sup> *Annali della Tipografia Veneziana di Francesco Marcolini da Forlì*. Scipione Casali, Forlì, 1861.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, ed. 1786, p. 198.

it contains within itself the strongest proofs of its own authenticity." His reasons do not seem to be by any means conclusive, and his identifications of the Zeno place names are sometimes of the wildest description.

Forster is the first writer who attempts to identify "Zichmni," of the Zeno narrative with any historical personage. He suggests<sup>1</sup> that Zichmni was Henry Sinclair, Earl of Orkney, basing his conjecture on the date of the assumption of that title by Sinclair in 1379, and upon the resemblance (?) of the names Zichmni and Sinclair. But it has been since proved by Zurla, who credits the Zeno story, that the date, 1380, given in the *Annals* as that of the Zeno Voyages, must have been wrong by ten years, and the coincidence of dates, on which Forster relied, has therefore disappeared. Zurla's correction had, however, been anticipated, whether by design or accident, by Ortelius in his *Theatrum Orbis* of 1592, and the date "1390," there given by him, was adopted by many other subsequent writers. There are other objections to the identification, of which there will be occasion to speak in more detail further on. It has, however, since Forster's publication, been the sheet anchor of those who hold to the truthfulness of the Zeno narrative, and great weight has naturally been attached to it by them.

In his *Mémoire sur l'isle de Frislande*,<sup>2</sup> written in the same year as Forster's work, Buache attempts to show that such an island as that Frisland described by Nicolò Zeno the younger, never existed, but, that the island represented under that name on the Zeno map corresponds in position to the Faroes. Eggers,<sup>3</sup> writing a few years later, also identified Frisland with the Faroes, chiefly by a comparison of names on the Zeno map with actual names upon the islands. Both these authors are claimed by believers in the good faith of Nicolò Zeno the younger, as supporters of his story.

Pennant expresses his belief in the genuine character of the Zeno story.<sup>4</sup>

Passing by Filiati,<sup>5</sup> D. J. Morelli,<sup>6</sup> and others, with the remark that the Italian, and especially the Venetian writers, have with few

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Voyages*, 1786, pp. 181 n, and 208, 209.

<sup>2</sup> *L'Histoire de l'Académie des Sciences*, 1784.

<sup>3</sup> *Mémoire sur l'ancien Greenland*, 1795.

<sup>4</sup> *Artic Zoology*, London, 1792, vol. i., p. 331.

<sup>5</sup> *Ricerche storico-critiche sull'opportunità della Laguna Veneta pel commercio*, 1803.

<sup>6</sup> *Dissertazione intorno ad alcuni viaggiatori eruditi veneziani poco noti*, Venice, 1803.

exceptions, and with a unanimity born, no doubt, of patriotism, upheld the veracity of Nicolò Zeno the younger, we come to Cardinal Placido Zurlo. This erudite churchman is a staunch supporter of the Zeni, and we are much indebted to him for the results of his careful and exhaustive investigations into the history of the Zeno family.<sup>1</sup> The same author also touches the subject in his monograph on the Fra Mauro Map.<sup>2</sup> Zurlo upholds the veracity of the narrative throughout, and gives fresh variety to the subject by some of his identifications of Zenian localities. He also scolds Tiraboschi for venturing to express any doubt upon the matter.

Edmonston<sup>3</sup> follows Forster, and claims that the latter "had ingeniously obviated most of the doubts which have been entertained on the subject of the Zeni voyages."

An account of the Voyages of Antonio and Nicolò Zeno, abridged from that in J. R. Forster's *Northern Voyages*, is included in Kerr's *Collection of Voyages*,<sup>4</sup> and is prefaced by a strong expression of opinion that the whole story is a fabrication and unworthy of credit.

Sir John Barrow, referring to the letter describing the second voyage of Gaspar Cortereal, written by Pietro Pasquagli, the Venetian ambassador in Portugal, to his brothers, and dated the 19th of October, 1501, eleven days after the return of the ships (which is printed in the *Paesi nouamenti ritrovati*,<sup>5</sup> and in a somewhat garbled Latin version of the same book, known as *Itinerarium Portugallensium*<sup>6</sup>), says that Cortereal reached a land which, "according to his conjecture . . . lay near a region formerly approached by the Venetians almost at the North Pole," and, with some audacity, implies, in a note, that the Venetians referred to were Nicolò and Antonio Zeno.<sup>7</sup> Dr. Lardner makes a similar statement. There is no warrant whatever for this conclusion. Cortereal himself never returned from this voyage, and

<sup>1</sup> *Dissertazione intorno ai viaggi e scoperte settentrionali di Nicolò ed Antonio Fratelli Zeni*, Venice, 1808; which also appears in almost the same form in *Di Marco Polo e degli altri viaggiatori veneziani più illustri*, Venice, 1818, vol. ii., pp. 5-94.

<sup>2</sup> *Il mappa monde di Fra Mauro camaldolese, descritto ed illustrato*, Venice, 1806.

<sup>3</sup> *A view of the ancient and present state of the Zetland Islands*, Edinburgh, 1809, vol. i., pp. 66-75.

<sup>4</sup> Kerr's *General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels*, Edinburgh, 1811-24, vol. i., p. 438.

<sup>5</sup> *Paesi Nouamenti ritrovati*, Vicenza, 1507; Second Edition, Milan, 1512; Third Edition, Venice, 1517, lib. vi., cap. cxxvi.

<sup>6</sup> *Itinerarium Portugallensium*, Mediolani, 1508, cap. cxxvii.

<sup>7</sup> *Chronological History of Voyages into the Arctic Regions*, London, 1818, p. 40. *Lardner's Cyclopædia*, under "History of Maritime and Inland Discoveries," vol. ii., p. 139.

what is stated in the letter is, that they brought thence<sup>1</sup> "a piece of broken sword, gilded, which certainly came from Italy. A certain boy there wore in his ear two silver globes, which appeared without doubt to have been made in Venice, and this makes me believe that the land is a continent."<sup>2</sup>

Bernard O'Reilly<sup>3</sup> believed in the truth of the story of the voyage of the Zeno brothers, and thought that "Frisland," or "West Frisland," as he calls it, was represented, in his time, by the sunken land of Buss. O'Reilly is mentioned here because he has been quoted by several writers on the Zeno voyages, but his authority is worthless, and his book a fraud.

Washington Irving, in his *History of Columbus*,<sup>4</sup> gives a sketch of the Zeno voyages, taken apparently from Forster's work, but rejects the Zeno story.

In 1828, Lieut. W. A. Graah, of the Danish Royal Navy, was dispatched by his Government in command of an expedition having for its object the exploration of the East coast of Greenland, from Cape Farewell to North Lat. 69°. He sailed in June, 1828, and returned in September, 1831, having reached Dannebrog's Island, on the East Coast, in North Lat. 65° 18'. In his narrative of this voyage, he refers, incidentally, several times to the voyages of the Zeni<sup>5</sup> with incredulity.

Malte Brun<sup>6</sup> treats the Zeno stories as real, and attempts to explain the confusion of the Zeno narrative. As to the account of Greenland, he says: "Ce tableau des merveilles d'*Engroneland* offre probablement des fragmens d'une relation veridique, mal réunis, et surtout mal

<sup>1</sup> Cortereal is supposed to have reached Labrador.

<sup>2</sup> *Pacsi novamente ritrovati*, cap. 126. *Itin. Portugallens.*, cap. 126. In the latter book the passage runs thus: "Ensis confracti partem inaurata; quæ italiæ ritu fabrefacta videbatur: quidam puer illic duos orbes argenteos auribus appensos circumferebat: qui haud dubie celati more nostro visebantur: *celaturam Venetam imprimis præseferentes*: quibus rebus non difficulter adducimur continentem esse potius quam Insulam." The words in italics are an interpolation, and no corresponding passage occurs in the original Italian. See also HARRISSE's *Les Corte Real*, Paris, 1883, pp. 50 and 209, and BIDDLE's *Memoir of Sebastian Cabot*, London, 1831, pp. 238 and 251.

<sup>3</sup> *Greenland*, London, 1818, pp. 10, 11, etc. See list of books in Appendix.

<sup>4</sup> *A History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus*, London, 1828, vol. iv., pp. 217, 225.

<sup>5</sup> *Narrative of an Expedition to the East Coast of Greenland, sent by order of the King of Denmark in search of the lost Colonies*, translated for the Royal Geographical Society of London, 1837, pp. 3, 7, 20, and 175 n.

<sup>6</sup> *Précis de la Géographie Universelle*, Bruxelles, 1832, vol. i, pp. 189-202, 213; vol. ii., p. 595; vol. vi., pp. 323, 326, 327 n, 331. *Annales des voyages*, vol. x., p. 69.



appliqués . . . circonstances, vraies en elles mêmes, auront été accumulées pour former l'ensemble fantastique que nous venons de mettre sous les yeux de nos lecteurs. Un peu de vanité chez Zeno le voyageur, ou un peu de négligence chez Zeno, le rédacteur de la relation, ont facilement pu faire naître cette confusion."<sup>1</sup> This can hardly be called strong testimony in favour of the Zeno history.

Admiral Zarhtmann, Hydrographer to the Royal Danish Navy, and one of the Commissioners appointed to organize the expedition under Graah, above referred to, in a paper published in the Memoirs of the Society of Northern Antiquaries at Copenhagen, in 1833, and translated into English soon after, attacks the Zeno narrative with force and effect.<sup>2</sup> He writes with the authority of one who was well acquainted with his subject, and his paper forms one of the most valuable contributions to the literature relating to the matter. Nevertheless, for want of information not available when he wrote, he falls into some errors.

Baron Humboldt mentions<sup>3</sup> the voyages of the Zeni, without expressing a final opinion, though he evidently leans towards accepting the accounts as genuine. He says, "En examinant avec impartialité la relation des Zeni, on y trouve de la candeur et des descriptions détaillées d'objets dont rien en Europe ne pouvait leur avoir donné l'idée." As to this remark, it may be noticed that such maps as that of Olaus Magnus of 1539 (Plate IV.), the Zamoiski map of 1467 (Plate II.), and the three maps, of the same type as the last named, found by Nordenskjöld in Florence,<sup>4</sup> and more particularly referred to below, have been brought to light since Humboldt's time, and that, notwithstanding Humboldt's opinion, there did exist in Europe in his time, and in Venice in the time of Nicolò Zeno the younger, documents which contained a good deal, if not all, of the information served up to an interested public, in 1558, as original. Humboldt mentions Admiral Zarhtmann's paper, which had then recently appeared, but says that he had not yet examined it.

<sup>1</sup> *Précis*, vol. i., p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> *Nordiske Tidsskrift for Oldkyndighed*, Copenhagen, 1833; and *Remarks on the Voyages in the Northern Hemisphere ascribed to the Zeni of Venice*. By Captain C. C. Zarhtmann, R.N., and communicated by him in the *Journal of the Geographical Society*, London, 1835, vol. v., pp. 102 et seq.

<sup>3</sup> *Examen critique de l'Histoire de la Géographie du Nouveau Continent*, Paris, 1836, Section II., pp. 120 et seq.

<sup>4</sup> *Bidrag till Nordens Äldsta Kartografi*, Stockholm, 1892.



Bredsdorff, writing in 1845,<sup>1</sup> discusses the voyages at some length, and, although he is claimed by Major as a supporter of the truth of the story, he gives some very excellent reasons against its credibility.

Joachim Lelewel, in a chapter entitled "Tavola di Zeno,"<sup>2</sup> examines the map, and accepts it as a genuine fourteenth century production. He also gives his conjectures as to the identity of the places named on the map. These, with the identifications of Forster, Zurla, and other writers, will be found in Appendix V. at the end of this volume.

Miniscalchi Erizzo<sup>3</sup> defends the truth of the Zeno story at some length, and excuses the compiler's geographical blunders on the ground of his ignorance of the northern languages. He identifies, amongst other Zenian localities, "Neome" with "Foula," and "Icaria" with "The Sunken Land of Bus."

Professor Konrad Maurer<sup>4</sup> in a paper on Mediæval Greenland, written in 1873, declares against the authenticity of the Zeno narrative.

In 1873 Mr. R. H. Major, F.S.A., of the British Museum, edited "The Voyages of the Brothers Zeno," for the Hakluyt Society.<sup>5</sup> In the introduction, Major falls upon Admiral Zarhtmann with fury, much as Terra Rossa fell upon Baudrand, but in, perhaps, a more modern and civilized manner. He claims to have freed the Zeno documents from the discredit under which they had laboured; to have tracked the causes of the errors and misconceptions which had led to that discredit, and to have performed other literary feats, for evidence of which we have in vain sought in his pretentious work. He is unfortunate in some of his strictures upon Zarhtmann's conjectures, as, for example, in his contemptuous rejection of Zarhtmann's suggestion that it was probable that the Olaus Magnus map of 1539, published in

<sup>1</sup> *Brodrene Zeno's Reiser*, etc., in *Grønlands Historiske mindesmaerker udgivne af det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskrift Selskab*. Kjobenhavn, 1845. Bind III., pp. 529-624.

<sup>2</sup> *Géographie du Moyen Age, accompagnée d'Atlas*, Bruxelles, 1852-57, vol. iv., pp. 85-112; and also vol. ii., pp. 84 and 169, and Atlas Plate XXXVI.

<sup>3</sup> *Le Scoperti Artiche*, Venezia, 1855, pp. 106 et seq.

<sup>4</sup> *Grönland in Mittelalter*; in *Die Zweite Deutsche Nordpolarfahrt in den Jahren, 1869 und 1870, unter führung des Kapitan Karl Koldewey*, Leipzig, 1873-74, Band I., s. 239.

<sup>5</sup> *The Voyages of the Venetian Brothers Nicolo and Antonio Zeno to the Northern Seas in the Fourteenth Century*, Hakluyt Society, London, 1873. The introduction, with slight alteration, also appears under the title of *The site of the lost Colony of Greenland determined, and pre-Columbian discoveries of America confirmed, from fourteenth century documents*, in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, 1873, vol. xliii., p. 156, and a résumé thereof in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Boston, U.S.A., 1875. The introduction, only, to the Hakluyt Society's volume was translated into Italian by Carraro, *Archivio Veneto*, vol. vii., pp. 302-326; vol. viii., pp. 263-304.

Venice, might have contained some materials which could have served Nicolò Zeno the younger in the compilation of his map. The Olaus Magnus map had been lost when Zarhtmann and Major wrote; a copy has since been found, and, as will be seen from the extract given in the Appendix (Plate IV.), Zarhtmann was right and Major was wrong. Neither were the Zamoiski map (Plate II.) nor the three Florence maps of the same type<sup>1</sup> then known, in England at least, but they are now evidence to show that Major's incredulity as to the existence of the old MS. map, mentioned by Zarhtmann,<sup>2</sup> in the University Library of Copenhagen (in which the outline of Greenland corresponded with that in Bordone's *Isolario*, and which contained names agreeing almost uniformly with those on Zeno's Greenland, and in the same order) is scarcely justified. But Major's work remains, in England and America at least, the standard work upon the subject. Desimoni, in Italy, and Gaffarel, in France, also rely upon it.

Cornelio Desimoni claims<sup>3</sup> that the disputes as to the veracity of Zeno's narrative, and the questions as to the identities of Zenian localities, have been settled by Major beyond all doubt. In the second paper, noted below,<sup>4</sup> he writes an able and interesting essay, expounding and supporting Major's views, and discussing those of Zarhtmann. In a third paper<sup>5</sup> he re-discusses the story, and criticises the papers of Krarup (1878), of Admiral Irminger (1879), of Steenstrup (1882), of Nordenskjöld (1882), and of Erslev (1885), all of which had appeared since he had written in 1878. All his papers are marked by a close knowledge of his subject, and by a temperate tone which make them pleasant reading.

Krarup takes<sup>6</sup> an entirely new view of the direction of the travels of the Brothers Zeno, and endeavours to show that they visited the White Sea; he identifies "Frislanda" with North Friesland or Schleswig, and Zichmni with Henri de Siggens, Marshal of the Army of Holstein.

<sup>1</sup> Reproduced in Nordenskjöld's *Bidrag till Nordens Äldsta Kartografi*, Stockholm, 1892.

<sup>2</sup> *Transactions of the Royal Geographical Society*, London, 1835, vol. v., p. 114.

<sup>3</sup> *Memoria intorno ai viaggi dei Fratelli Zeno al Settentrione d'Europa tra la fine del Secolo xiv. in Giornale Ligustico di Archeologia Storia e belle Arti*, Genova, 1878. [Brit. Mus. P. P. 4189 f.]

<sup>4</sup> *I viaggi e la carta dei Fratelli Zeno, 1390-1405*, in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 4<sup>a</sup> Serie, vol. ii., Firenze, 1878, pp. 389-417. [Brit. Mus. P. P. 3557 a.]

<sup>5</sup> *I viaggi e la carta dei Fratelli Zeno, 1390-1405, Studio Secondo*, in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 4<sup>a</sup> Serie, vol. xvi., Firenze, 1885, pp. 184-214. [Brit. Mus. P. P. 3557 a.]

<sup>6</sup> *Om Zeniernes Reise til Norden*, Dansk Geogr. Selskab Tidsskrift, 1878; and *Zeniernes Reise til Norden, et Tolkningss Forsøg*, Copenhagen, 1878.

State Councillor J. Steenstrup,<sup>1</sup> in 1882, in a paper in which he examines the Zeno map and narrative, concludes that the author has, in all probability, remodelled the map on older materials; that the narrative is derived from several older sources; that the whole, either by imposture, or by a misunderstanding, has been attributed to the elder Zeno; and, further, that the author of the map has used several older maps of the northern seas, but that the voyagers probably went no further north than North Frisland, or to the west coast of South Jutland. He identifies Frisland with Iceland, and gives many other identifications which will be found in Appendix V.

Baron Nordenskjöld, in the same year (1882), in a paper on the same subject as that of Steenstrup,<sup>2</sup> contends that the original of the Zeno map is the basis of the various resemblances which are found on the maps of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, of which he gives a series of facsimiles.<sup>3</sup> It should be again noticed that both the last mentioned papers were written before the Olaus Magnus map of 1539, the Zamoiski map of 1467, and the three Florence maps were re-discovered.

<sup>1</sup> *Zeniernes Reiser i Norden*, in *Årbøger for nord Old kundighed*, for 1883, and *Les Voyages des Frères Zeno dans le Nord*, in *Compte rendu du Congrès des Americainistes*, Copenhagen, 1884.

<sup>2</sup> *Studier och Forskningar foranledda af minor resor i boga Norden*, 1883.

<sup>3</sup> *Fide Storm: Om Zeniernes Reiser*, p. 5.



THE MONK ROCK IN THE FAROES. (From Olaus Magnus, *Hist. de Gent.*, Sept., 1555, p. 64.)



## SECTION V.

### THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE ZENO BOOK.



R. OSCAR BRENNER'S fortunate discovery, in the Munich Public Library, in 1886, of a copy of the large map published by Olaus Magnus, at Venice, in 1539, threw important lights on the origin of the Zenian "Carta da Navegar," and set at rest for ever the doubts which had existed as to the identity of the map of 1539 with that contained in the Basel edition of Olaus Magnus' *De gentium Septentrionalium* of 1567. In his paper describing his valuable find, Brenner shows the correspondence of many of the names on the Zeno map with those on the 1539 map.<sup>1</sup> The two have in common other features which are referred to below in the chapter on the "Carta da Navegar."

Professor Gustav Storm<sup>2</sup> is the first authority, we believe, who has studied the Zeno narrative and map by the lights afforded by the Olaus Magnus map, 1539, and by the Zamoiski map, 1467. No one is more competent to expose, as he has so completely done, the falsities of the narrative, and the dishonesty of Nicolò Zeno the younger, in allowing the "Carta da Navegar" to be put forward as the copy of a map made in the fourteenth century, or to trace some of the real sources of that sixteenth century compilation. Unfortunately Professor Storm's destructive criticism of the "Carta da Navegar" is not available to the reading public in an English version.

The year 1892, the quater-centenary of the discovery of America by Columbus, was, naturally, remarkably prolific in literature relating

<sup>1</sup> *Die ächte Karte des Olaus Magnus, vom Jahre, 1539, nach dem exemplar der Münchener Staats Bibliothek.* Von d'Oscar Brenner, Christiania, 1886. With a reduced facsimile of the map.

<sup>2</sup> *Om Zeniernes Reiser*, Norske Geographiske Selskab, Årbog II., 1890.

to that subject. Among the more notable writers are to be found, in Europe, Clements Markham,<sup>1</sup> HARRISSE,<sup>2</sup> Charles Elton,<sup>3</sup> Paul Gaffarel,<sup>4</sup> and Kretschmer<sup>5</sup>; in America, Justin Winsor,<sup>6</sup> and John Fiske.<sup>7</sup>

Neither Markham nor HARRISSE adopts the Zeno narrative as true; Elton accepts the identification of Zichmni (who, however, is never called "Zinco," as Elton says) with Henry Sinclair, and attempts to explain the inconsistencies of the map and narrative. Gaffarel staunchly contends for the truth of Zeno's relation.

Justin Winsor, with his usual caution, does not commit himself to any definite opinion on the subject, but John Fiske, relying upon Major, accepts the whole story. Referring to Zarhtmann's paper above mentioned, he says,<sup>8</sup> "All that human ingenuity is ever likely to devise against the honesty of Zeno's narrative is presented in this erudite essay, which has been so completely demolished under Mr. Major's heavy strokes that there is not enough of it left to pick up. As to this part of the question we may now safely cry, 'Finis, laus Deo.'"

How little this confidence of Fiske's is justified; how widely Major's "heavy strokes" have missed their mark, and left him open to attack in turn, we intend to show. But Major, in spite of his claim to the contrary, was working mainly by conjecture, and the information which is now available to prove that, on many points on which he differed from Zarhtmann, the latter was right, had not come to light in 1873. Major, therefore, doing the best he could with the materials before him, was not to blame if his conclusions were erroneous, but Fiske, writing in 1892, has not the same excuse.

We notice Fiske more particularly because we find in a recent book,<sup>9</sup> by one of the Sinclair family, a claim, based avowedly on Fiske's work, to rank "Prince Henry Sinclair," as a civilized man "in the modern sense of civilization," as "the one and only discoverer of America," and much more to the same purpose.

One of the more notable publications of 1892 was the handsome atlas and volume of text by Dr. Kretschmer. Valuable as it is, it

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Christopher Columbus*, by Clements Markham, C.B., London, 1892.

<sup>2</sup> *The Discovery of North America*, by Henry HARRISSE, London and Paris, 1892.

<sup>3</sup> *The Career of Columbus*, by C. T. Elton, London, Paris, and Melbourne, 1892.

<sup>4</sup> *Histoire de la Découverte de l'Amérique*, Paris, 1892.

<sup>5</sup> *Entdeckung Amerika's*, Berlin, 1892.

<sup>7</sup> *Fiske's Discovery of America*, 1892.

<sup>9</sup> *Caithness Events*, Wick, 1894.

<sup>6</sup> *Christopher Columbus*, London, 1892.

<sup>8</sup> Fiske, *op. cit.*, vol. i., p. 237 n.

would have been far more reliable as a work of reference, if the editor had been content to give facsimiles of the old maps which he reproduces, instead of giving, as in too many cases he has done, his own pictures of what he thought the old maps ought to have been. In his text he discusses the Zeno map, and concludes that the portion relating to Frisland, at any rate, was copied from earlier maps; that the projection of the Zeno map was not a new one at the date of its publication, and he refers to the accounts of the travels of the brothers Zeno as "questionable in the highest degree."<sup>1</sup>

The most recent opinion which has appeared on the Zeno question is that expressed by Mr. H. W. Wilson, in a concise and comprehensive summary in *The Royal Navy*.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Wilson states both sides fairly, and gives references to several of the principal commentators, and to the Olaus Magnus and Zamoiski maps. He says:<sup>3</sup> "If the substantial truth of the narrative be accepted, there are many difficulties to be explained away. . . .<sup>4</sup> Against the narrative, in its present form at any rate, much can be urged. At the very best we must suppose Nicolò Zeno the younger guilty of altering and interpolating. His story of the torn documents, musty with age, is a very common pretext with the fablemonger. The original documents have never been produced or discovered. . . .<sup>5</sup> There may have been a voyage to Iceland, and even to Greenland, but it will be well to suspend judgment till some trace of the original documents is discovered."

Zeno's booklet, with its accompanying map, has now been before the world for some 340 years, and has passed through strange vicissitudes. At first accepted as true, very soon suspected, both book and map were but little later proved to contain much that was false. Wholly disbelieved and attacked by some; entirely believed and defended by others; or partly accepted, while still condemned, or excused, according to the idiosyncrasies of the individual commentator, the gradations of opinion concerning its authenticity were numerous. The greater number of writers on the subject have been apologists,

<sup>1</sup> *Entdeckung Amerika's*, pp. 248-252.

<sup>2</sup> *The Royal Navy. A History from the Earliest Times to the Present.* By Wm. Laird Clowes, assisted by Sir Clements Markham, Capt. A. T. Mahan, Mr. H. W. Wilson, Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, Mr. E. Fraser, etc., London, vol. i., 1897.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 328.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 336.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 337.

who have seemed to find a strange delight in exercising their ingenuity upon endeavours to account for untruths, to explain away difficulties, to excuse mistakes, and to prove that, if certain things had not been such as they undoubtedly were, the documents might have been wholly or partially true. The conclusions of this class of writer have been exceedingly varied and inconsistent with one another.

Those who have thought it worth while to attack such an obviously unreliable work have been fewer, and somewhat obscured by the number of apologists, but their conclusions have been uniform in condemning the work as a mischievous concoction.

There is, of course, another class of writer, which accepts any printed statement as proved fact; their name is legion.

Thus the little booklet with its map has been the origin of a mass of literature, quite out of proportion to the importance of its subject.

In its early days it was practically misleading, deceiving such navigators as Frobisher, Davis, and Hall, and helping nobody; whilst in its later days it had the effect of throwing the cartography of the North Atlantic into confusion for some two hundred years.

Many notable names appear in the list of commentators; but, in spite of all endeavours, most of them honest, and certainly charitable to Nicolò Zeno the younger, the confusion of the work has never been reduced to order; its difficulties have never been solved; and the character of its compiler has never been cleared from reproach.

Though some of our leading geographers have recently seemed to ignore Zeno's work, it still remains a stumbling block to many of those who have occasion to study the geography or history of those parts of the world to which it ostensibly refers. Such students would be glad if the question of the authenticity of the work, or the reverse, could be definitely settled one way or the other.

Such is the present position before the world of the book, which is to be considered, in some detail, in the following pages.



THE VOYAGES OF THE BROTHERS ZENI.

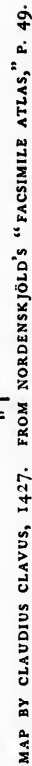
PART II.

THE STORY IN THE BOOK.





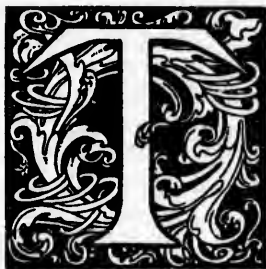
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## PART II. SECTION I.

### FAMILY HISTORY.



THE short statement as to the family of the Zeni, given in the *Annals*, is slightly amplified by some words interpolated in Ramusio's reprint of the narrative, and, still further, in some of the editorial portions of his *Navigazioni et Viaggi*. Cardinal Zurla also gives<sup>1</sup> us the result of his own careful investigations on this subject. He states, on the authority of a manuscript entitled *Campidoglio Veneto*, by Girolamo Capellari, that, in 1379, there were three persons of the name of Nicolò Zeno, in Venice.

The only questions connected with the family history, which bear upon the authenticity of the narrative seem to be: firstly, which of these three persons of the name of Nicolò Zeno, who were in Venice in 1379, was Nicolò Zeno, the traveller? secondly, when did he start upon his travels? As Zurla is a staunch supporter of the truth of the narrative, it will be fair to accept his conclusions, that Nicolò, the traveller, was Nicolò Zeno, *da S. Canzian*, an opulent patrician who took part in the election of the Doge Marco Cornaro, in 1367, and that of the Doge Michele Morosini, in 1382; that he was one of the twelve sent by the Venetian senate, in 1367, to Marseilles, to bring the Pope to Rome; that he commanded a galley against the Genoese, in 1379; that he was an ambassador to Ferrara, in 1382; that he was one of the three Syndics elected, on the 26th November, 1388, to take

<sup>1</sup> *Dissertazione intorno ai Viaggi e Scoperte Settentrionali di Nicolò ed Antonio fratelli Zeni, di D. Placido Zurla*, Venezia, 1808. Reprinted with additions, as *Dei Viaggi e Scoperte Settentrionali di Nicolò ed Antonio Zeni Patrizi Veneti Dissertazioni*, in *Di Marco Polo e degli altri Viaggiatori Veneziani più illustri*, Venezia, 1813, vol. ii., pp. 5-93.

possession of Treviso; and, that he could not have sailed for the northern seas in 1380, as stated in the narrative; and that he certainly could not have done so before 1388, and, probably, not till 1390.<sup>1</sup>

The date of the voyage is given in the Zeno text in words: *l'anno mille, e trecento, e ottanta*. On the illustrative map it is given in Roman numerals—"MCCCLXXX." Major, who accepts Zurla's conclusion as to the date, attempts to explain the discrepancy by assuming that the year 1380 is given in error. He says,<sup>2</sup> "when it is considered that this date is written above the map in Roman numerals, thus: MCCCLXXX, it will be seen how easily that easiest of all delinquencies either of the author, the editor, or the engraver; viz.,—the dropping of a final x, may have occurred. The short sentence in the narrative 'this was in One thousand three hundred and eighty,' most certainly occurs in a part written by Nicolò Zeno, junior, and the legend at the top of the map is manifestly by him also, so that there is a common origin for both."

It is, however, difficult to see how the dropping of an "x" on the map accounts for the date being wrongly given in the text of the narrative, from which the date on the map must have been derived, and in which the number is written in words. Nicolò Zeno, the younger, himself says<sup>3</sup> that he got the portion of the narrative in which the date occurs from a letter of Nicolò, *il Cavaliere*, to his brother Antonio. This statement Major contradicts, for some reason which, though not obvious, he omits to explain.

Major further adds,<sup>4</sup> "that there is reason in the editor's [Major's] suggestion about the possible dropping of an 'x' is shown by a remarkable fact. The great Antwerp geographer Ortelius, in recording this very narrative, copied the Roman numerals as they stand at the top of the map, making 1380, yet when our Hakluyt produced the same story on the authority of Ortelius, he gave the date of 1390, thus proving by a converse blunder how easily this kind of error may occur." But Major himself is here guilty of an inaccuracy, the correction of which will quite destroy any value which might attach to his illustration. In the text appended to the map "Septentrio. Reg. descrip.," both in the 1570 and 1592 editions of the *Theatrum Orbis* of Ortelius, the date is given in Roman numerals, "MCCCLXXX," as Major says. But the

<sup>1</sup> *Dissertazione, etc.*, 1808, pp. 41-43, and *Di Marco Polo*, 1818, vol. ii., pp. 16-18.

<sup>2</sup> *Voyages of the Venetian brothers N. and A. Zeno, etc.*, p. xlvii.

<sup>3</sup> *Annals*, folio 48. See *ante*, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Voyages of the Zeni*, p. xlvii.

text which Hakluyt quotes occurs for the first time in the 1592 edition of Ortelius, and refers to a new map, that of the "Mar del Zur." In this text the date is given in words "*circa annum millesimum trecentessimum nonagesimumque*." Hakluyt made no mistake, but quoted correctly. Ortelius is responsible for the alteration of the date to 1390, and he has been followed by many subsequent writers, long before Zurla had shown that 1380 could not have been the real date of the alleged voyage. Forster's conjecture of the identity of Henry Sinclair, Earl of Orkney, with the "Zichmni" of Nicolò Zeno's story, rests mainly upon the correspondence of dates, as explained hereafter in the section on "Zichmni." Forster, who wrote in 1784, had not, of course, the advantage of acquaintance with Zurla's investigations (1808), the result of which is the destruction of the presumed coincidence of dates.

From the record, quoted by Zurla,<sup>1</sup> of the marriage of Tomaso, the son of Nicolò, the traveller, which took place in 1398, it appears that Nicolò, the traveller, was dead at that date.

Marco Barbaro, in his manuscript *Discendenza Patrizie*,<sup>2</sup> gives the date of Nicolò's voyage as 1390, but the Manuscript, even if the date, 1536, can be trusted, is not to be depended upon for accuracy, as it also states that Antonio Zeno "by order of Zicno, King of Frislanda, went to the continent of Estotilanda, in North America." Ortelius and many subsequent writers have made similar statements, all of which are certainly at variance with the Zeno narrative, which gives a full account of the voyage in which Antonio Zeno failed to find either Estotiland, or Drogeo, and of his return from that voyage to Frisland.

The date given by Nicolò, the younger, the compiler of the story, was not the result of a clerical or typographical error, but was probably calculated by him from the fact that the fighting in Chioggia was practically concluded by the capture of the town on the 24th of June, 1380 (though peace was not actually concluded till the 24th of August, 1381). He either had never been aware of, or had forgotten, the facts afterwards unearthed by Zurla which prove the date 1380, assigned for the commencement of Nicolò's voyage, to be incorrect.

<sup>1</sup> Zurla, *Dissertazione, etc.*, 1808, p. 45, and *Di Marco Polo*, vol. ii., p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Zurla, from a copy in the possession of Lorenzo Antonio da Ponte, and by Major. The original MS., said to be in Barbaro's own handwriting, is in the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice. There is a copy of it in the British Museum. *Genealogie dei Nobili (sic) Veneti di Marco Barbaro detto il Gobbo* die 16 Feb., 1679. MS. [Eg. 1155]. It has never been printed.

It is not necessary, however, to attach much weight to the unfortunate selection of a date by the pseudo-historian, damaging though it is to the credit of his history, in view of the many other and greater difficulties presented by the narrative, when compared with facts now known. We can afford to let the matter pass and to accept the conclusions of Zurla and Major, and others of their way of thinking, especially as there is no reason to doubt the probability of a voyage into the North Sea by the brothers Nicolò and Antonio Zeni. Indeed Mr. Rawdon Brown, referred to by Major, has shown<sup>1</sup> that an annual voyage to England and Flanders was made under the auspices of the Venetian Senate, in most ordinary years, from the year 1317 to the year 1533.

It is noticeable that, while Major<sup>2</sup> refers to the list of these Flanders voyages given by Rawdon Brown, he does not mention that the name "Nicolò Zeno" actually appears in that list as that of the Captain appointed to the command of the Flanders galleys, on the 22nd of January, 1385; for, although this adds to the confusion by introducing a third date, it affords the only confirmation yet found of the allegation by Nicolò Zeno, the younger, that a "Nicolò Zeno" did go on a voyage to the North Sea in the ninth decade of the fourteenth century. As these annual voyages were of short duration, it is quite possible that the Captain of 1385 may have been Nicolò, the traveller, of the Zenian narrative, though, as we have seen, there were two other persons named Nicolò Zeno in Venice in 1379.

The Flanders voyage was one of the six annual government voyages.<sup>3</sup> The galleys employed were provided by the Senate, on the motion of the Government; they were then put up to auction, and let for the voyage to the highest bidder. The Captain (or rather Commodore as we should say) was elected by the Grand Council, but paid by the merchants to whom the galleys had been hired out. The object of the voyage was to carry the produce of India and Persia, and

<sup>1</sup> *Archivio di Venezia con riguardo speciale alla Storia Inglese*. Venezia, 1865, p. 274. *Calendar of State papers and MSS. relating to English affairs in the Archives and collections of Venice, and in other Libraries of Northern Italy*. Published by the Lords of the Treasury, London, 1864, cxxxii., table No. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Voyages of the Zeni*, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> The six government squadrons sailed for: (1) the Black Sea, to trade in skins; (2) for Greece and Constantinople, taking, as now, wood and bales of English and Flanders cloth; (3) for the Syrian ports, trading in gums, spices, etc.; (4) for Egypt; (5) for the North Coast of Africa; and (6) for England and Flanders. In England, the Venetians exchanged glass, sugar, spices, silk, and wines, for tin, wood, hides, and broadcloth (see *Venice; an historical sketch of the Republic*, by Horatio F. Brown, London, 1893, p. 252).

Venetian merchandize, to England and to the North and West of Europe. The time allowed for trading in the ports of destination was strictly limited, generally to forty or fifty days. The Government ships had to be restored to the Arsenal, at the close of the voyage, in good condition. Vessels fitted out by private owners were sometimes allowed to accompany the fleet, but their owners, like the hirers of the Government vessels, were bound by oath to observe the regulations laid down for the fleet. The vessels were all built upon Government measurements and private individuals were compelled to conform to the regulation size.<sup>1</sup> The most stringent rules, affecting even the smallest details, were enforced by the Government, and it seems to be in the highest degree improbable that the remarkable events and explorations, recorded in the Zeno narrative, and alleged to have been reported by letters to Carlo Zeno in Venice, should, if they really took place, have escaped the vigilance of the Venetian Government, and should have remained unknown, or unnoticed, for more than a century and a half.

Of Antonio Zeno, *da S. Fantin*, who, according to the narrative, was fourteen years with Zichmni, Zurla tells us that he was married in 1384, that he had three sons, and that he could not have started on the voyage in question till about 1391 or 1392. The record of the marriage of Antonio's son, Dragone, with Anna Morosini, which took place in 1406, shows that Antonio was then dead.

Carlo Zeno, *da S. Giovanni Crisostomo*, the brother of the travellers, is an historical figure of considerable mark, but, except as the brother to whom the letters from Antonio were addressed, his personality does not affect the narrative.

Of Nicolò Zeno, the younger, enough has been said in the Story of the Book.<sup>2</sup> (*Ante*, p. 24.)

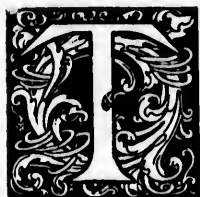
<sup>1</sup> Venice, Horatio F. Brown, p. 252. See also *Preface to Calendar of Venetian State Papers*, 1202—1509, by Rawdon Brown, London, 1864, pp. lxi. et seq.

<sup>2</sup> Zurla, in his chapter on the Zeno family, refers to the following authorities: Andrea Gataro, *Storia Padovana* (Muratori *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vol. xvii.); Andrea Redusio, *Chronicon Tarvisinum* (Muratori, vol. xix.); Jacopo Zeno, *Vita di Carlo Zeno el Grande* (Muratori, vol. xix.); Marin Sanuto, the younger, *Vite de Duchi di Venezia* (Muratori, vol. xxii.); Marcantonio Sabellico, *Storia della Reppublica de Venezia*; Giacomo Zabarella *Trasea Peto Ovvero origine della serenissima famiglia Zeno*, Padova, 1646; Girolamo Capellari, *Campidoglio Veneto* MS. in Biblioteca Marciana. The life of Carlo Zeno entitled *La Vita del Magnifico M. Carlo Zeno e Valoroso Capitano della Illustrissima Republica Venetiana. Composta dal Reverendo Gianiacomo Feltrese, e tradotta in vulgare per Messer Francesco Quirino* (Venetia, 1544), is, according to Haym (*Biblioteca Italiana*, vol. i., p. 230), by Jacopo Zeno. He was Bishop of Feltre and Belluno, and a grandson of Carlo Zeno. Quirino's translation is a poor one from the Latin original, which latter was first printed by Muratori. A pedigree of the Zeno family, extended from that given in the *Annals*, forms Appendix III.



## PART II. SECTION II.

THE VOYAGE OF NICOLÒ ZENO, *IL CAVALIERE*;  
FRISLANDA, PORLANDA, SORANT, LEDOVO, ILOFE,  
SUDERO, SANESTOL, BONDENDON (*folios 46°-48°*).



HIS portion of the narrative contains the story of Nicolò's voyage from Venice, of the wreck upon Frislanda, and some particulars as to that island and its surroundings, and introduces the reader to that remarkable historical ghost, Zichmni, Lord of Porlanda, and Duke of Sorant.<sup>1</sup>

It is proposed to deal with the cartographical history of the island Frislanda in a separate chapter devoted to the consideration of the Zeno "Carta da Navegar." It will there be shown that the island under this name first appears upon the Cantino map of 1502, and that the name on the La Cosa map of 1500, which has been taken for Frislanda—even by some high authorities—is in reality "Stillanda."

It has, until quite recently, been supposed that the existence of an island called "Frislanda" in the Northern Atlantic was indicated by the mention of that name in a passage in a life of Christopher Columbus, the author of which is represented on the title to be the admiral's son, Ferdinand Columbus.<sup>2</sup> The passage, which is quoted in full further on, purports to be an extract from a note written by

<sup>1</sup> The *Sorano* of the text is altered to *Sorant* in the Table of Errata (*folio 5*) of the Zeno *Annals*.

<sup>2</sup> *Historie del S.D. Fernando Colombo nelle quali s'ha particolare & vera relatione della vita & de' fatti dell' Ammiraglio D. Christoforo Colombo, suo padre, etc. Nuouamente di lingua Spagnuola tradotte nell' Italiana dal S. Alfonso V'lloa. Venetia, MDLXXI.*



Christopher Columbus himself about his supposed voyage to the North Sea, in 1477. It is necessary, in this connection, to refer shortly to the history of this book.

In 1516 Agostino Giustiniano, Bishop of Nebbio, in Corsica, published, at Genoa, a Polyglot Psalter,<sup>1</sup> in which he inserted, as a note to the fourth verse of the nineteenth Psalm, a short account of Columbus and his life. This note<sup>2</sup> contained a number of statements which, as the compiler of the *Historie* considered, reflected unfavourably upon the Admiral and his family. Some of these statements were repeated in another work by Giustiniano, upon the Republic of Genoa,<sup>3</sup> not published till 1537, which is also referred to in the *Historie*. This seems to fix 1537 as the earliest date at which the *Historie* could have been begun.

One of the objects of the writer of the *Historie* was, avowedly, to refute these objectionable statements, which are specified in the second chapter of the book. No Spanish original of the *Historie*, either in manuscript or in print, has ever been found, and, on examining the subject, it appears to be more than doubtful whether any ever existed.

The *Historie*, bearing on the title-page the name Ferdinand Columbus as that of the author, and purporting to be a translation from Spanish into Italian, first appeared in print in Venice in 1571. It was never previously published in Spanish, and the Spanish edition (Barcia's) which appeared in Madrid, in 1747, was only an inferior re-translation from the Italian.

The *Historie*, in spite of some inexplicable passages, was for many years regarded as genuine, and as one of the most valuable sources of knowledge as to the history of the Admiral. But, in 1870, Mr. Henry Harrisse, till then a believer in the authenticity of the book, brought to bear his critical acumen and great linguistic knowledge upon it, with a view to the solution of its difficulties. He published from time to time several books relating to the subject.<sup>4</sup> He has shown conclusively,

<sup>1</sup> *Psalterium Hebraicum, Graecum, Arabicum et Chaldaicum, cum tribus Latinis interpretationibus et glossis.* Genoa, MDXVI.

<sup>2</sup> Reprinted, with an English translation, in Harrisse's *Notes on Columbus*, privately printed at New York, 1866, p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> *Castigatissimi Annali della eccelsa et illustrissima Republica di Genoa, da fedeli et approvati Scrittori, per el Reverendo Monsignore Giustiniano, Genovese, Vescovo de Nebbio.* Stampata in detta citta, etc. MDXXXVII.

<sup>4</sup> D. Fernando Colon, *Historiador de su Padre, Ensayo Critico*, Sevilla, 1871. *Fernand Colomb, sa vie, ses œuvres. Essai critique.* Paris, 1872. *L'Histoire de Christophe Colomb attribuée a son fils Fernand. Examen critique.* Paris, 1878. *Christophe Colomb, son origine, sa vie, ses voyages, etc.* Paris, 1884, etc.



from internal evidence, that the *Historie* could not have been begun before 1537 (Ferdinand Columbus died in 1539), that many of the statements contained in it are absolutely untrue, and that much of it could not have been written either by Ferdinand Columbus or with his knowledge and approval. HARRISSE does not absolutely reject the passage referring to Frisland, but he greatly mistrusts it.<sup>1</sup>

Ferdinand Columbus, a man of taste and culture, collected a fine library, containing many thousand volumes, which he bequeathed to the Cathedral of Seville. The remnant now forms the Columbina Library in that city. He made, with his own hand, a complete and elaborate catalogue, almost all of which is still extant, and there is no sign of any life of the Admiral in the portion devoted to the writings of Ferdinand. There is, however, in the catalogue, a note mentioning a manuscript life of the Admiral, in nine chapters, written in Spanish by Ferdinand Perez de Oliva, about 1525.<sup>2</sup> As Oliva died in 1530, it is clear that he cannot have been the author of the *Historie*, which refers not only to Giustiniano's work, published in 1537, mentioned above, but also to Oviedo's History of the Indies,<sup>3</sup> first published in 1535, but it is not impossible that Oliva's work, which no longer exists, may have been laid under contribution by the compiler of the *Historie*.

It is right to mention that Las Casas, in his *Historia de las Indias*,<sup>4</sup> refers to "that which Ferdinand Columbus relates in his History," and several times names him as his authority; but he never refers positively to any History of Christopher Columbus by his son Ferdinand.

The *Historia* of Las Casas, "The Protector of the Indians," was written by him in Spanish, between the years 1527 and 1561. It contains many passages of considerable length, which occur, phrase for phrase, allowing for the difference of the languages, both in the *Historia* by Las Casas, and in the *Historie* of Christopher Columbus. Probably some of these have a common origin, which may have been some writings of Ferdinand Columbus, or the *Life of Columbus*, by Perez de

<sup>1</sup> Fernand Colomb, 1872, chap. xv.

<sup>2</sup> *Ferdinandi Perez de Oliva tractatus manu et hispano sermone scriptus de vita et gestis D. Christophori Colon primi Indiarum Almirantis et maris oceanis dominatoris. Dividitur in 9 enarrationes.* See Fernand Colomb, p. 152.

<sup>3</sup> *La Historia General de las Indias*, Sevilla, 1535; and *Historie, etc.*, chap. x.

<sup>4</sup> *Historia de las Indias, Escrita por Fray Bartolome de las Casas, Obispo de Chiapa*; first printed, at Madrid, in 1875, vol. i., pp. 57, 67; vol. ii., pp. 62, 87, 98; vol. iii., pp. 121, 134, etc.

Oliva, already referred to, which was in Ferdinand's library. Some passages in the *Historie* are, however, certainly borrowed from the *Historia* by Las Casas, their origin being betrayed by the clerical errors, especially in the spelling of names, which occur in them.

Whatever may have been the origin of the *Historie* of 1571, and however authentic some of its sources may have been, it is certain that its author has introduced many falsehoods, contradictions, and anachronisms, which lay it open to the gravest suspicion, and make it necessary to view with extreme caution any appeal to it as an authority.<sup>1</sup>

Among the passages which occur, both in the *Historie* of 1571 and the *Historia* of Las Casas, is that obscure passage, above referred to, in which mention of Frisland is made. It appears as an extract from a note written by Christopher Columbus, showing that all the five zones are habitable, and proving it by his own experiences on his voyages, and is as follows<sup>2</sup>: "In the month of February, 1477, I sailed a hundred leagues beyond the Island Tile, the southern part of which is distant from the Equator 73° and not 63° as some will have it. It does not lie within the line which includes the west of Ptolemy, but much further to the west. And to this island, which is as large as England, the English go with their merchandize, especially those of Bristol; and, at the time that I went there the sea was not frozen, although there were such high

<sup>1</sup> "Les *Historie*, dans l'état où nous possédons cet ouvrage aujourd'hui, sont donc une composition dont on ne doit se servir qu'avec une extrême réserve et jamais sans en contrôler les assertions, les récits, les citations, même les noms et les dates." HARRISSE, *Christophe Colomb*, Paris, 1884, vol. i., p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> "En unas anotaciones que hizo de cómo todas las cinco zonas son habitables, probándolo por experiencia de sus navegaciones, [Cristobal Colon] dice así: Yo navegué el año de cuatrocientos y setenta y siete, en el mes de Febrero, ultra Tile, isla cien leguas, cuya parte austral dista del equinoccial 73° y no 63°, como algunos dicen, y no está dentro de la línea que incluye el occidente, como dice Tolomeo, sino mucho más occidental, y á esta isla, que es tan grande como Inglaterra, van los ingleses con mercaderías, especialmente los de Bristol, y al tiempo que yo á ella fui no estaba congelado el mar, aunque había grandísimas mareas, tanto que en algunas partes dos veces al día subía 25 brazas y descendía otras tantas en altura. Es bien verdad que Tile la de Tolomeo, está donde él dice, y que á esta la llaman los modernos *Frislandia*."—Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, Madrid, 1875, vol. i., p. 48.

"Et medesimamente in una memoria, ò annotatione, ch'ei fece, dimonstrando, che tutte le cinque Zone sono habitabili & prouandolo con l'isperientia delle nauigationi, [l'Ammiraglio] dice: Io nauigai l'anno mccccxxvii nel mese di Febraio oltra Tile isola cento leghe, la cui parte Australe è lontana dall' Equinottiale settantatre gradi & non sessantatre, come alcuni vogliono: ne giace dentro della linea, che include l'Occidente di Tolomeo, ma è molte più Occidentale. Et a quest' isola, che è tanto grande, come l'Inghilterra, vanno gl' Inglesi con le loro mercatantie, specialmente quelli di Bristol. Et al tempo, che io vi andai, non era congelato il mare, quantunque vi fossero sì grosse maree, che in alcuni luoghi scendeua ventisei braccia & discendeua altrettanti in altezza. È bene il vero, che Tile, quella, a cui Tolomeo fa mentione, giace doue egli dice: & questa da' moderni è chiamata Frislanda."—Columbus, *Historie, etc.*, 1571, pp. 8 and 9.

tides, that in some places they rose 26 Braccia,<sup>1</sup> and fell as much in height. *And it is very true that that Tile, of which Ptolemy makes mention,<sup>2</sup> lies where he says, and that the moderns call it Frislanda.*"

Sir Clements R. Markham suggests<sup>3</sup> that the two passages which we have printed in italics are interpolations made by Las Casas, after the publication of the Zeno book and map. This seems to be the case, certainly as to the latter italicized passage (viz., that referring to Frislanda), which is not included in the quotation marks which inclose the rest of the passage in the printed edition of the *Historia*, but appears as part of Las Casas's own work. There are no quotation marks to guide us in the *Historie* of 1571.

As to the former italicized passage the case is not so clear, but this does not affect the present subject.

It seems, therefore, that the only mention of Frisland in the *Historia* occurs in a passage written by Las Casas, at least ten years before the *Historie* appeared. During the three years between the publication of the Zeno story and the completion of his own work, Las Casas would almost certainly have heard of the Zenian Frislanda, and noted it in his book; it seems also, that, as it has been shown that the author of the apocryphal *Historie* sometimes borrowed from the work of Las Casas, evidence fails to show any knowledge by Christopher Columbus of the island Frisland.

According to the Zeno narrative, Frisland had belonged to the King of Norway, and was won from him, by force of arms, by Zichmni, in 1379. If this is authentic history, it is certainly extraordinary that there should be no mention in any of the Scotch, Icelandic, or Scandinavian records, official or otherwise, either of the large and important Island of Frisland, or of its conquest by Zichmni, but none of the believers in the story of the younger Zeno have been able to point to any such mention. Ortelius (solemnly confirmed by the learned Dr. Dee<sup>4</sup> and followed by Cluverius<sup>5</sup>) gives Frisland to England, though,

<sup>1</sup> The Venetian *braccia* was 26·3 English inches. (*The Marchants mapp of Commerce*, by Lewes Roberts, London, 1638.) Major and others have given the modern rendering "fathoms," which more than doubles the height of the rise and fall of the tide.

<sup>2</sup> *Ptolemy*, lib. ii., cap. iii., and "Tabula Prima Europa."

<sup>3</sup> *Life of Christopher Columbus*, in *The World's Great Explorers Series*. London, 1892, pp. 22 and 23.

<sup>4</sup> *Private Diary of John Dee*, 1554-1601, Camden Society, 1842, p. 4; and the endorsement on Dee's map, 1580 (Brit. Mus., Cott. MSS., Aug. 1, i. art. 1).

<sup>5</sup> *Philippi Cluverii Introductionis in Universam Geographiam tam veterem quam novam Libri VI.* Amsterdam, 1676, 4to, p. 60.

like Mercator, he calls Zichmni "King of Frisland," a personage who is as little known to historians as Zeno's "Dædalus, King of Scotland."

"Porlanda" and "Neome" were to be found, with many other Zenian names, on the Portuguese map of 1553, by Matthew Prunes, where they probably respectively represent Foula and Fair Isle.

As to "the Duchy of Sorant," it seems clear that the younger Zeno had in his mind the "Sorand" of his map. For once the description in the text tallies with the map, as "Sorand" does lie "on the side [of Frisland] opposite Scotland;" *posta dalla banda verso Scotia*. It will be seen from Appendix IV. that its place is taken, on the fifteenth century Catalan map, and on the Prunes map, by "Solanda," which is probably the "Isola Solan" of the Fra Mauro map (Plate I.).

"Ledovo" may be the "Liderovo," and "Sanestol" the "Inestol" of the Andrea Bianco map, 1448. Major confidently identifies<sup>1</sup> "Ledovo" with "Lille Dimon," one of the smaller Faroes, but this is a very diminutive, uninhabited and almost inaccessible rock, and a most extraordinary place for Zichmni and Antonio Zeno to stop at for seven days, with their considerable number of ships and men, to rest and refresh themselves and to furnish the fleet with necessaries, as the narrative tells us that they did.<sup>2</sup>

Admiral Irminger gives an instructive description and a picture of Lille Dimon in his paper, in the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1879, vol. xlix., p. 402.

Major's identification is based upon his extraordinary phonetic theory (applied also to many other Zenian names), according to which a Venetian, hearing a Northerner say "Lille Dimon," would give for the sound he heard the written form of "Ledovo!"

Major identifies "Ilofe" with "Skuae,"<sup>3</sup> first adopting Bredsdorff's suggestion that the initial "I" has been written by Zeno by mistake for "S." That change gives "Slofe," which, by Major's theory, is the Venetian rendering of the word "Skuae," spoken by a Northerner! We suggest, as a simpler and more reasonable solution, that the supposed name "Ilofe" is only the word "Ifole," *i.e.* islands, with the "l" and long "s" transposed by the copyist from some Italian map, and

<sup>1</sup> *Voyages of the Zeni*, p. xv.

<sup>2</sup> It is however stated, in the *Færeyinga Saga*, that the brothers Brester and Beiner kept some sheep, and the cattle intended for killing, on Lille Dimon, which is described as being uninhabited.

<sup>3</sup> *Voyages of the Zeni*, p. xv. In the *Færeyinga Saga* "Skuae" is called "Skufu." This would render Major's explanation more reasonable.

the long "s" read as an "f" by the compositor; giving "Ilofe" for "Ifole"—both very easy and natural mistakes when the written "l," long "s" and "f" were so much alike in form.

"Suderoe" is the name of one of the Faroes, and appears on the Olaus Magnus map of 1539, and on Mercator's "Europa," 1554.

The "Bondendon" of the narrative, or "Bondendea Porti" of the map, as will be more fully explained in the chapter on the "Carta da Navegar," owes its existence, as do several other of the names on Frisland, to the mis-copying of Portuguese words denoting physical features, which were frequently placed upon maps of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Major,<sup>1</sup> by his theory, makes it the Venetian version of "Norderdahl!"

It should be observed that Zeno describes Frislanda, the island, as much larger than Ireland<sup>2</sup> (*supra*, p. 9), and Frislanda, the chief city of that island, as lying inside a bay in which there is such a great abundance of fish that many ships are laden therewith to supply Flanders, Brittany, England, Scotland, Norway and Denmark, and adds, that by this trade they gather great wealth (*supra*, p. 10). Yet, until 1558, no one but Zeno and, perhaps, his relative Marco Barbaro, had ever heard of the place, and, at that date, the island had totally disappeared, without any record or remark whatever, either by the owners or skippers of the many ships trading thither, or by any of the consignees of their cargoes of fish.

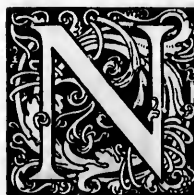
<sup>1</sup> *Voyages of the Zeni*, p. xvi.

<sup>2</sup> Major (*Voyages of the Zeni*, p. 6, n.) suspects that "Irlanda" is a misreading for "Islanda." He also asserts "the Zeni's utter ignorance of Ireland;" yet, in his introduction (p. xcvi), he identifies the "Icaria" of the Zeni with Kerry, and seems to imply that this helps his theory. But the Zeni cannot have visited Kerry and yet have been entirely ignorant of Ireland.



## PART II. SECTION III.

THE VOYAGE OF NICOLÒ TO SHETLAND, ICELAND,  
AND GREENLAND (FROM NICOLÒ'S SECOND LETTER,  
*folios 48<sup>a</sup>-51<sup>b</sup>*).



NICOLÒ ZENO, after being joined by his brother Antonio, was made captain of Zichmni's navy. Zichmni had projected an attack upon Eslanda (Shetland), but drew off on hearing that the King of Norway was coming against him with a great fleet. The same storm which utterly destroyed the Norwegian fleet also wrecked a good many of Zichmni's ships. The remainder took shelter in "Grislanda," a large but uninhabited island not far to the south of Islanda.

Iceland is only thrice mentioned in the Zeno narrative, and only once with any detail, viz., when Zichmni, accompanied by Nicolò, after the failure of his expedition against Eslanda (Shetland), determined "to attack Islanda, which, exactly in the same manner as the others, belonged to the King of Norway; but he found the country so well fortified and furnished for defence that he could not but have been repulsed, as he had such a small fleet, and that, small as it was, likewise very badly provided both with arms and men. On this account, he abandoned that enterprise without having done anything, and attacked, in the same channels, the other islands called Islande, which are seven in number, that is to say, Talas, Broas, Iscant, Trans, Mimant, Damberc, and Bres. Taking possession of them all, he built a fort in Bres, in which he left M. Nicolò with some small ships, some men and provisions; and . . . returned safely to Frislanda" (*supra*, p. 11).

The second and third occurrences of the name are on *folio* 57. These latter are merely passing allusions.

It is clear that Nicolò Zeno, the younger, has blundered badly over this part of his story. Arngrim Jonas, in commenting upon the above passage (which he knew from the Latin version given in Pontanius<sup>1</sup>) shows, first, that the Iceland which he knew so well, and of which he is one of the most reliable historians, never was fortified or furnished for defence against attack by any fleet, however small;<sup>2</sup> secondly, that the ancient records of Iceland, though exceedingly minute in respect to the smallest details, make no mention of so imminent a danger as that described by Zeno; and, thirdly, that there were no such islands as those named by Zeno near Iceland.

On the first point, Nicolò Zeno, the younger, may easily have been misled by Olaus Magnus, who, both in the *Opera Breve* of 1539,<sup>3</sup> which explains his map of that date, and in his larger work, *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus*, 1555,<sup>4</sup> inserts passages from which Zeno might have gathered that the Icelanders were a warlike and well-armed people. So far from this being the case, they allowed themselves, during a century and a half, to be continually harried, robbed and insulted by the crews of ships of several nationalities, chiefly English, and always with impunity to the ravagers.

As to Arngrim Jonas's second point, Zeno could not have known for how long a time, or with what care and minuteness of detail, the Icelandic records had been kept, and, even had he done so, he would hardly have anticipated that his narrative would ever be subjected to the test of a comparison with those documents.<sup>5</sup>

As to Arngrim Jonas's third point, there could be little doubt that Zeno in his narrative has confused Iceland (*Islanda* of the text) and the Shetlands (*Eslanda*, *Estlanda* or *Islande* of the text), yet we cannot but think that the seven islands, to the east of Iceland on his map, had

<sup>1</sup> *Rerum Danicarum*, 1631, p. 755-763.

<sup>2</sup> *Specimen Islandiæ*, 1643, p. 143 et seqq.

<sup>3</sup> "Et li cavaliere armati [represented on Islandia] dimonstrano quivi farsi spesso crudelissime guerre, ed alcuna per leggier cause." *Opera Breve*, under A. o.; see also *infra*, Plate IV.

<sup>4</sup> "Hi autem Islandenses . . . : facili causa provocantur ad arma, ac bella, quae satis crudelia gerunt; denique tam ad pedestrem, quam equestrem expeditionem in omni eventu cuncta disposita habent." *Hist. de Gentibus Septentrionalibus*, p. 733. See also p. 240, etc., in the work cited.

<sup>5</sup> "The native historians of Iceland are exceedingly numerous . . . at present it may be sufficient to state that they have successfully elucidated even the most remote periods in the history of their country, and that their simplicity and distinctness furnish strong internal evidence of authenticity." Sir Geo. Stuart Mackenzie, *Travels in Iceland*, 1811, p. 4.



their origin in the ice floes shown in a corresponding position on the Olaus Magnus map (Plate IV.), which Zeno, whether through ignorance or impudence, has converted into islands! This seems also to be Professor Storm's view.<sup>1</sup>

Forster,<sup>2</sup> in 1784, recognizes these seven Zenian islands as the Shetlands; Eggers,<sup>3</sup> in 1794, takes some trouble to distinguish the different parts of Iceland which each of them represented in his opinion; <sup>4</sup> Zurla approves. Lelewel also<sup>5</sup> treats them as parts of Iceland. Major, however, considers<sup>6</sup> that they were the Shetlands, misplaced by Zeno, the younger, in error, and that the words "Islanda" and "Islande," in the passages quoted at the beginning of this section, are misreadings for "Eslanda," meaning the Shetlands. The names of the seven Zenian Icelandic islands are apparently borrowed from the Shetlands,<sup>7</sup> and they represent those islands in a vague, loose kind of way. The "Bres" of the narrative is the modern Bressay.

We have seen that Zichmni left Nicolò in the new fort in Bres, with some small vessels, some men, and some stores. Nicolò determined to make, from thence, an exploring expedition, and, sailing towards the north, in the month of July, arrived, according to the narrative, in Greenland.

Now, if Bres had been an island off the east coast of Iceland, as Nicolò, the younger, understood it to be, and as he has shown it on his map, a northerly course from thence could only have brought Nicolò, the traveller, to Greenland. But as Bres is really Bressay, in the Shetlands, the same course from thence would, more probably, have brought him first to Iceland. The description of Greenland given in the narrative, though in many respects inapplicable to that country, would apply fairly well to Iceland.

In Greenland, we are told, Nicolò found the wonderful monastery of the order of the Preaching Friars, and the church dedicated to St. Thomas, the Volcano, like Vesuvius or Etna, and the hot springs and other remarkable things described in the narrative (*supra*, p. 11 *et seqq.*). The existence of any of these things in the part of Greenland indicated by the map, or of some of them in any part of Greenland, is inconsistent with all human knowledge, even at the present day, extended as that knowledge has been by the frequent and determined explorations made

<sup>1</sup> *Om Zeniernes reiser*, pp. 9 and 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Northern Voyages*, p. 200.

<sup>3</sup> *Ueber die wahre lage des Alten Ostgrönlands*. Kiel, 1794.

<sup>4</sup> *Dissertazione, etc.*, 1808, p. 91. *Di Marco Polo*, vol. ii., p. 55.

<sup>5</sup> *Géographie du Moyen Age*, vol. iv., p. 95.

<sup>6</sup> *Voyages of the Zeni*, p. 11, n. 2.

<sup>7</sup> See *infra*, Appendix IV.



on the Greenland coasts during the last two centuries. But the volcanoes and hot springs, hot enough to be capable of cooking food, either by baking or boiling, did exist in Iceland, as was known in Italy in the time of Zeno the younger, and still exist. In speaking of the monastery Zeno says: "Hither in the summer come many boats from the neighbouring islands, and from the cape upon Norway and from Treadon (Trondhjem)," to trade for dried fish and skins. And further, "There come together in this monastery Friars from Norway, Sweden, and other countries, but the greater part are from Islande;<sup>1</sup> and there are always in this port many ships, which cannot get away because the sea is frozen, awaiting the spring thaw" [*ante*, p. 14]. And yet no trace can be found in Greenland, no mention in history of this flourishing trading station. It has been noticed elsewhere that in 1389, and for many years previously, Iceland and Greenland were regarded as the private property of the Danish Crown, and none but royal ships were permitted to go to those countries.<sup>2</sup>

On the question as to where Zeno the younger can have got his details of these northern parts, Olaus Magnus and Bordone may be referred to. There is not one of the wonders described by Zeno the idea of which may not have been taken from the works of one or other of those two authors.

As to the possession by the Friars of all sorts of comforts, and all that they want, the hot springs and the lake kept from freezing by their flow, compare the description by Olaus Magnus of the Royal Fortress of Aaranes in Sweden:<sup>3</sup> "This Fortress had around it all the advantages which any fortunate abode of mortals could demand and obtain from the Powers above." The "vast Lake Vener abounding in fish," was hard by, and the neighbouring marshes protected the approaches even in the severest winter, "for very rarely were these marshes frozen, because of the hot vapours from the sulphurous streams." We seem, also to see a possible origin of the Friars' gardens in the following chapter of Olaus, which describes the wonderful garden of the Mountain Kinderberg, near the aforesaid fortress.

<sup>1</sup> This may mean Iceland or the Shetlands. Major translates it by the latter name. See note 1, on p. 11, *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide infra*, p. 96.

<sup>3</sup> "Habebat hæc arx in circuitu omnes commoditates quas unquam felix mortalium sedes à superis impetrare potuerat et obtinere." . . . "Vistum ac piscosum lacum Vener." . . . Nam rarissime propter calidas venarum sulphurearum exhalationes paludes illæ congelantur." —*De Gentibus Sept.*, lib. 2, cap. xxi.

In the same book<sup>1</sup> there are accounts of hot springs in Ireland and Scotland in which anything may be cooked; and of the stone which, when water is poured upon it, becomes like lime. That the things thus described by Olaus do not belong to the locality assigned to them by Zeno matters little, considering the latter's method of gathering materials for his story from all quarters; and especially seeing that the locality, which he does assign for his flourishing monastic emporium, happens to be in reality in the middle of the frozen sea, between Greenland and Spitzbergen. As to the habitations, Bordone<sup>2</sup> describes the method of lighting the cave-dwellings from the top; while Olaus Magnus<sup>3</sup> has several chapters describing the materials and manner of construction of houses, in various forms (round amongst others), and the method of obtaining light from the top. Bordone mentions the great



DE BALNEIS, ETC. FROM OLAUS MAGNUS, "DE GENT. SEPT.," 1555, P. 527.

abundance of fish, their great size and strange forms, and the trade done in salted fish; while Olaus Magnus refers, over and over again, to the abundance and great size of the fishes of the north, and figures, both in his book and in his map, divers strange varieties.

Again, Olaus Magnus gives us<sup>4</sup> a woodcut picture, here reproduced, which might well serve to illustrate Zeno's description of the conveyance of the hot water into the middle of the Court, where it falls into a large vessel of brass, that stands in the middle of a boiling fountain. The use of hot water, led by conduits into baths, is in Iceland, at least as old as the time of Snorre Sturlasson, who was beheaded in 1241.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *De Gentibus Sept.*, lib. 2, cap. i.

<sup>2</sup> *Isolario*, ed. 1528, folio v.

<sup>3</sup> *De Gentibus Sept.*, lib. 12, cap. i., ii., iii.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 527. De Balneis, & ventosis, ac phlebotomia.

<sup>5</sup> See Irminger, in *Jour. Roy. Geog. Soc.*: London, 1879, vol. xlix., p. 411, and Troil, *Letters on Iceland*, London, 1780. The following is Troil's description of Snorre Sturlasson's bath: "And at a little distance from them [the site of Sturlasson's house and the burying place of his

It may be noticed that even the most devoted of Zeno the younger's supporters have been obliged to abandon him on the question of the locality assigned by him for the Monastery.

We will postpone the consideration of Nicolò Zeno's volcano in East Greenland till we come to the account of Antonio Zeno's volcano in West Greenland.

The younger Zeno's knowledge of the Greenlanders' leather boats, or *kayaks*, is one of those things about which he is supposed to have possessed information in advance of that of his age. His description of them (though we cannot agree with Major,<sup>1</sup> that it is "truly admirable,") is certainly in keeping with the rest of his story, as it shows a complete misunderstanding of its subject, and is, in some respects, untrue.

Both Ziegler<sup>2</sup> and Claus Magnus<sup>3</sup> mention these boats. The latter says that in 1515 he saw two of them over the western door of the Cathedral consecrated to Halvard at Aslo (Christiania). He also figures one in his map of 1539, and in the *Opera Breve* gives much the same account as that given by Zeno, as to the safety of those who use them: "in these they are safe in all conditions of the winds, whether carried on to the rocks, or into the depths;<sup>4</sup> where they attack ships, even the ships of foreigners, and pierce the same under the water and sink them." The figure on the Map (Plate IV. B.A.) may very well have given Zeno the idea of the shape of a weaver's shuttle, though it gives no idea of the real form or use of a *kayak*. As a matter of fact, a kayaker is completely shut in by the union of his leather clothing with the ring of the *kayak*, only his face being exposed. Olaus Magnus in another place<sup>5</sup> also mentions the making of ships, "which, as there are no iron nails, are joined together with the sinews of animals, especially of reindeer, and with the roots of trees."

The leather boats are also mentioned by Schöner,<sup>6</sup> who speaks of

family] *Snorra Laug*, one of the finest baths in Iceland. This bath, which is large enough to contain fifty persons at one time, is mured in with a wall of basalt and concreto thermarum; it has a smooth level bottom, and is surrounded with benches. In Sturleson's time a long covered passage led from thence to the dwelling-house, so that the bathers retire from the bath without being exposed to the cold. The spring is at forty paces' distance, and is called *Scribla*, and the water from it is conveyed to the bath through a conduit made of stones. At the end of this conduit is a hole in a rock, which is shut with a spigot and faucet, and through which you let in as much warm water as you think fit; this, when too hot, may easily be cooled by water from an adjoining brook."—*Op. cit.*, pp. 189, 190.

<sup>1</sup> *Voyages of the Zeni*, p. lxxxix.

<sup>2</sup> *Schondia*, 1536, folio xcii. b.

<sup>3</sup> *De Gentibus Sept.*, p. 68; *Opera Breve*, 1539, under B.A.

<sup>4</sup> *Ci. Annals*, folios 50, 51.

<sup>5</sup> *Opera Breve*, under C.p.

<sup>6</sup> "Pigmei parvi longitudine cubitales; quos vidit Claudius Clavus Niger captos in mari in

the little pigmies a cubit long, some of whom Claudius Clavus had seen captured at sea in a moderate-sized boat made of leather, which in Schöner's time was preserved in the Cathedral Church of Nidrosia (Trondhjem). They had in the same place, he adds, a long boat also made of leather, which was once also captured with some pigmies.

The larger Greenland leather boat, the *umiak*, is not covered in at all, and can only be used in fair weather.

The ridiculous account of the "sleeve"<sup>1</sup> (*manica*) in the bottom of the boat must be an addition of Zeno's own. Such an arrangement would be entirely impracticable, indeed impossible, in a *kayak*; it may have its origin in a misreading of Olaus Magnus' somewhat obscure descriptions in the *Opera Breve* and *De Gentibus Septentrionalibus Historia*, above referred to. Olaus Magnus also refers to the "vessels covered with leather round about and well sewed;" which Pliny, quoting Timæus, mentions as being used by the Britons.<sup>2</sup>

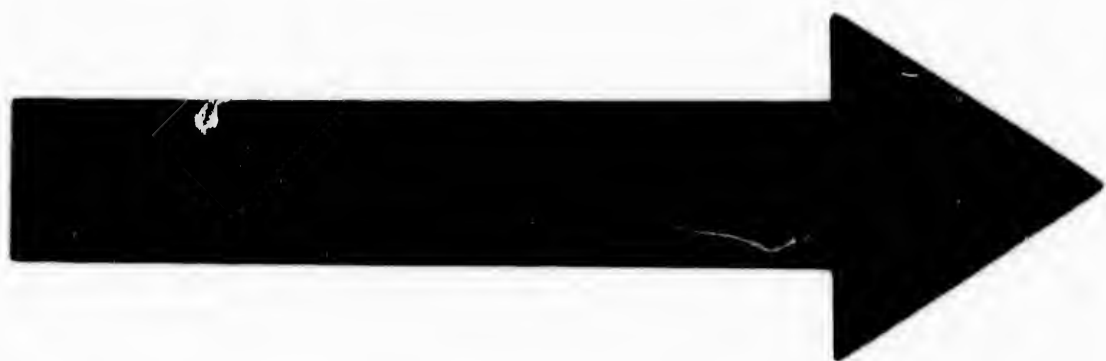
It is unfortunate that so many writers upon the Zeno narrative have drawn across the trail of the investigation the interesting question of the situations of the old Danish settlements in Greenland, so long lost sight of. It is not proposed to follow the false scent of this literary or historical red herring. It is now well ascertained that both the Eastern and Western Settlements were upon the western face of Greenland, and Major attempts to transport Zeno's Monastery thither. He finds in the Springs of Ounartok (which have only a temperature of 108° Fahr.) not indeed Zeno's hot springs, but evidence of the probability of the existence, 500 years ago, of some other hot springs which, he holds, may have been the hot springs described by Zeno. No springs hot enough to cook food have, however, been discovered in Greenland. The Geysers in Iceland reach the temperature of 212° Fahr., and could do all that the Zenian springs are said to have done for cooking and warming purposes. Besides, in order to bring Nicolò Zeno from Bressay to the southern point of Greenland, as Major would do, it would be necessary to ignore Zeno's statement that he sailed from Bres [Bressay] towards the north. The course from Bressay to Cape Farewell would be due west.

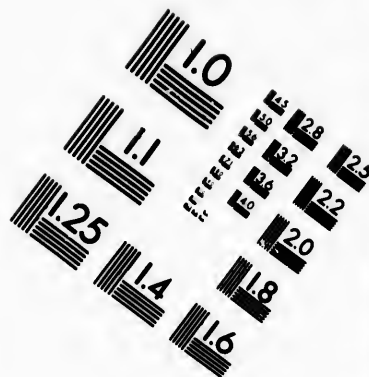
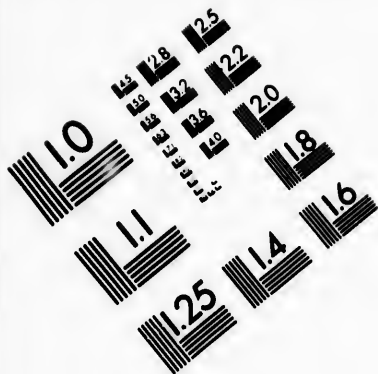
*navicula modica de corio preparata, quæ hac nostra tempestate in Ecclesia Cathedrali Nodrosiæ reservatur. Habent ibidem navem longam etiam de corio quæ quondam cum pigmeis etiam capta erat.*—*Luculentissima quædam terræ totius descriptio, etc.*, Nuremberg, 1515, 4to.

<sup>1</sup> *Annals*, folio 51°.

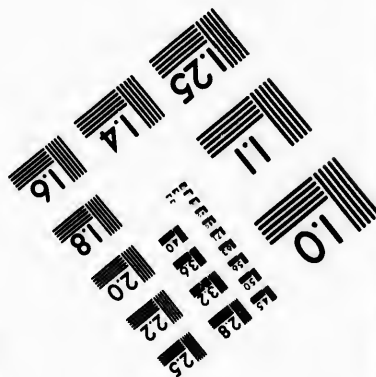
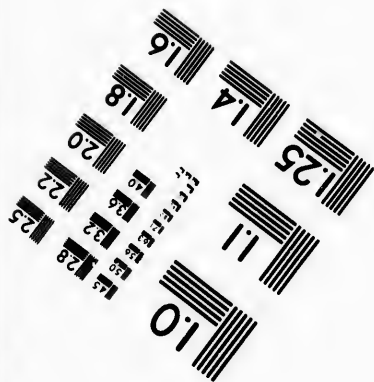
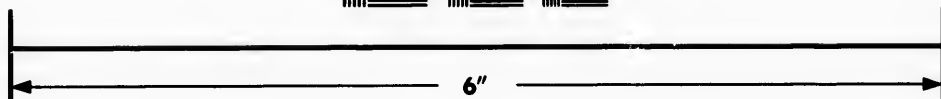
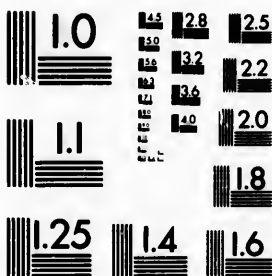
<sup>2</sup> *C. Plinii Secundi Historiæ Mundi Libri XXXVII.*—Lib. 4, cap. xvi.

<sup>3</sup> A temperature of 115° Fahr. is the lowest at which serum albumen will coagulate; and certainly another 10° or 12° must be added before an egg could be cooked.





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## PART II. SECTION IV.

### THE STORY OF THE FRISLAND FISHERMAN (FROM ANTONIO ZENO'S FIRST LETTER TO CARLO ZENO, *folios 51<sup>b</sup>-53<sup>b</sup>*).



It is upon the story, said to have been related by a fisherman of Frisland to Zichmni, that the claim on behalf of Venice to a pre-Columbian discovery of America has been mainly based; and it is this portion of the Zeno narrative which has given the greatest interest to the inquiries and speculations which have been made, as to the good faith of Nicolò Zeno the younger, and the truth of his story.

Whatever may be the case as to other parts of the book, it seems certain that the whole of this story is pure fiction, built up by Zeno the younger from the Columbus letters; Vespucci's letters of 1503 and 1504, the *Paesi Novamente ritrovati*, 1507 (with several later Italian editions); the *Itinerarium Portugallensium*, 1508 (which is an inexact Latin version of the *Paesi*); Peter Martyr's *Decades*, 1511, 1521, 1530, etc.; Grynaeus' *Novus Orbis*, 1532; and other early works of the sixteenth century, especially Benedetto Bordone's *Isolario* (Venice, 1528), which appears to have supplied the compiler of the *Annals* with many suggestions and much material for this and other portions of his compilation.

The main outlines of the fisherman's story correspond closely with those of the history of Jeronimo Aguilar, one of Valdivia's men. Valdivia, in 1511, was sent from Darien to give information to the Admiral, Diego Columbus, of the want of food and necessities there. The story is told both by Peter Martyr, in *De Nuper repertis Insulis* (which appeared first in 1521 as a separate work, and afterwards as a



part of the Fourth Decade), and also by Gomara in his *Historia de Mexico*, published at Antwerp in 1554.

The Zeno narrative wrecks the fisherman on Estotilanda: *Nelle quali si ruppe un de navigli, e sei huomini, che u'erano*, etc. (*folio 52<sup>a</sup>*). Valdivia and his companions were wrecked off Jamaica: *E . . . se perdio la caravella en los Baxos . . . Yo, y otros seys* (Gomara, fol. 21).

The Italian version of Gomara, by Mauro, published after Zeno's time, in 1566, renders this passage: *Si ruppe la caravella nelle . . . sicche . . . Io e altri sei*, etc.

Zeno has found it necessary, for the purpose of his tale, to wreck his unfortunate fisherman twice, the first time upon Estotilanda, the second upon Drogeo. On their voyage to Drogeo the fisherman and his companions encountered such a great storm "that they gave themselves up for lost; nevertheless, in trying to escape from one cruel death they fell into the clutches of another, much more terrible, for being taken into the country, most of them were eaten by the ferocious inhabitants who feed upon human flesh, which they consider a very savoury viand." The fisherman, after passing from hand to hand among many chiefs, eventually escaped and fled, and was made most welcome and kindly treated by a neighbouring chief who knew him, and who had great enmity against the other chief [from whom he had fled].

The second part of the account of Valdivia's shipwreck corresponds with that of this wreck of Zeno's fisherman on Drogeo. Valdivia and his men took to their boats, without oars or sails, and were carried away by the violence of the sea. The residue, likewise, consumed by famine, and "falling from one calamity into another," were driven to Yucatan, where they fell into the hands of a cruel king who slew Valdivia with certain of his fellows, and, when he had first sacrificed them to his Zemís, shortly afterwards he, with his friends, ate them, for they eat only their enemies and strangers. In the meantime, Aguilar and six of his fellows were reserved to be sacrificed. On the third day, they escaped and fled to another king, who was the enemy of the first king, and who received them, yet only as bondmen.

Again, when Zeno's fisherman heard of the arrival of ships in Drogeo and went to the coast, he found, to his great satisfaction, that they were from Estotilanda, and asked the sailors to take him with them. He was willingly received by them, because, as he understood the language of the country, which none of the others understood, they used him as an interpreter.

So, also, when Aguilar heard of the arrival of the foreigners, and went to the coast to meet them, he inquired of them in Spanish whether they were Christians, and when they replied that they were Spaniards, he wept for joy and begged them to render thanks to God, who, of His goodness, had delivered him from the hands of infidels and wicked men, and placed him among Christians and those of his own nation; and they returned thanks to God for his liberation, and for having sent them an interpreter sure and truthful.

Turning from the comparison of these two narratives to Zeno's account of Estotilanda and Drogeo, it will be found that the description of Estotilanda is drawn from accounts of Mexico, Hispaniola, Cuba, and other islands, while that of Drogeo is chiefly from accounts of the northern parts of South America.

As evidence in support of these statements, a comparison may be made of the Zeno narrative with the references to and extracts from various works given below. There is, indeed, nothing original in Zeno's fisherman's story, except the statement that the books in Estotilanda were in Latin.

Bordone<sup>1</sup> supplies Zeno with many of the materials for the description of Estotiland in his account of Mexico. There we find the originals of the *citta bellissima*, the king, the great population, the cities and castles, and the abundance of good things.

Zeno describes a mountain from which four rivers rise (*folio 52<sup>a</sup>*).<sup>2</sup> *Havendo nel mezzo un monte altissimo, dalquale nascono quattro fiumi, che la irrigano.* Bordone tells of a similar mountain in Hispaniola: *et da ditto monte, quattro fiumi scendono giuso nel piano.*<sup>3</sup> Both authors tell of the learning and artistic skill of the people. Zeno says (*folio 52<sup>b</sup>*), that they have a distinct language and letters: *Hanno lingua, e lettere separate.* Bordone says, referring to Mexico: *Hanno certe charratere nel loro scrivere.*

The account of the possession of metals of all sorts, and especially of gold, is common to both writers. Zeno tells us (*folio 52<sup>b</sup>*) of the country lying to the south (*Ostro*), "very rich in gold," where "they sow corn and make beer, which is a kind of drink that northern people take as we

<sup>1</sup> *Isolario*, 1528, *folios* vii., viii. and ix.

<sup>2</sup> "Having in the middle a very high mountain from which spring four rivers, which water it [Estotilanda]" (*supra*, p. 16).

<sup>3</sup> "And from the said mountain four rivers flow down into the plain." *Isolario*, xii. a.

<sup>4</sup> "They have distinct characters in which they write." *Ibid.*, ix. a.

[the Venetians] do wine" (*folio 52<sup>b</sup>*).<sup>1</sup> Bordone tells<sup>2</sup> us of Paria lying to the west (Ponente), rich in gold, where they have wine, red and white, but not made of grapes (for the country does not produce the vine), but of some fruits not known to the Spaniards.

Peter Martyr also tells us of the books, and describes the letters as being much like to the Egyptian characters, but written in lines like ours; of the drink, made from maize and other fruits; of the gold mines; and, of the working of metals.

The above references are all from early accounts of Mexico, of Hispaniola, Cuba, and neighbouring islands, and of the northern parts of the Southern Continent of America.

In the latter portion of the fisherman's story, which relates to Drogeo, we find the descriptions mainly drawn from accounts of South America.

Where Zeno says<sup>3</sup> [*folio 53<sup>a</sup>*]: *Et dice il paese essere grandissimo & quasi un nuovo mondo*; the *Paesi Novamente* has,<sup>4</sup> *I quali novo mondo chiamare ne sta licito*; and Bordone,<sup>5</sup> *Terra di Sancta Cruce ouer mondo nouo . . . grandissima isola*.

Again, Zeno says<sup>6</sup> [*folio 53<sup>a</sup>*] of the inhabitants of Drogeo: *Ma genti roza & priva di ogni bene, perche vanno nudi, tutti che patiscano freddi crudeli, ne sanno coprirsi delle pelli degli animali, che prendeno in caccia*. Bordone says<sup>7</sup> of the natives of Hispaniola: *Et gli habitanti di questo luogo, non solo sono pigri, ma essa pigrizia, & tarditate, inutili, & di ogni bonta priui, tal che, piu presto, giacciar se lassano (perche quiui fa molto freddo, che di bambagia (perche in questo luogo ue ne gran copia) far alcuna cosa per coprire le loro carni*.

<sup>1</sup> Olaus Magnus, in the thirteenth book of his *Historia de Gentibus Sept.*, 1555, fully describes the mode of preparation, etc., of the beer made and used in the North.

<sup>2</sup> In the account of Columbus's third voyage, from which Bordone derives this passage, the Admiral infers that for "making the white and red wine they use maize, which is a plant that bears an ear like that of wheat." *Select Letters of Columbus*, edited by R. H. Major, Hakluyt Society, 1870, p. 126. Bordone, *Isolario*, xi. a.

<sup>3</sup> "He says that it is a very great country, and, as it were, a new world." Major, *Voyages of the Zeni*, p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> "Which it might be permitted to call a New World." *Paesi Nov.*, cap. cxiii.

<sup>5</sup> "The Land of the Holy Cross, or New World . . . a very great island." *Isolario*, folio x<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> "The people are very rude and destitute of any good qualities, for they all go naked, and suffer cruelly from the cold, nor have they the sense to clothe themselves with the skins of the animals they take in hunting."

<sup>7</sup> "And the inhabitants of this place not only are lazy, but, on account of their laziness and slowness, are useless and destitute of any good qualities, so that they rather allow themselves to freeze (for it is very cold there) than make anything to cover their flesh with of the cotton (which grows in this place in great quantity)." *Isolario*, folio xii<sup>a</sup>.

Zeno says<sup>1</sup> [folio 53<sup>a</sup>]: *Non hanno metallo di sorte alcuna, vivono di cacciagioni, & portano lance di legno nella punta aguzze, & archi, le corde de i quali sono di pelle animali.* Vespucci has<sup>2</sup>: *Le loro armi sono archi & saette molto ben fabricati, salvo che non tengon ferro, ne altro genere di metallo forte: et in luogo del ferro pongono denti di animali, o di pesci, o un fuscello di legno forte arsicciato nella punta. . . . Altre arme tenghono, come lance tostati.* The Paesi Novamente has<sup>3</sup>: *Le sue arme sono larco & le saette; and Bordone,<sup>4</sup> le loro armi sono saette, maze, et pietri.*

Zeno says<sup>5</sup> [folio 53<sup>a</sup>]: *Sono popoli di gran ferocità, combatteno insieme mortalmente, & si mangiano l'uno l'altro, and [folio 52<sup>b</sup>] cibandosi essi di carne humana, che tengono per molto saporita vivanda; Vespucci has<sup>6</sup>: Usono di guerra infra loro con gente che non sono di lor lingua molto crudelmente, senza perdonare la vita a nessuno, se non per maggior pena; and, further on, Mangion poca carne salvo che carne del huomo: . . . Si mangiono tutti eloro nimici che amazzano, o pigliano, si femine come maschi . . . & si maravigliorono udendo dire a noi che non si mangiamo nostri nimici.* The Paesi Novamente puts it thus<sup>7</sup>: *Alle bataglie li incendono: in lequale crudelissime insieme si amazzano: e quelli iquale de la bataglia captivi menano: non de la vita: ma del suo vieto percasiona da esser amazzati li servano: imperho che li altri laltre parte: & ivencitori iventi manzano: & infra le carne la humana e aquelli comuno cibo . . . Molto piu io dico che essi maraviglieno per che nui non manzano li inimici nostri: & la carne de quelli non usano in li cibi: la quale dice esser saporosissima.*

<sup>1</sup> "They have no metal of any kind. They live by hunting, and carry lances of wood sharpened at the point, and bows, the strings of which are made of the skins of animals."

<sup>2</sup> "Their arms are bows and arrows very well made, save that they have no iron nor any other kind of hard metal, and in place of iron they put the teeth of animals, or of fishes, or a spike of strong wood, with the point hardened by fire. . . . They have other arms, such as fire-hardened spears." *Vespucci's Letters*, Quaritch's facsimile, 1893, folio a. iii.

<sup>3</sup> "Their arms are the bow and arrows." *Paesi Nov.*, cap. cxvii.

<sup>4</sup> "Their arms are arrows, clubs and stones." *Isolario*, folio xi<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> "They are a people of great ferocity, and have deadly fights against each other, and eat one another." "For they eat human flesh, which they hold to be a very savoury viand," folio a. iii.

<sup>6</sup> "Warfare is carried on among them against people who are not of their own language very cruelly, without granting life to anyone, except to reserve him for greater pain. . . . They eat little flesh except human flesh. . . . They eat all their enemies whom they kill or capture, females as well as males . . . and they wondered to hear us say that we did not eat our enemies." *Vespucci's Letters*, Quaritch's facsimile, 1893, folio a. v.

<sup>7</sup> "In their battles they fight fiercely, and slay one another in them most cruelly, and those whom they take captives in battle they keep not for use living, but to be eaten when required as food; for this is done by both sides, and victors eat the vanquished, and of all meat human

Bordone has:<sup>1</sup> *gli vinti ad esser mangiati serbati sono, tra tutte le carne, l'humana e alloro in comune uso.*

Where Zeno has<sup>2</sup> [*folio 53<sup>a</sup>*], *hanno superiori, et certe leggi molto differenti tra di loro*; Bordone has<sup>3</sup> [*folio x<sup>b</sup>*] *li costumi de gl'isolani . . . sono molto dissimili in diverse parte de lisola*; and [*folio xi<sup>a</sup>*] *Alcuni a tiranni sotoposto sono . . . et cosi di varii costumi e tutta ripiena.*

Zeno tells us [*folio 53<sup>a</sup>*] of "cities and temples dedicated to idols, in which they sacrificed men." Bordone gives<sup>4</sup> a somewhat full account of temples, idols and human sacrifices. Peter Martyr does the same, and describes<sup>5</sup> the manner of sacrifice and how they eat "the brawnes of the armes, and fleshy parts of the thighs, and calves of the legges."

Examples of such passages, containing the materials of Zeno's descriptions, might be multiplied almost indefinitely if we were to go back to the original accounts of the voyages of Columbus, Vespucci, Cortes and others, from which Peter Martyr,<sup>6</sup> Montalboddo and Bordone compiled their works. But, as we find so much in Bordone which is also in Zeno, from the dwarfs of Greenland to Dædalus and Icaria, it seems probable that the *Isolario* was Zeno's guiding star through the perilous paths of fictitious history, and we have therefore referred principally to that book.

Although it may be allowed that all descriptions of wrecks, of naked cannibals, of savage customs, and of unknown countries, must have a certain sameness, and that the use of similar phrases may be mere coincidences, yet so close a correspondence has been shown between the Zeno narrative of 1558 and the earlier accounts of transatlantic discovery, published at the end of the fifteenth and in the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, in so many instances, and

flesh is the commonest food among them . . . and more than that I say that they wondered that we did not eat our enemies and use their flesh as food, which they say is most savoury." *Paesi Nov.*, cap. cxvii.

<sup>1</sup> "And the vanquished are kept to be eaten, and of all meat human flesh is in most common use among them." *Isolario*, folio xi<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> "They have chiefs and certain laws differing much amongst themselves."

<sup>3</sup> "The customs of these islanders . . . are very unlike in different parts of the island . . . some are subject to chiefs . . . and thus are of various customs." *Isolario*, folio x<sup>b</sup> and xi<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> *Isolario*, folio viii<sup>b</sup>.

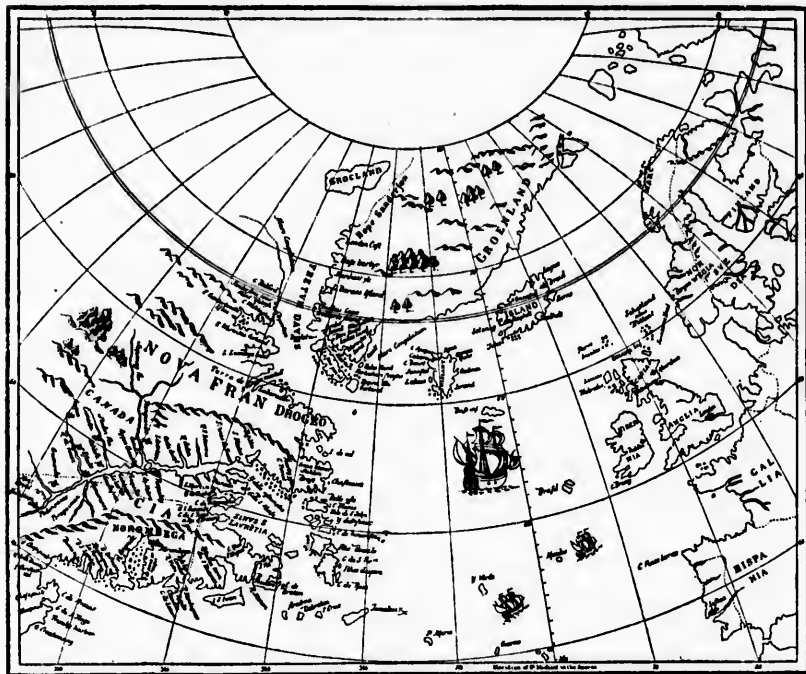
<sup>5</sup> *De Insulis nuper inventis*, 1521, pp. 12, 13; ed. 1533, folio 70<sup>a</sup>, and cap. iv. in Lok's translation.

<sup>6</sup> Peter Martyr was one of the Council of the Indies, and had therefore also special facilities for obtaining information as to the newly-discovered lands at first hand.

in such a number of details, that it cannot reasonably be attributed to chance.

The conclusion that the story of the Frisland fisherman was compiled by the younger Zeno from some of the sources which we have indicated is, therefore, justified. It will now be seen that the Estotilanda and Drogeo of the narrative (which are quite distinct from the Estotilanda and Drogeo of the map, to neither of which can the narrative possibly apply) are (as to Estotilanda) Mexico, and (as to Drogeo) the Paria of Columbus, and the Lariab of Vespucci, with some details added to each, borrowed from the accounts of several of the West Indian Islands.

The question of the derivations of the names Estotilanda and Drogeo will be considered further on.



PART OF THE MOLLINEUX GLOBE, 1592 (FROM A PROJECTION MADE BY MR. J. W. ADDISON FOR MR. MILLER CHRISTY).



## PART II.—SECTION V.

### ANTONIO ZENO'S WESTERN VOYAGE TO ICARIA AND THE SECOND VISIT TO GREENLAND (FROM HIS SECOND LETTER, *folios 54<sup>a</sup>-57<sup>a</sup>*).



IN consequence of the information given by the Frisland fisherman, Zichmni determined to sail for Estotiland, and made great preparations for the voyage.

The travelled fisherman unluckily died three days before the date fixed for the start; but Zichmni, nothing daunted, persevered in his intention. He sailed westward from Frisland and came to Ledovo, and thence to Ilofe, where the fleet arrived on the 1st of July, and pushed on thence as the wind was favourable. Soon after, a storm arose which drove the adventurers about, they knew not where, for eight days. When the storm at length abated, they continued their westward course (the narrative does not say for how long) and discovered land on the west, which turned out to be an island, called by the inhabitants "Icaria."

It is difficult to imagine what led Nicolò Zeno, the younger, to import the island of Icaria, legend and all, from the Ægean into the Deucalidonian Sea, and his apologists have found this a hard nut to crack.

Terra-Rossa gives a garbled quotation from Baudrand in order to lead the reader to infer that Terra-Rossa's "antagonist" (as he generally called Baudrand) had admitted the existence of an "Icaria" in the North Sea, whereas the island to which Baudrand refers in the passage



partially quoted by Terra-Rossa is placed by Baudrand in the Persian Gulf. Terra-Rossa writes as follows :<sup>1</sup>

"All the other four islands [*Frislanda, Eslanda, Engrouelanda, & Estotilanda*] were by my learned Adversary, in the Volumes of his Geography, proved and admitted to be true, genuine, and not imaginary. He has indeed taken laudable care to prove the truth of the Northern Icaria, which at this day is no longer seen represented under its old name on Maps of the World or on charts. In order to remove all confusion, or ambiguity, he has been very careful to distinguish it from the other Oriental Icaria, which is now called *Nicaria* or *Nicouri*, situated in the *Ægean Sea*. With the authority of Gallio, his favourite author, he has been able to prove this Northern one, seen only by Antonio, and not by Nicolò Zeno : *Icarium*, or *Icharam*, to be *Baharein*, an island celebrated for pearl fishery. *Verb. Icarium.*" But the passage quoted by Terra-Rossa is only part of the last clause of Baudrand's article, which runs thus :<sup>2</sup> "*Icarium*, an island in the Persian Gulf, placed opposite the mouth of the Euphrates by Strabo and Arrian, and called *Ichara* by Pliny and Ptolemy, now *Carge*, according to Castaldo, although some more recent authorities think it is called *Elchadr*, and Gollius believes *Icarium* or *Icharam* to be *Baharein*, an island celebrated for pearl fishery."

Forster gives<sup>3</sup> the strange story as told by Zeno the younger, and identifies Icaria with Kerry (1),<sup>4</sup> a wild guess founded upon a slight resemblance between the sounds of the two names ; but this identification will not bear the test of comparison with either the Zenian narrative or map.

Zurla passes over the legend in silence, and identifies the

<sup>1</sup> "Tutte le altre quattro Isole [*Frislanda, Eslanda, Engrouelanda, and Estotilanda*] furono dal mio dotto Auversario ne i Volumi della sua Geografia giustificate, & accordate come vere, leali, e non finte. Hà infino fatta diligenza lodeuole per approuare l'Icaria Settentrionale, la quale oggi non si vede più espressa col suo antico nome su i Mappamondi, ò nelle Tavole. A fine di leuare ogni confusione, ò gli equiuoci, si è molto bene ingegnato distinguer la dall'altra Orientale Icaria, che di presente si chiama *Nicaria*, ò *Nicouri* nell' Egeo Mare situata. Con l'autorità di Gallio suo Autore favorito hà saputo confermare di questa Boreale, dal solo Antonio, e non da Nicolò Zeno veduta : *Icarium*, sive *Icharam* esse *Baharein*, insulam unionum piscatione celebrem. *Verb. Icarium.*" See *Riflessioni Geografiche*, p. 161.

<sup>2</sup> "*Icarium*, insula sinus Persici, ostio Euphratis objecta Straboni, et Arriano, que *Ichara* dicitur a Plinio, et Ptolemæo, nunc *Carge*, teste Castaldo, quanquam recentiores aliqui *Elchadr* dici existiment et credat Gollius *Icarium* sive *Icharam* esse *Baharein*, insulam unionum piscatione celebrem." Baudrand, *Geographia*, 1681, Art. "*Icarium.*"

<sup>3</sup> *Northern Voyages*, p. 193.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 206.



island with Newfoundland, and so takes Antonio Zeno to North America.<sup>1</sup>

Major (who follows Forster in his identification, though for different reasons<sup>2</sup>), driven to his wits' end to account for the introduction of the Dædalian myth, which he calls<sup>3</sup> the "only one piece of fable in the whole story . . . is strongly of opinion that this excrescence on the narrative is the handywork of Nicolò Zeno, junior, and for the following reason. The form of the name Icaria was a very reasonable one for a southerner to give to the northern name of Kerry, but the northerners from whom Zeno received it would be little likely to tell him such a story as that which we have here of Dædalus and the Icarian Sea, which manifestly takes its origin from the form which the word had taken under the southerner's pen. On these grounds the editor [Major] suggests the reasonableness of the conclusion that Nicolò Zeno, junior, found in his ancestor's letter the name Icaria only, without the fable. But as, during the very time that intervened between his discovery of the letters when he was a boy and his publication of them, his fellow citizen Bordone brought out two editions of his 'Isolario' in which that well-known fable is told of the island of Nicaria (*olim* Icaria) in the Ægean Sea, it seems highly probable that this suggested to his mind the grafting of the story on the name which he had found transmitted by his ancestor under the same form."

Professor Storm points out<sup>4</sup> that he who has here introduced the Greek myth has, nevertheless, rationalized it by making Icarus to have been drowned in the storm. But Nicolò Zeno had no need to do that, it was already "rationalized" for him in Bordone's *Isolario*.<sup>5</sup>

We agree with Major that Nicolò Zeno the younger took this portion of his story from Bordone; but it seems strange that Major does not offer, on behalf of his client any explanation of, or apology for, the introduction of this unwarrantable addition to the contents of the precious ancestral manuscript. This "only one piece of fable," though

<sup>1</sup> *Di Marco Polo*, vol. ii., p. 83, and the *Mappa Mondo* therein.

<sup>2</sup> One of Major's reasons is curiously characteristic of his method: "The signals, the fire and smoke, the pursuit along the hill tops, and the howling of the strangers off the coast, are Irish all over."—*Voyages of the Zeni*, p. xcix. The signals by fire and smoke are at least as old as the time of Æschylus (B.C. 500), and have been used all over the world ever since. Moreover, Olaus Magnus shows on his map of 1539, "*Fuochi nelli monti littorali si accendono nel tempo della guerra, a chiamare quelli che defendano quelli luoghi*." "Fires on the mountains of the coast, lit in the time of war to call together those who defend those places." *Opera Breve* and map, under H. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Om Zeniernes Reiser*, p. 19, n.

<sup>5</sup> *Voyages of the Zeni*, pp. xcix-c.

<sup>5</sup> *Isolario*, ed. 1528, folio xlvi.

so calmly admitted by so stalwart an adherent of Zeno as Major, is quite sufficient to taint the whole story with suspicion.

If it is desired to identify the Zenian "Icaria" with any known island which will at all correspond either with the delineation on the Zenian map, or with the description in the text, it is evident that both the "Newfoundland" of Zurla, and the "Kerry" of Forster and Major, must be abandoned. The conditions required for a correspondence with the Zenian Icaria seem to be most nearly fulfilled by the outlying member of the Hebrides, now known as St. Kilda.

St. Kilda was formerly called Hirt, Hirta, or Hirtha, and is still called Hirta (pronounced "Hirst") by the inhabitants.

The name "Hirta" appears on Mercator's Terrestrial Globe of 1541;<sup>1</sup> on a map, dated 1546, in the Lafreri *Atlas* (Plate V.); on Mercator's *Europa* of 1554 (Plate VII.), and on several later maps. It is given by Fordun<sup>2</sup> as *Irte* and *Hirth*; by Boethius<sup>3</sup> as *Hirtha*; by G. Buchanan,<sup>4</sup> as *Hirta*; by Bishop Lesley<sup>5</sup> as *Hirtha*; and by Camden<sup>6</sup> as *Hyrtha*.

The island first appears under its modern name as "St. Kylder," on Map 7 (Scotia) in Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis*, 1573, but it is not shown on Mercator's<sup>7</sup> British Islands, of 1564, from which the last-mentioned map in Ortelius is, apparently, principally derived.

Martin<sup>8</sup> derives the name Hirta from the Irish *Ier*, which in that language signifies "west," and the name St. Kilda "from one *Kilder* who lived there."

Captain Thomas<sup>9</sup> says that Hirta is a contraction of the Gaelic *h-Iar-tir*, meaning west land, and that a native of the island is called *h'Iartach* (pronounced "Hirstach"). He also conjectures that the *Dachuli* or *Danchuli* of several of the early editions of Ptolemy (beginning with that of 1513) possibly represents *Sanchule*, afterwards modified into St. Kilda.

Macaulay<sup>10</sup> derives the more modern form of the name from the

<sup>1</sup> *Les Spheres Terrestre et Celeste de G. Mercator*, 1541. Raemdonck, St. Nicholas, 1875.

<sup>2</sup> *Scotichronicon*. Lib. I., cap. vi., and Lib. II., cap. x.

<sup>3</sup> *Scotorum Historia*, 1527.

<sup>4</sup> *Rerum Scotticarum Historia*. Lib. I., cap. xli.

<sup>5</sup> *De Origine, Moribus, etc., Scotorum*, Rome, 1578, p. 36.

<sup>6</sup> *Britannia*, 1610, p. 216.

<sup>7</sup> *Angliæ, Scotiæ et Hiberniæ nova Descriptio*. Duisburg, 1564.

<sup>8</sup> Martin, *Western Islands of Scotland*, ed. 1716, p. 280. See also *Voyage to St. Kilda*, ed. 1698, p. 14.

<sup>9</sup> *Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1875, vol. x., p. 706.

<sup>10</sup> *History of St. Kilda*, ed. 1764, p. 104 et seq.

North British *Gille-Dee* (i.e., "Servants of God"), corrupted first into *Keledes*, and afterwards learnedly turned into *Colides* or *Cultores Dei*, whence *Culdee*. This corresponds fairly with Captain Thomas's conjecture. There is no saint in the calendar called St. Kilda.

Besides the slight resemblance between the old name of St. Kilda, *I-har-tir* and Icaria, and the approximate correspondence in position of the Zenian Icaria, with the Hirta of the map of 1546 in the Lafreri *Atlas* (Plate V.), and of Mercator's Europa of 1554 (Plate VII.), there is also a certain resemblance between Zeno's account of the unwillingness of the Icarians to allow strangers to land, and of a similar objection which, until quite recently, prevailed among the St. Kildians. The latter have traditions of an ancient invasion, and of more recent visits by sailors, who misbehaved in various ways, which may sufficiently account for their strong prejudices against strangers. They have the reputation of being kind and hospitable to castaways.<sup>1</sup> "They will not admit of any Number [of strangers] exceeding Ten, and those too must be Unarmed, for else the Inhabitants will oppose them with all their might; but if any Number of them, not exceeding that above-said, come Peaceably, and with good designs, they may expect Water and Fire *Gratis*, and what else the place affords at the easiest rates in the World." The resemblance is intensified by the correspondence of the number ten given in the above passage with the number of strangers admitted to Icaria according to the Zenian narrative.<sup>2</sup> These resemblances, if they are worth anything, are, of course, in favour of the probability of the real existence, at some time, of the alleged letters of Antonio Zeno.

Bordone, however, gives an account<sup>3</sup> of a part of South America the inhabitants of which are unlike the rest of their neighbours, because they do not wish any foreigners to settle there; and if, by chance, any foreigners should be driven there by tempest and wish to land, the inhabitants, he says, make the greatest resistance with arms in their hands.

Turning again to Zeno's narrative, we find it stated that Zichmni, being repulsed by the inhospitable Icarians, took his departure, with a fair wind, and sailed six days westward. The wind then shifted to the south-west, and he ran before it until, after four days, he discovered land. This land appears, from the Zeno map, to have been the south-western point of Greenland.

<sup>1</sup> *A voyage of St. Kilda*, Martin, ed. 1698, p. 130. See also *St. Kilda and the St. Kildians*, Connell, 1887, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Annals*, folio 55, and *supra*, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> *Isolario*, 1528, folio xi<sup>b</sup>.

There the explorers "found a most excellent country and a still better harbour,"<sup>1</sup> and saw in the distance an active volcano, "which gave them hope that they would find some people in that island" (1) There is no volcano in Greenland, active or extinct, at the present time, and there is no authentic record of the former existence of any. Yet Major, coupling the mention of Nicolò's volcano with this of Antonio's, actually claims<sup>2</sup> that they "afford twofold testimony to the existence at that time of a volcano in the south of Greenland, of which we know nothing at the present day, etc." As if two fictions, by the same author, could make one fact!

The entire absence of mention of any volcano in Greenland by Icelandic or Scandinavian writers, is the more noticeable as records of more than fifty eruptions of the Icelandic volcanoes between the years 900 and 1783 A.D. have been preserved.<sup>3</sup>

To the harbour Zichmni gave the name *Trin*, and to the headland hard by that of *Capo di Trin*. His soldiers found in the neighbourhood a number of half savage inhabitants, of small stature and very timid, dwelling in caves.

Bordone<sup>4</sup> describes certain dwarfs, a cubit long, perfidious, iniquitous, pusillanimous and full of fear, who inhabited subterranean caves. Olaus Magnus<sup>5</sup> both mentions these dwarfs, and figures them in his book and on his map, but he describes them as being plucky. From these two authors Zeno unquestionably derived his troglodyte dwarfs.

The abundance of birds' eggs, and their use for food by sailors, which we find mentioned in the Zeno narrative, are also described by Olaus Magnus<sup>6</sup> as occurring "in Aquilone."

At this delectable *Trin*, Zichmni determined to found a settlement. But some of his people wished to go home, so he retained only the row-boats and such of the people as were willing to stay, and sent the rest away in the ships, under the command of Antonio Zeno. After a voyage of twenty-five days Antonio reached Neome. There he took in fresh stores, and after three days reached Frisland. This winds up the story of the alleged travels.

<sup>1</sup> Here even the superlative degree is not strong enough to satisfy Zeno.

<sup>2</sup> Major, *Voyages of the Zeni*, p. lxxxvi.

<sup>3</sup> Olafsen and Povelsen, *Travels in Iceland* (translation), London, 1805, p. 139, etc. Stewart Mackenzie, *Iceland*, Edinburgh, 1811, pp. 248-254. Pennant, *Arctic Zoology*, 1792, vol. i., p. 331.

<sup>4</sup> *Isolario*, 1528, folio v<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> *De Gent. Sept.*, lib. 2, cap. xi.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, lib. 19, cap. xxxvii.



## PART II.—SECTION VI.

### ANTONIO'S THIRD LETTER, AND THE COMPILER'S REMARKS (*folios 57<sup>a</sup>-58<sup>a</sup>*).



NICOLÒ ZENO, the younger, here gives us an Extract from a third letter from Antonio, apparently in reply to one from his brother Carlo. In it (*supra*, p. 22) Antonio says that he has written a separate book, in which he has "described the countries, the monstrous fishes, the customs and laws of Frislanda, of Iceland, of Shetland, of the Kingdom of Norway, of Estotiland, and of Drogio"; he has also written a life of his brother "Nicolò, and the discoveries made by him, and matters relating to Grolanda<sup>1</sup>" [Nicolò's Greenland], also the life and exploits of Zichmni, in which he has "described the discovery of Greenland on both sides, and the city which he [Zichmni] founded."

All these letters—*viz.*, the letter of Nicolò to Antonio (*supra*, pp. 7-10), that from Nicolò to Carlo (*supra*, pp. 10-14), that from Antonio to Carlo, containing the story of the Frisland fisherman (*supra*, pp. 15-18), Antonio's second letter to Carlo, containing the story of the abortive search for Estotiland, and the accounts of Icaria and Western Greenland (*supra*, pp. 18-22), and Antonio's third letter to Carlo (*supra*, pp. 22, 23)—together with the book which Antonio had written, strangely and unfortunately enough, fell into the hands of Nicolò Zeno, the younger, when he was a boy, and he himself tells us what he did with these precious family documents.

<sup>1</sup> This is the only time that the name "Grolanda" occurs in the text. In the map it is represented by "Crolandia."

First, he says, that they had come unfortunately to harm, he knew not how; but, immediately afterwards, he tells us that he himself, in his boyhood and ignorance, had torn them in pieces and sent them all to ruin (*le squarciai e mandei tutte à malè*). He could hardly have described their utter destruction more forcibly. This is perhaps a specimen of the *candeur* which Humboldt finds in the Zeno story. Arrived at a riper age, Zeno regretted the mischief he had done, and he goes on to say, that "whatever he had been able to obtain relating the said matter" or "of the said materials" he "had put in order in the above narrative;" which, by the way, was not published till he had reached the age of forty-three. His story shows us that, as was to be expected, it was very little indeed that he was able to recover in middle-age of documents torn to pieces in his childhood. His own account leaves but one chance of escape from the fatal conclusion that he had no original material at all to found his story upon, and that is that he does not say that he destroyed "all the letters" which he has just mentioned, but only "the book and many other writings on the same subject" (*supra*, p. 23). The account which he gives of the preparation of the "Carta da Navegar" (*supra*, p. 8) is more fully referred to further on in the chapter on that map.

In other parts of his book Nicolò Zeno, the younger, mentions the laudable motives which led Nicolò Zeno, the traveller, to embark on his travels, *viz.*, "a great desire to see the world, and to travel and make himself acquainted with the various customs and languages of mankind, so that upon occasion he might be better able to serve his country and acquire for himself fame and honour" (*supra*, p. 7), and the similar motives of Antonio which led him to join his brother in Frisland (*supra*, p. 10). Olaus Magnus has an almost parallel passage in the introduction to the *Opera Breve*, 1539: "for who is more fit to be promoted in Kingdoms and Nations than he who has himself seen the customs and cities of many men?"

The compiler winds up his narrative by stating his own motives for recording those travels, *viz.*, the gratification of the curiosity of a public thirsting for information on the subject of new geographical discoveries, and the glorification of the high spirit and great enterprise of his ancestors.



## PART II.—SECTION VII.

### ZICHMNI.



HE only personal name mentioned in Zeno's narrative (except those of the two travelers, and of the members of their family referred to in the preliminary genealogical sketch) is that of Zichmni. He was the "certain chieftain" who rescued the shipwrecked Nicolò and his men from the hostile inhabitants of Frisland, and who spoke Latin. He was a great lord and possessed certain islands called Porlanda, near to Frislanda on the south, being the richest and most populous in all those parts. Besides owning these little islands, he was lord of the Duchy of Sorano, or Sorant, lying over against Scotland (*supra*, p. 8). He was a valiant man and specially famous for naval exploits. He had, the year before Nicolò met him, gained a victory over the King of Norway (who was Lord of the island), and had come to attempt the conquest of Frislanda (*supra*, p. 9). Antonio Zeno describes him as "a prince certainly as worthy of immortal memory as any who had ever lived in the world, on account of his great valour and many good qualities" (*supra*, p. 22).

Notwithstanding the powerful position and great fame attributed by Zeno to Zichmni, his name was unknown to historians, until Marco Barbaro mentioned him in his manuscript *Discendenze Patrizie* (1536?) as "Zicno, King of Frisland," and said that, by his order, Antonio Zeno went to Estotiland in North America, in 1390. This complete public ignorance of a man stated to be so eminent as this Zichmni was so extraordinary, that it became necessary for the believers in the Zeno story to identify him with some person known in authentic history if



Zeno's story of his life and exploits was to continue to receive any credence at all. This identification was initiated by John Reinhold Forster, who conjectured<sup>1</sup> that Zichmni was Henry Sinclair, Earl of Orkney. His "conjecture" was grounded mainly upon the fact that Sinclair was "invested with the Orkneys" by Hakon, King of Norway, in 1379, the year before Nicolò's alleged arrival in Frislanda; and, partly also, upon the rather distant resemblance between the names "Sinclair" and "Zichmni." Forster's suggestion was eagerly seized upon by Maltebrun, Major, and others. Zurla, however, rejects it.<sup>2</sup>

There are several objections which seem fatal to Forster's theory. In the first place, after Zurla had proved that Nicolò Zeno, the traveller, could not have left Venice on his last voyage until 1389, or 1390, the coincidence of dates, upon which Forster's conjecture is avowedly founded, disappeared altogether. In the second place, in 1389 there was no King of Norway; for Queen Margaret, "the Semiramis of the North," then ruled over the three Scandinavian kingdoms. Thirdly, Henry Sinclair in 1379 took a true and due oath of fidelity to Hakon, then King of Norway and Sweden,<sup>3</sup> and, in 1388, as a Norwegian Councillor of State, he signed the Act by which Eric of Pomerania was acknowledged true heir to the Crown of Norway.<sup>4</sup> He could hardly therefore have been, at the dates mentioned, a rebel. And, lastly, in spite of Major's ingenious word distortions, there is no real resemblance between the names Zichmni and Sinclair. Henry Sinclair died, according to Burke, in 1400, but the date is not certain. In 1401, the then lord of the Orkneys was attacking Ulster.<sup>5</sup> The Henry Sinclair with whom we are dealing was certainly dead in 1404, as it was his son, also named Henry, then Earl of Orkney, who was captured while conveying the son of Robert III. of Scotland to France in that year.<sup>6</sup>

It has been playfully stated that "in philology all consonants are interchangeable, and vowels don't count." Major seems to have anticipated this liberal rule, though, wide as it is, it is not wide enough to satisfy his own theory of "Venetian transmutation." "It is requisite," he says,<sup>7</sup> "to follow strictly the narrative and see what names of places on the route tally, *not in form, but in sound*, with those which have been written down," because a Venetian, hearing names uttered by a

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Voyages*, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> *Di Marco Polo*, etc., vol. ii., p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> Torfæus, *Orcades*, p. 176.

<sup>4</sup> Pontanus, *Rerum Danicarum Hist.*, p. 515.

<sup>5</sup> *Chronicon Adæ de Usk* (1377-1404). Murray, London, 1876, pp. 61 and 184.

<sup>6</sup> Fordun, *Scotichronicon*, lib. 15, cap. xviii.; and Buchanan, *Scot. Hist.*, lib. 10, cap. xiii.

<sup>7</sup> *Voyages of the Zeni*, pp. ix, xv, xxi, etc.



northerner, would give to the sound a different form in writing them down. By this process "Sinclair" becomes "Zichmni." But is it possible to believe that two Venetian nobles, educated, or at least able to write their own language, should have been holding high office, the one for four or five, the other for fourteen years, under a man whose name, "Sinclair," was not only of Latin origin but was frequently used in its Latin form, "de Sancto Claro,"<sup>1</sup> without being able to approach nearer to the true form than "the fearful and wonderful bejugglement" (as Fiske calls it<sup>2</sup>), Zichmni? Surely this is incredible.

There is nothing, in what is known as to the personal history of this Henry Sinclair, to show that he was ever in Iceland or Greenland, or that he ever undertook any such voyages, explorations, or colonization as are alleged to have been made by Zichmni. If he had done so, it is impossible that he would have been able to keep secret discoveries so notable, or the foundation of his city in Greenland, all of which must have been known to every one of his homesick men who returned with Antonio Zeno (*supra*, p. 21).

Nicolò Zeno, the younger, attributes to Nicolò Zeno, the traveller, the statement (*supra*, p. 8) that Zichmni "addressed our people in Latin, and asked them who they were and whence they came; and when he learned that they came from Italy, and that they were men of the same country, he was exceedingly rejoiced." Zichmni was, therefore, according to one reading of the narrative, which Major adopts, a Venetian, and not a Scotchman. Major disposes of this difficulty, in his easy way, by a footnote:<sup>3</sup> "A blunder introduced by N. Zeno, Junior."

The meaning of the passage, however, is obscure; for although the cause of Zichmni's great rejoicing may have been the fact that Zeno and his companions were Italians from Italy, it is difficult to see any reason for such joy on that account. There is more than a suspicion of a resemblance to that part of the story of Aguilar, already referred to, in which he meets his countrymen and inquires of them in Spanish whether they are Christians, and, on their replying that they are Spaniards, weeps for joy and begs them to render thanks to God, who, of His goodness, had delivered him from the hands of infidels and wicked men and placed him among Christians and those of his own nation. There was reason for Aguilar's rejoicing, and it looks as if

<sup>1</sup> Pontanus also writes it "Sincler" (p. 596) and "Senckler" (p. 521).

<sup>2</sup> Fiske, *Discovery of America*, vol. i., p. 238.

<sup>3</sup> *Voyages of the Zeni*, p. 5, n.

Zeno, the younger, in borrowing the incident, had failed to appreciate the full meaning of the words.

Under the date 1389, it is recorded by Pontanus that, at that time, *Gronlandia*, *Islandia*, *Westenora* (the Westmanna Isles), *Helgelandia*, *Feroa* and *Findmarchia* were the private properties (*propriae*) of the Sovereigns, and that they had been for a long time, both by custom and by royal edict, frequented only by royal ships. That this edict and custom had not been allowed to become obsolete, is shown by the fact that, in the year mentioned, certain merchants, who had been driven upon Greenland, were only excused the penalties incurred by visiting that coast upon their proving that it was by necessity only, and because they were driven by the force of the winds and by the masses of ice floating on the water, that they offended against the edict.<sup>1</sup>

Without indulging in wild speculations, it is reasonable to suggest that both the name and proceedings of Zichmni far more closely resemble those of the Vitalian pirate, Wichmannus, than those of Sinclair.

Wichmannus, Stortebekerus, and Wichboldus, with their tarry ruffians, *e Balthico mare submoti variè huc et illuc, dispersi longè lateque maria pervolitabant*,<sup>2</sup> until they were successfully attacked and slain in 1401. These Vitalian pirates began their depredations in the year 1388,<sup>3</sup> and carried them on for many years afterwards.

Again, is it credible that Henry Sinclair, a loyal subject as he is shown to have been, should have attacked, in a hostile manner, the Shetlands, the Faroes, and Iceland, all of which were the property of his sovereign queen, and were not in rebellion against her? These doings are much more like the proceedings of Wichmann, who "with armed ships infested the shores and ports of Germany, France, Spain, Britain, Norway and Denmark."<sup>4</sup>

The identity of Zichmni with Wichmann would (if their alleged voyages really did take place) also account for the total suppression for so many years of the real nature of the occupations of the two Zeni brothers, of which their brother Carlo, proved to have been an honourable man by his many years' public services, could hardly have approved.

Moreover the Italian language has neither the letter "W" (the initial of Wichmann's name), nor its earlier equivalent, and therefore the Zeni brothers would have had to find some other letter to take its place on paper.

<sup>1</sup> Pontanus, *Rerum Danicarum Hist.*, 1631, p. 521.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 520.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 533.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 533.

If, therefore, Zeno's Zichmni ever had a living original, it seems, on the grounds of date, doings, and form of name, far more probable that Wichmann, the pirate, should have been that original, rather than Henry Sinclair.

For the above reasons we concur with Zurla's and Zarhtmann's conclusions that Forster's opinion that Zichmni might have been Henry Sinclair, Earl of "the Orkneys," is altogether destitute of foundation;<sup>1</sup> and we reject Major's later and more positive view that "it will be now seen how Zichmni, Lord of Porlanda, is Sinclair, Lord of the Orkneys."<sup>2</sup>

In conclusion, as to this subject, we may notice that, although the Zeno narrative nowhere suggests that Zichmni reached either Estotiland or Drogeo, but distinctly states that he failed to find them, the story, after filtering through the pens of Forster, Maltebrun, and Major, has produced a claim<sup>3</sup> that "Henry, as a civilized man, in the modern sense of civilization, was the one and only discoverer of America . . . destined to bulk more and more largely to the future Americans, as their typical hero primæval," and so on. It is strange that this claim should be put forward with pride and satisfaction by one of Sinclair's name. The claim is grounded upon the supposed identity of Zichmni with Henry Sinclair. The proof of this would involve the conviction of Sinclair of grave and disgraceful crimes; for, if he had done what Zichmni is said to have done, in despite of his oaths of fealty, he must have been a perjured rebel and traitor, a hypocrite and an impostor. But, as such damaging charges can only rest upon the rotten foundations of the Zeno story and Forster's guess, there is no reason to believe that Henry Sinclair was guilty of any such proceedings.

Zichmni has also been identified by Bredsdorff<sup>4</sup> as Simon, or Sigmund, son of Bui, and nephew of the well-known Sigmund Bresterson, the hero of the Færeyinga Saga; by Krarup,<sup>5</sup> as Henry de Siggens, Marshall of the Duke of Holstein; while Beauvois thinks<sup>6</sup> that the name Zicno, given by Marco Barbaro<sup>7</sup> for Zichmni, was a misreading for the Scandinavian title "*Thegn*"—lord.

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, 1835, vol. v., p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> *Voyages of the Zeni*, p. xxi.

<sup>3</sup> *Caithness Events*, by Thomas Sinclair, Wick, 1894.

<sup>4</sup> *Grønlands Historiske Mindesmaerker*.

<sup>5</sup> *Zeniernes Reiser til Norden et Tolknings Forsøg*.

<sup>6</sup> *Les Colonies Européennes du Markland et de l'Escociland in Compte rendu du Congrès des Americanistes*. Luxembourg, 1877, vol. i., p. 200.

<sup>7</sup> *Discendenze Patrizie*.



## PART II.—SECTION VIII.

### ZENO'S "CARTA DA NAVEGAR."



ALTHOUGH the map, dated 1380, was, no doubt, "merely corroborative detail intended to give artistic verisimilitude to the bald and unconvincing narrative"<sup>1</sup> of 1558, the ingenious compiler has managed to introduce so many discrepancies that the two documents cannot, by any means, be made to correspond. It has been seen (*supra*, p. 8) that the younger Zeno's story was, that it had seemed good to him to draw out a copy of a navigating chart of the northern parts which he once found he had among the ancient things in his house, which, although it was all rotten and many years old, he had succeeded in doing tolerably well, etc.

So long as this story was credited; so long as a savant, like Humboldt, was able to make no more effective criticism than to say,<sup>2</sup> that in the Zeno narrative could be found "detailed descriptions of objects of which nothing in Europe could have given the author the idea;" so long as a geographer, like Major, felt constrained to say of the narrative and map,<sup>3</sup> that they "presented geographical information very far in advance not only of what was known by geographers in the fourteenth century, when the narrative was first written, but greatly in advance also of the geography of the sixteenth century, when it was published"—so long the map, necessarily, remained a marvel and a miracle to those who believed in its authenticity, and a puzzle and inextricable tangle to those who were less credulous.

The position should be somewhat altered now, however, as, of late years, many old maps have been re-discovered, or brought to notice, and

<sup>1</sup> *The Mikado*, W. S. Gilbert.

<sup>2</sup> *Examen Critique*, Tom. II., p. 122.

<sup>3</sup> *Voyages of the Zeni*, p. iv.

some of them throw a clear light upon the real origin of the Zeno map. Anyone caring to take the trouble, may now lay upon the table before him maps, or copies of maps, of earlier date than 1558 (the date of the Zeno publication), which yet contain the whole of the materials of the Zeno map, with some notable exceptions, *e.g.*: the Monastery of St. Thomas in Engroveland, Icaria, Estotiland, Drogeo, and Trin.

These maps are of various nationalities—Danish, Swedish, Portuguese, Spanish (Catalan) and Italian. In Appendix IV., at the end of this book, the names upon some of them are tabulated and compared with those on the Zeno map; but it will be well to consider the maps referred to one by one, and to observe how they have been utilized by Zeno, and why they, or similar maps, must be pronounced to have been the sources of Zeno's "*Carta da Navegar*," published in 1558, and not the results of the pretended fourteenth century cartography of Antonio Zeno.

Some of the principal supposed evidences that the geographical knowledge of Nicolò Zeno, the younger, was so far in advance of that of his age, were, the western extension and the form of Greenland, upon the "*Carta da Navegar*." Where did he get his knowledge of its shape and of the names which he has put upon it if not from Antonio Zeno's map?

Admiral Zarhtmann saw,<sup>1</sup> in the University Library of Copenhagen, a very old manuscript map showing Greenland, the original of which, he believed, "had served as a model to Bordone for his outline, and to Zeno for his names." This map was unfortunately lost when Zarhtmann wrote in 1833, and Major takes occasion<sup>2</sup> to give vent to some very unhandsome sneers and insinuations against the Admiral, grounded upon "the non-appearance of this phantom of a map." Its loss, however, has been, in great measure, compensated for by the results of the diligence and good fortune of Baron Nordenskjöld, who has found not only one, but four maps of the fifteenth century, which give a form and extension to Greenland, similar to those given by Zeno, and which together contain all the Zeno names upon Greenland, with the exceptions of "S. Tomas Zenobitim" and "Chin prom."

The first of these maps, now generally known as the "Zamoiski" map, was found by Baron Nordenskjöld, in the year 1888, in a Latin Codex of Ptolemy's *Geography*, of about 1467, which is in the Zamoisky Majorat Library at Warsaw. This map is described and reproduced in the Baron's *Facsimile Atlas*,<sup>3</sup> and, by his permission, is here given

<sup>1</sup> *Jour. Roy. Geog. Soc. of London*, 1835, vol. v., p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> *Voyages of the Zeni*, p. lviii and lix.

<sup>3</sup> Nordenskjöld's *Facsimile Atlas*, pp. 55, 58, 95, n., and Plate XXX. therein.

on a smaller scale (Plate II.). Professor Storm<sup>1</sup> sees the original of the Zamoiski map in the map (1425 to 1427) by Claudius Clavus or Nicolaus Niger, a Danish geographer, which he reproduces with a facsimile of the MS. tables.

The principal difference between Clavus' map and Zeno's map is the turning back of the western extremity of the coast of "Gronlandia provincia" of the Clavus map, towards the north and north-east, so that on Zeno's map Greenland becomes a peninsula. Most of the names also are added on the latter map; many of them appear, however, on the text accompanying the Clavus map, though not upon the map itself.

Nordenskjöld has suggested, and Storm and Dahlgren have shown,<sup>2</sup> that several of the names on the Zeno and Zamoiski maps are old Danish ordinal numbers, and that others are of Scandinavian origin, though distorted in the copying by foreign scribes.

The other three maps, of similar type, found by Nordenskjöld have also been reproduced by him in facsimile.<sup>3</sup> They are the following:

1. A Map of North Europe and Greenland. The original is in a manuscript *Ptolemy* of the fifteenth century in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence (Sec. XV., <sup>1235</sup>).

2. A Map of Scandinavia and Greenland. The original is in a manuscript of Christ Ensenius' *Descriptio Cycladum aliarumque insularum*, in the Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence (Plut. XXIX., Cod. 25, Sec. XV.).

3. A Map of Scandinavia and Greenland. The original is in a manuscript *Ptolemy* of the fifteenth century, in the Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence (Plut. XXX., Cod. 3).

These three maps were first noticed by Professor F. R. von Wieser of Innsbruck, in an article on Nordenskjöld's *Facsimile Atlas*. The first and second are oblong in shape; the third is fan-shaped, like the Zamoiski map. They are referred to in the table in Appendix IV. as "Florence, No. 1," "Florence, No. 2," and "Florence, No. 3," respectively.

It will be seen from that table (Appendix IV.) that the Zamoiski and the three Florence maps contain a good many of the names which occur on Greenland and Iceland in the Zeno map, with some variations in spelling.

Another map, modelled on the same lines as the Clavus map, except

<sup>1</sup> *Den Danske Geograf Claudius Clavus eller Nicolaus Niger*, Stockholm, 1891; and figure opposite p. 59, *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> Nordenskjöld, *Facsimile Atlas*, p. 56; Storm, *Om Zeniernes Reiser*, and *Claudius Clavus*.

<sup>3</sup> *Bidrag till Nordens Äldsta Kartographi*, Stockholm, 1892.

as to Greenland, is the "Engronellant Norvegie et Gottie, Tab. Mod.," which appears in the Donis edition of *Ptolemy*, Ulm, 1482 (Plate III.). On this map, Greenland is not extended far to the west and south, as in the Zamoiski and the three Florence maps; but, on its Greenland and Iceland many of the Zenian names appear, with fresh variations in spelling. This is the earliest printed map of Greenland. It was drawn by Nicolaus Donis, a Benedictine monk of the Monastery of Reichenbach, in Bavaria. It is repeated, in substance, in the subsequent editions of *Ptolemy* of 1486, 1507, 1508, 1513, 1520, 1522, 1525, 1535, and 1541.<sup>1</sup>

Here, then, we have five different maps (four of them in manuscript, and the other printed in no less than ten editions of *Ptolemy*, between 1482 and 1541), from which all the Zenian names on Greenland and Iceland may have been copied, except "Chin prom" and "S. Tomas Zenobitim," which we do not find. The absence of this last name, taken in conjunction with the facts that no such monastery as that described by Zeno had ever been heard of before his story was published, and that no traces of it, or its neighbouring volcano, though diligently searched for, have ever been found since, strongly confirms the conclusion that those parts of the narrative relating to the two visits by the brothers Zeno to Greenland are entirely fictitious. It has been suggested by several authors, and even by Maltebrun,<sup>2</sup> a supporter of Zeno, that the details of the description of Greenland may have been borrowed from accounts of the volcanoes and hot springs which actually did and do exist in Iceland. Zeno, the younger, may possibly have been misled by Gastaldi's map of "Schonlandia Nova" (Plate VI.), in the first Italian edition of *Ptolemy*, published in Venice in 1548, which was the latest edition when Zeno wrote. On this Gastaldi places the names "Holen" and "Skalholt," both on Iceland, which he marks "Islandia" in small letters and THYLE in capitals, and also on Greenland, which he calls ISLANDIA. On Greenland he also shows mountains and a large lake, close to Holen. Munster, also, in his editions of *Ptolemy*, 1540, and 1542 and 1545, places the name "Islandia" on Greenland (Typus Universalis).

Of the nineteen names on Iceland on the Zeno map, including the misplaced Shetlands, twelve are represented on the Zamoiski and three

<sup>1</sup> Maps of the same type, but without detail, appear in Schedel's *Nuremberg Chronicle*, 1493, folio ccc, and in Bordone's *Isolario*, 1528, folio vi. See also figure opposite p. 3, *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> *Précis de la Géographie*, 1832, vol. i., p. 201.



Florence maps. Of the remaining seven names, one is supplied by Donis, 1482, three by Mercator in his "Europa," 1554, and all seven by Olaus Magnus, 1539. Of the name "Vestrabord," Zarhtmann says,<sup>1</sup> "We shall search in vain for this name in all the existing maps, it is not even to be found in the one annexed to the translation of Olaus Magnus' work, published in 1567; it is nowhere to be found but on the chart of the Zeni!" But it does actually appear in the same form upon the Olaus Magnus map of 1539, and as "Westrabord" on Mercator's "Europa," 1554 (see Plates IV. and VII.).

The outline of Islanda on the Zeno map corresponds generally to that of the same island on the Olaus Magnus map of 1539, but Zeno has made a strange variation, by converting the ice-floes shown on Olaus' map, off the eastern end of Iceland into islands. He has, in fact, imported the Shetland Isles into the immediate vicinity of Iceland, though this is but a trifling feat compared with his importation of Icaria into the North Atlantic from the Greek Archipelago. Hence we find seven islands: Minant (Mainland), Bres (Bressay), Talas (Yelli), Danbert (Hamn), Brons (E. and W. Barras), Iscant (Unst), and Trans (St. Ronans), grouped with or forming part of Iceland. There can be no clearer proof than this huge blunder, that the compiler of the Zeno map was working by guesswork, and had no real information on the subject, on which, nevertheless, he was affecting to instruct the public. And yet, it will be seen, on reference to the table of the various identifications (Appendix V.), that Eggers<sup>2</sup> and Lelewel have actually taken the trouble to identify these bogus islands with parts of modern Iceland. Lelewel, it is true, says of them:<sup>3</sup> *Mimant seule de la carte de Zeno doit être considérée comme une île réelle; les autres sont plutôt formées par les courants supposés des fleuves.*"

In his *Verrazano the Explorer*, De Costa refers<sup>4</sup> incidentally to the Zeno map, and claims to have proved that Bordone must have been familiar with the Zeno map in 1521, and that this "overturns the theory that that map was a forgery of the period of 1558." He bases his argument on the form of Bordone's "Terra de Lavoratore"<sup>5</sup> [*folio vi*], and on the style of letters forming the word "Islanda"<sup>6</sup> on the map on folio 1 of the *Isolario*. Curiously enough, the style of the letters on

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc. Lond.*, vol. v., 1835, p. 127, n.

<sup>2</sup> Zurla, *Dissertazione*, p. 91, and *Di Marco Polo*, vol. ii., p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> *Géog. du Moyen Age*, 1852, suppl., p. 95.

<sup>4</sup> *Verrazano the Explorer*, by B. F. De Costa, New York, 1880, pp. 47 and 63, n.

<sup>5</sup> See tailpiece on p. 39, *supra*.

<sup>6</sup> See tailpiece on p. 23, *supra*.



Iceland is the same also in the Florence maps No. 1 and No. 2 above referred to. De Costa's contention is ingenious but not convincing, and probably he would himself abandon it in the face of the evidence which we now possess.

We have now to seek for sources from which the younger Zeno can have got the forms of the Scandinavian, Danish and Frisian coasts, and the names upon them. These clearly do not come from the maps already referred to in this chapter, for they do not correspond, either in outline, orientation, or nomenclature, with the same parts on the Zeno map.

It was Zarhtmann who suggested,<sup>1</sup> in 1833, that the map (of which no copy was then known to exist) by Olaus Magnus, published in Venice in 1539, might very well have contained some information as to the general outline of Greenland. This conjecture brought upon his head another tirade from Major, for venturing to make such an "insinuation." However, Zarhtmann has proved to be right, though not so much as to the outline of Greenland as with regard to other portions of the Zeno map.

For in 1886 Dr. Oscar Brenner<sup>2</sup> discovered, in the State Library of Munich, a perfect copy of the Olaus Magnus map of 1539 (Plate IV.), which turned out to be an entirely different map from that in Ficklers' translation of Olaus Magnus' work printed in Basle in 1567,<sup>3</sup> with which Major confidently assumed it to have been identical. Baron Nordenskjöld, also, writing in 1881, said of the map of 1539:<sup>4</sup> "it is given unaltered in the 1567 Basel edition of Olaus Magnus," and he gives a reproduction of the Basel map. It is, however, much larger and fuller than either the 1567 map or the still smaller map which illustrates the *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus*, by Olaus Magnus, published in Rome in 1555. A reduced facsimile of the north-western portion of the map of 1539 will be found on Plate IV. at the end of this book. In all three of the Olaus Magnus maps the orientation of the Peninsular of Norway and Sweden is much improved as compared with any earlier map, and Zeno's map corresponds with them in this respect. This is another point on which the Zenian cartography has been considered to have been so much in advance of fourteenth and even of sixteenth century knowledge.

Now, out of the nineteen names on Norway on the Zeno map

<sup>1</sup> Zarhtmann in *Jour. Roy. Geog. Soc. of London*, vol. v., 1835, pp. 143 and 144.

<sup>2</sup> *Die ächte Karte des Olaus Magnus vom Jahre 1539*. Christiania, 1886.

<sup>3</sup> Major, *Voyages of the Brothers Zeno*, Hakluyt Society, 1873, p. lvii.

<sup>4</sup> *Voyage of the Vega*, London, 1881, vol. i., p. 53, n.

twelve appear on the 1539 map of Olaus Magnus. Some of them have been distorted, as usual, by Zeno, but not so badly as in the case of the names borrowed from the Zamoiski and Florence maps, for they are very clearly written on the Olaus Magnus map. Eight of the same twelve names, with one other, occur also on Mercator's "Europa," 1554 (see Plate VII.). There remain still six names unaccounted for; five of these will be found on the map of Tramezini, published in Rome in 1558 (see Plate VIII.). The only name on the Norway of the Zeno map for which we are unable to account, is, therefore, the "Raceueit"<sup>1</sup> of the "Carta da Navegar," 1558, and of the revised editions in Ruscelli, 1561, and Moletius, 1562.

But Zeno is indebted to Tramezini for more than these names. He does not follow the 1539 map of Olaus Magnus in his drawing of Dania (Denmark); probably because there are not so many coast names upon it as upon Tramezini's map. The Zeno map did not appear till December in the year 1558, or later, so that there may have been plenty of time for the ingenious Zeno and the skilled wood-engraver Marcolini, during the earlier part of that year, to introduce this little improvement upon the "Carta da Navegar" of "MCCCLXXX."(!)

Zurla refers<sup>2</sup> to a "certain" map of Scandinavia, printed in 1562, and compares the names upon it with those on the Zeno map. The names which Zurla mentions are precisely those upon the Camocius map, printed in Rome, 1562, and there can be no reasonable doubt that it is that map to which he refers. The Camocius map is, however, only a later edition of Tramezini's map of 1558 (Plate VIII.). Zurla, apparently, was not aware of the existence of the earlier edition, as he claims that the map of 1562 confirms the Zeno map of 1558.

Professor Storm (who had heard of, but had not seen, the Tramezini map), in speaking of the Camocius map, says,<sup>3</sup> that the Danish peninsula "has here, for the first time on any map, got the right direction towards the north, and that, similarly, the southern parts of Norway and Sweden get the right form." A comparison of the Tramezini map (Plate VIII.) with the Zeno map (Plate XI.) will make it evident, either that the Dania of the one is copied from the other, or that both are copied from a common original.

<sup>1</sup> Zurla identifies this with "Rasvaag" on Hitteroe. *Dissert.*, p. 140, and *Di Marco Polo*, vol. ii., p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Zurla *Dissert.*, p. 137 *et seq.*; *Di Marco Polo*, vol. ii., pp. 89 *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Om Zeniernes reiser*, p. 8. Storm reproduces the Camocius map as his Plate II.

All the names on "Dania" and its littoral islands on the Zeno map, are to be found on the Tramezini map, though with some notable variations in spelling. That the Tramezini map is really earlier than the Zeno map may be still further judged by the fact that the names on the former map are intelligible, while many of those on the latter map are so distorted and disfigured as to be unrecognizable (Appendix IV).

We have now to consider the origin of that most interesting and most mysterious island, the "Frisland" of the Zeno map and the "Frislanda" of the narrative.

We have already dealt, in an earlier section, with the occurrence of the name in literature, and claim to have shown that the name, as applied to an island in the North Atlantic, occurs in history or literature, for the first time, in the Zeno narrative. It is not so, however, with regard to cartography.

The name Frisland, as applied to an island,<sup>1</sup> is not introduced for the first time by Nicolò Zeno, the younger, as is stated by Bredsdorff.<sup>2</sup> The first suggestion of any name at all resembling it is found, as far as we know, upon the Edrisi maps, 1154 (viz., "Tabula Rotunda Rogeriana," and "Tabula Itineraria Rogeriana"<sup>3</sup>), on each of which appears a considerable island to the north of England and Ireland, marked "Resland."

Next, upon the oval diagram known as the "Imago Mundi,"<sup>4</sup> from the *Polycronycon*<sup>5</sup> of Ranulfus de Hyggeden, 1360, an island called "Wrisla[n]d" is shown, with "Noravega," "Islanda" and "Tile." There is no corresponding name, however, in Hyggeden's text. Lelewel considers<sup>6</sup> that Resland and Wrisla[n]d are the "Frislanda" of later maps.

Zurla says<sup>7</sup> that the elliptical island, west of Norway, on *folio* 8 of Andrea Bianco's map of 1436, is marked Frisland. But, upon careful reference to the photograph of the original map, published by Ongania

<sup>1</sup> Frisland on the continent of Europe was known to the Scandinavians. "Í Rínar qvísium liggir Frisland norðr til hafis," *Icelandic MS. twelfth century*. "In regione ea, quæ Rheni brachiis cingitur, est Frislandia, ad Septentrionalium maris oram sita," Rafn. *Antiq. Americ.*, 1837, p. 288.

<sup>2</sup> *Grønland's Historiske mindesmærker*, 1845, vol. iii., p. 530.

<sup>3</sup> Small copies of both these maps are in the atlas of Lelewel, *Géog. du Moyen Age*, Bruxelles, 1852, Plate X., 39; Plates XI., XII., 41.

<sup>4</sup> *Géog. du Moyen Age*, atlas, Plate XXV.

<sup>5</sup> Translated by Trevisa, Vycarye of Barkleye, and published by Caxton, in 1482; by Wynkyn de Worde, in 1495; and by Peter de Treves, in 1527. In none of these is the map reproduced; the last-named edition is the one to which we have referred.

<sup>6</sup> *Géog. du Moyen Age*, vol. iv., p. 101, n.

<sup>7</sup> *Dissertazione*, 1808, p. 36; *Di Marco Polo*, vol. ii., p. 13.



Fig. 1. PART OF ANDREA BIANCO'S MAP OF 1436. (From On-gania's photograph.)

of Venice, in 1879 (a small portion of which is here reproduced as Fig. 1), it will be seen that the name is really "Stilanda."

Zurla<sup>1</sup> sees the Frisland of the Zeni in the "Ixilandia" of the Fra Mauro map, 1457-9 (Plate I.), because it has upon it the name "Nodiford," which he identifies with Zeno's "Andefort."

Humboldt,<sup>2</sup> Jomard,<sup>3</sup> Lelewel,<sup>4</sup> and Kretschmer<sup>5</sup> have all misread the name "Stillanda" on the La Cosa map of 1500 as "Frislanda;" and all these

savants have reproduced the latter name in place of the former on their copies of that important map. In none of their reproductions, however, is it pretended that the names are given in facsimile.

Upon reference to the La Cosa map (now the property of the Spanish Government, and preserved in the Naval Museum at Madrid), or to the full-sized facsimile of it,<sup>6</sup> it will be seen (Fig. 2) that the first letter of the name "Stilanda" (misread, as above stated, as "Frislanda") is not an "F," but an "S." It is entirely disconnected from the following letter and has no cross-stroke. The second letter is "t," as will be seen on comparing it with many other undoubted examples of that letter in the same handwriting upon the map.



Fig. 2. PART OF JUAN DE LA COSA'S MAP OF 1500. (From Vallejo and Traynor's facsimile.)

<sup>1</sup> Zurla, *Il Mappamondo di Fra Mauro*, Venice, 1806, pp. 29 and 102.

<sup>2</sup> Humboldt, *Examen Critique*. <sup>3</sup> Jomard, *Les Monuments de la Géographie*, Paris, 1855-62.

<sup>4</sup> Lelewel, *Géog. du Moyen Age*, atlas.

<sup>5</sup> Kretschmer, *Die Entdeckung Amerika's*.

Vallejo and Traynor, *full-sized facsimile*, Madrid, 1892

On further examination, it will be found that the letter "r", in the same handwriting, is formed in an entirely different way from the letter "t." The third letter is, of course, "i" in either word. If the fourth letter were a long "s", it would have a turn to the right at its upper extremity, as all the other long "ss" have: it has no such turn, but is perfectly straight, like the letter "l" in other parts of the map. The other five letters are the same in both cases. Nevertheless the ease with which "Stillanda," or "Stilanda," may be read at first sight as Frislanda, is illustrated by Zurla's error as to the same word on the Bianco

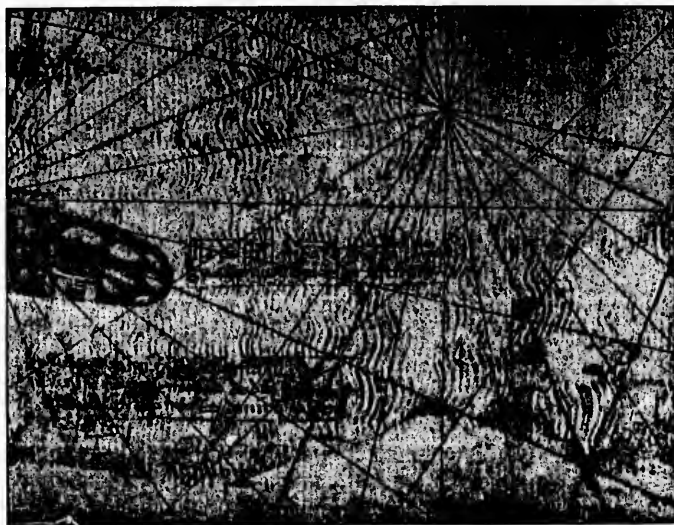


Fig. 3. PART OF THE ATLAS CATALAN DE CHARLES V., ROI DE FRANCE, 1375.  
(From Delisle's reproduction in *Documents Géographiques*.)

map of 1436. We have known the same mistake to be made in reading the same word "Stillanda" as "Frislanda," both on the Catalane map, 1375 (Fig. 3),<sup>1</sup> and on the Frederici d'Ancone map, 1497 (Fig. 4).<sup>2</sup>

It is true that, on the La Cosa map there appears, besides Stillanda, an island, vaguely indicated by broken outlines only, and not coloured as all the other islands are. This island has been entitled by Hum-

<sup>1</sup> Santarem, *Atlas* (Brit. Mus. Tab., 1850, A), Plate XVIII.; Delisle's *Documents Géographiques*, Paris, 1883 (Brit. Mus. S., 35, 5).

<sup>2</sup> Santarem, *Atlas*, Plate LXXIV.



the supposed occurrence of the name of the island on this map of Juan de la Cosa, his pilot and companion on his second voyage (1493-6): the other half, upon the obscure passage dealt with above,<sup>1</sup> which occurs both in the discredited *Historie* of the Admiral, attributed to his son Ferdinand Columbus, and in Las Casas' *Historia de las Indias*. There is no other evidence. We have now shown that the name Frislanda does not occur on the La Cosa map; also, that the reference to Frislanda in the *Historie* of the Admiral does not occur in any writing by him and first appears in a passage written by Las Casas in his *Historia de las Indias*. It follows, therefore, that all evidence of Columbus's knowledge of any such island as Frisland falls to the ground.

"Frislanda" having been eliminated from the La Cosa map, we have yet to seek for its first appearance. This we find on the Cantino map of 1502. As to this map, HARRISSE writes:<sup>2</sup> "Alberto Cantino, who was the envoy (orator) of Hercules d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, to the Court of Portugal, kept his master apprised of the discoveries accomplished beyond the seas under the Portuguese and Spanish flags. The duke having expressed a desire to obtain a map illustrating those voyages, Cantino ordered it from a cartographer living in Lisbon, and whom we expect to have been an Italian artist." HARRISSE adds, in a note, "our opinion is that there were then, in Portugal, several Italian artists who made maps, not as cartographers, but as copyists and miniaturists."

Upon this Cantino map appears an island "Frislanda," due north of Scotland, and in a position nearly corresponding with the roughly-indicated "de Sialelanda" of the La Cosa map. From whatever original this part of the Cantino map was copied, it seems highly probable that the penman (one of the copyist and miniaturist school referred to by HARRISSE) has converted the familiar "Stillanda" into the novel form of "Frislanda." This is the first occurrence that we have been able to find of an island called "Frislanda" on any map, and its appearance here seems to have been due to the very easy and natural clerical error mentioned above. We do not again find the name, in this form, on any other map of which the date is known until we find it on the Zeno map of 1558.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, pp. 64-68.

<sup>2</sup> HARRISSE, *Discovery of North America*, London, 1892, p. 422. There is a facsimile (not photographic) of a portion of the map in HARRISSE's *Les Corte Real, etc.*, Paris, 1883. The original map is in the Biblioteca Estense, Modena. By the courtesy of Cavaliere Caputo, the Librarian, we have been able to verify the name "Frislanda" from a photograph, which he has been good enough to have taken for us, of a portion of the original map.





Fig. 5. FROM AN ITALIAN PORTOLANO, OF ABOUT 1508, IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM  
[MS. Egerton 2803, fol. 8<sup>v</sup>].





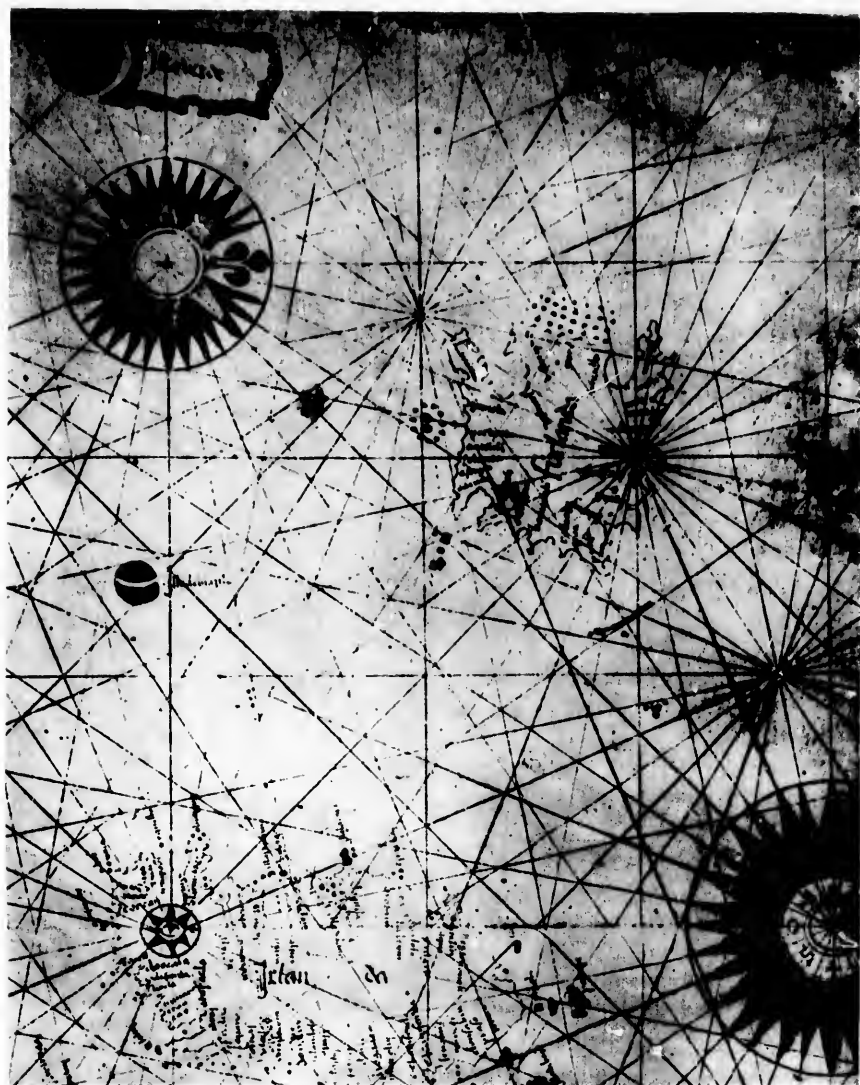


Fig. 7. PART OF A FIFTEENTH CENTURY (CATALAN) MAP. (From Nordenskjöld's *Bidrag till Nordens Äldsta Kartografi*, Plate V.)

The name "Insula de Uresland" occurs on a map of c. 1505, reproduced by Kunstmann.<sup>1</sup> There are no names on the island, other than the principal name, on any of the above-mentioned maps, except upon the Ixilanda of the Fra Mauro map (Plate I.).

There is no sign of "Frisland" either in the text or in the maps of Bordone (1528), Ziegler (1532), Grynæus (1532), Schöner (1533), Mercator (1533, 1541, 1554), Olaus Magnus (1539), nor in any of the editions of Ptolemy published before 1561.

In an Italian Portolano, of the Genoese school, preserved in the British Museum [MS. Egerton 2803], there are two maps (*folios 1<sup>b</sup>* and *8<sup>b</sup>*)

showing an island called "Fislanda," which, no doubt, represents Iceland. Neither map shows any details upon the island. The map on *folio 8<sup>b</sup>*<sup>2</sup> is reproduced, on page 110 (Fig. 5), for the first time. The map on *folio 1<sup>b</sup>* is a map of the world, and shows Fislanda in a corresponding position. The Portolano cannot be later in date than 1508, as will be seen from the extract (here reproduced in facsimile as Fig. 6) from the explanation of the Tables for finding the time of the New Moon, on the last folio of the Portolano. The Tables are calculated for 1508 and subsequent years. They were, of course, intended for future use.

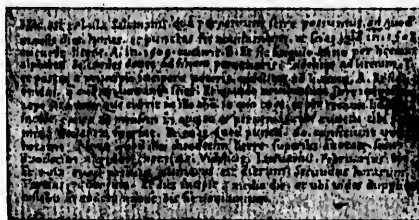


Fig. 6. FROM PORTOLANO IN BRITISH MUSEUM.  
[MS. Egerton 2803.]

The first map which we find giving details of an island at all corresponding to those on Zenó's Frisland is a Catalan map of the fifteenth century, preserved in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, at Milan, part of which is reproduced here (Fig. 7) from a facsimile given by Nordenskjöld.<sup>3</sup> On this map the island is called "Fixlanda," and contains twenty-seven names, twenty-one of which can be identified with those

<sup>1</sup> *Entdeckung Amerika's*, Berlin, 1859, Blatt 2 (Brit. Mus. Tab. 1850 a).

<sup>2</sup> Although it does not strictly belong to our subject, it may be of interest to point out that this map is remarkable as being the earliest to show definite outlines of the coast of the most northern parts of the eastern coasts of North America, with names. It shows *Terra de Labrador* and *Terra de los Bachalaos*. It is, at least, three years earlier in date than the atlas of Vesconte de Maiolo, or Maggiolo, constructed in Naples in 1511, which hitherto has been considered to be the earliest Italian Portolano showing such details (See HARRISSE's, *The Discovery of North America*, p. 496).

<sup>3</sup> *Bidrag till Nordens Äldsta Kartografi*, Plate V.



on the Zenian Frislanda. Of the remaining six two are duplicates of some of those identified. (See Appendix IV.)

Dr. Kretschmer<sup>1</sup> gives a copy of a portion of a map by Mattheus Prunes, dated 1553, the original of which is in the Biblioteca Comunale at Siena, on which the representation of "Fixlanda" corresponds closely to that on the Milan map just mentioned. A reproduction from Kretschmer's *Atlas* is given on page 112 (Fig. 8), but without colours. Of the twenty-three names which appear upon the island on Kretschmer's reproduction of this Siena map eighteen can be identified with those on the Frisland of Zeno. A portion of "Estilanda" (Shetland) also appears on the copy, and "illa Porlanda" and "ille neome" are shown in relative positions nearly corresponding with those of "Estland," "Podanda," and "Neome," on the Zeno map.

It seems probable, from the occurrence of Portuguese words upon the Milan and Siena maps just mentioned, that some of the details have been obtained from Portuguese originals. These words are not the names of places, but denote physical features. Thus, for instance, we have *Espraya*, meaning "land left dry by the ebbing of the tide," which occurs twice on each map, and is distorted on the Zeno map into *Spagia*; *aqua*, "water"; *sabrius* and *sabius* (Ibini on the Zeno map) for *sabroso* or *saibroso*, "gravelly"; *compa*, for *campo*, "field or open land," or, perhaps, an abbreviation for *compascuo*, "pasture." This suggests that *Bondendea porti* of the Zeno map may be simply *Bondadoso porto*, "a good harbour," but only the word *porti* appears on the two earlier maps. The practice of noting upon maps the physical features of the coast, and even the occurrence of remarkable fishes, trees, etc., was common in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The Catalan type of Frisland, which differs from the Zenian type in many respects, occurs on many manuscript maps of later date than 1558.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Die Entdeckung Amerika's*, Berlin, 1892, Atlas, Taf. IV., No. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Kretschmer also reproduces (*Die Entdeckung Amerika's*, Atlas, Taf. IV., No. 3) a section of a map by Jaume Olives, of Mallorca, the original of which is in the National Library at Florence. It contains details similar to those in the Siena map. Kretschmer assigns to it the date 1514, Uzielli and Amat di San Filippo (*Studij Biograf. e Bibliograf.*, 2nd ed., 1882), read the figures 1564, and Desimoni 1504. As all the known codices containing maps by Jaume Olives range between 1557 and 1566, Uzielli-Amat are probably right. Zurla (*Dissert.*, p. 142, and *Di Marco Polo*, 1818, vol. ii., p. 92) refers to a map by Bartolomeo Olives, dated June 15th, 1559, which shows an island called Frixlanda, and gives some other of the Zenian names with variations in spelling. The rendering "Frixlanda" occurs in several later manuscript maps, two of which will be found reproduced in Nordenskjöld's *Bidrag till Nordens Äldsta Kartografi*.

We now come to the large map of Frisland from the Lafreri *Atlas*<sup>1</sup> (Plate IX.). It is, as many of the Lafreri maps are, undated. It is full of pictorial details of mountains, towns, buildings, trees and cultivated and inclosed lands. The maps composing this fine *Atlas*, were engraved at various times by different engravers between the years 1546 and 1572. In some cases the same map was produced more than once, at different dates and by different hands. It is, therefore, difficult to determine the exact date of the Lafreri map of Frisland. As will appear a little further on, we have given reasons to show that Nicolò Zeno, the younger, was the originator of his hybrid Frisland. The larger, though otherwise nearly identical, Lafreri map of that island must, therefore, have been derived either from the woodcut "Carta da Navegar," or from a draft map, which Zeno must, necessarily, have prepared, probably on a larger scale, before the woodcut map could have been executed. In either case, the complete absence of evidence of any public knowledge of Frisland before 1558, coupled with Ruscelli's direct reference to Zeno's work of 1558 as the origin of his "Nvova Tavola Settentrionale," edited by Zeno himself, in the Venice *Ptolemy* of 1561, renders it extremely improbable that the larger Lafreri map was executed before 1561 or 1562.

It is not proposed to follow in detail the various attempts to identify the "Frislanda" of the Zeno map with some lost, or existing land. The conclusions of different writers have been curiously various on this point.

Terra-Rossa believed<sup>2</sup> that Frislanda, Porlanda, Grislanda, and Islanda were at one time united portions of a single land, parts of which had been submerged.

De l'Isle,<sup>3</sup> O'Reilly,<sup>4</sup> Van Keulen,<sup>5</sup> Pingré and Borda,<sup>6</sup> Zurla,<sup>7</sup> Maltebrun,<sup>8</sup> and others, believed Frisland to have been submerged by some convulsion of nature, and most of them believed it to be represented by "the Sunken Land of Buss," more particularly referred to below.

Forster<sup>9</sup> identified it partly with Fara, Fera, or Ferasland, a small

<sup>1</sup> There are two copies of this map in the Brit. Mus., one without signature (s.10.2.70<sup>a</sup>), from which our Plate is taken, the other (s.10.1.156) inscribed, "Petro de Nobilibus formis."

<sup>2</sup> *Riflessioni Geografiche*, 1686, pp. 236, 251, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Hemisphere Occidental*, 1720, in *Atlas Nouveau*, etc. Amsterdam, c. 1733.

<sup>4</sup> *Greenland and the Adjacent Seas*, etc., p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> *Nieuwe Wassende Zee Caart van de Noord Oceaen*, etc. Amsterdam, 1745.

<sup>6</sup> *Voyage fait par ordre du Roi en 1771 et 1772*, vol. ii., p. 360.

<sup>7</sup> *Dissertazione*, pp. 79 et seq. *Di Marco Polo*, vol. ii., pp. 44, 48.

<sup>8</sup> *Précis de la Géographie*, ed. 1832-35, vol. i., p. 200.

<sup>9</sup> *Northern Voyages*, pp. 201-202.

island off the east coast of Hoy, in the Orkneys; partly with the Faroes and partly with the Hebrides; Baron Walckenaer<sup>1</sup> with North and West Ireland; Irminger<sup>2</sup> with Iceland.

Luigi Bossi believed<sup>3</sup> that the name Frislanda was a corruption of *Fixlanda*, which he held to have been a Teutonic word signifying "the land of fish," or "the land abounding in fish," and that it was given originally, not only to Iceland, but to the Orkneys, the Shetlands, the Faroes, etc.—in short, that it signifies a maritime region rather than a single island; but he thought that the island marked *Fixlanda*, or *Frixlanda*, in several fifteenth and sixteenth century maps, was Iceland. Steenstrup<sup>4</sup> had a similar, but more comprehensive, theory; for he says that *Grislanda* was a mistake of writing, or rather of reading, for *Wrislanda*, which is, in its turn, the same name as *Frislanda* and *Reslanda*, the name *Island* (Iceland) distorted by the Arabs.

Buache<sup>5</sup> was the first to suggest in 1784 that the original of the "Frislanda" of the Zeno map must have been the Faroes. Buache was followed by Von Eggers,<sup>6</sup> Maltebrun,<sup>7</sup> Zarhtmann,<sup>8</sup> Major,<sup>9</sup> and others, whose conclusions, although differing widely on many other points, agreed upon this identification, which may be regarded as being now popularly accepted. Since the re-discovery of the maps of an earlier date than that of Zeno the question has, however, become varied, and now seems to be: What is the "Fixlanda" or "Frixlanda" of such maps as the Milan (Catalan) fifteenth century map, and the Siena (Mattheus Prunes) map of 1553, above referred to? Clearly it represents the same island as Zeno's Frisland. Does it represent Iceland or the Faroes?

In spite of all the ingenuity which has been lavished upon the subject, the only names on Zeno's Frisland which have been shown to resemble any of those, either ancient or modern, upon the Faroes, are the seven which are found upon the Olaus Magnus map of 1539, and

<sup>1</sup> *Biographie Universelle*, vol. lii., Art. Zeno, Nicolas et Antoine.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of Roy. Geogr. Soc.*, vol. xlix., 1879, p. 398.

<sup>3</sup> *Vita di Cristoforo Colombo*, Milan, 1818, pp. 86-7, or the French translation of the same, Paris, 1824, pp. 108-9.

<sup>4</sup> *Zeniernes Reise i Norden*, 1883; and *Les Voyages des Frères Zeni dans le Nord*, 1884, in *Compte rendu du Congrès des Americanistes*, Copenhagen, 1884, pp. 150-189. [B. M. Ac. 6220.]

<sup>5</sup> *Mémoire sur l'Isle Frislande*, in *L'Histoire de l'Académie des Sciences*, Paris, 1787.

<sup>6</sup> *Ueber die Wahre Lage des alten Ostgrönlands*, Kiel, 1794.

<sup>7</sup> *Précis de la Géogr.*, ed., 1832-35, vol. i., p. 200.

<sup>8</sup> *Journ. Roy. Geogr. Soc.*, vol. v., 1835, p. 105.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. xliii., 1873, p. 156.



on Mercator's Europa, 1554 (*viz.*, Fare, or Farre Insula; Monachus, or Monaco; Sudero; Nordero; Dumo, or Duino; Faren, or Farre, and Streme). Of the thirty-three names remaining on Zeno's Frisland, some, which are also found on earlier maps of Fixlanda, certainly indicate physical features only, and are not the names of places. As for the Frislandic names still unaccounted for, the identifications, by Irminger and Steenstrup, with Icelandic names, are, on the grounds of resemblance in form and meaning, preferable to any which have been suggested by Buache, Eggers, or others who have believed Frisland to represent the Faroes only. It will be seen by reference to Appendix V. that, with the exception of the seven names mentioned above, the identifications of Frislandic with Farenian names are not justified by any resemblance of form; by reference to the maps of Frisland and of the Faroes, that the identifications are not justified by correspondence in position; and, by reference to the narrative, that the story will not apply to a group of islands small and detached like the Faroes. The shape, size, and unity of Zeno's Frisland has no resemblance whatever to the actual Faroes. In those respects it is much more like the Fixlanda of the fifteenth century maps, and the actual Iceland. The identifications are, in fact, guesses founded on Buache's hypothesis that Frisland represented the Faroes. The chief reason for this supposition seems to have been the fact that the latitudes of the two groups of islands appear, at first sight, to correspond closely. On Zeno's map Frisland lies between  $61^{\circ}$  and  $65^{\circ}$  N. Lat. The Faroes actually lie between  $61^{\circ} 20'$ , and  $62^{\circ} 25'$  N. Lat. But Zeno is all abroad in his latitudes, which are generally very incorrectly given as to distinctly recognizable places. The following table gives some examples:

LOCALITY.	LATITUDE ON ZENO'S MAP.	ACTUAL LATITUDE.
Iceland	Between $67^{\circ} 30'$ and $71^{\circ} 30'$ N. Lat.	N. Lat. $63^{\circ} 30' - 66^{\circ} 30'$
Contanis (Caithness or Mainland, Orkneys)	$61^{\circ} 0'$ N. Lat.	N. Lat. $58^{\circ} 10'$ to $58^{\circ} 40'$
N. point of Denmark	$63^{\circ} 40'$ N. Lat.	N. Lat. $57^{\circ} 35'$
S. point of Norway	$64^{\circ} 10'$ N. Lat.	N. Lat. $58^{\circ} 0'$
Trondo (Trondhjem)	$69^{\circ} 0'$ N. Lat.	N. Lat. $62^{\circ} 40'$
S. point of Greenland	$65^{\circ} 50'$ N. Lat.	N. Lat. $60^{\circ} 0'$

It is obvious, therefore, that no faith can be placed in the accuracy



of Zeno's latitudes. The maps which, it is contended, have formed his models are also incorrect in this respect—some more, some less, than the "*Carta da Navegar*." The coincidence of the assigned position of Frisland on Zeno's map with the real position of the Faroes, close as it is, must therefore be abandoned as a support to the theory of their identity. There is really no evidence in favour of the suggestion that the large and compact Frisland is the same as the small scattered group of the Faroes, except the presence on Frisland of the seven Farensian names above referred to.

Now let us compare Zeno's Frisland with the fifteenth-century Fixlanda and with the actual Iceland. All three are large and compact islands. Many of the maps showing Fixlanda do not give us the means of fixing its latitude; but Prunes places it between  $59^{\circ}$  and  $63^{\circ}$  N. latitude, which nearly touches, on the north, the actual latitude of the South of Iceland. But it has been seen that the assigned latitudes of localities in the North Atlantic on early maps are not to be relied upon, so it will be well to compare the names on Fixlanda with those on Iceland (see Appendix IV.). It will be noticed that (putting aside the seven Farensian names already mentioned, none of which appear on Fixlanda) there are several important names on Frisland which correspond far more closely with Icelandic names than with any upon the Faroes. For instance, Zeno's Porlanda is to be found, as Portolanda, on Descellier's map of 1546,<sup>1</sup> on Diego Homem's map of 1558,<sup>2</sup> and (as Portland) on modern maps. Zeno's Ocibar is Orebakke, or the Orbaca of Homem's map above mentioned. Sanestol appears as Sonosilo on Descellier's map of 1546; C. Vidil is Vadil or Veidileisa; Andefort is Anarfiora; Rodea (Rovea in Ruscelli) is Roverhavn; C. Cunala, which appears as "Gamola" on the Catalan fifteenth century map, and as "Grimola" on the Prunes, 1553, map, is "Gamaloia" of Descellier's map, 1546; Abde is Hopdi (cape or headland) of Thorlaksen's map of Iceland;<sup>3</sup> and Pigiū, or Piglu, is Siglu of the same map; Sorand is Strand; and Aniesis is Arnæs Syssel. Some of these identifications are Irminger's or Steenstrup's: the others have not, it is believed, been suggested before.

On the whole, it may be seen that the fifteenth century Fixlanda is a fair representation of Iceland, and that it does not resemble the Faroes in any respect whatever.

<sup>1</sup> Kretschmer's *Entdeckung Amerika's*, Tafel XVII.    <sup>2</sup> Brit. Mus. [Add. MSS. 5415, A.]

<sup>3</sup> Mercator's *Atlas*. Duisburg, 1595

On neither of the maps earlier in date than 1558, which have been referred to as shewing Fixlanda, is Iceland also shown; nor does it appear on two similar maps, reproduced by Nordenskjöld<sup>1</sup>; but, on a third map,<sup>2</sup> undated, but of the beginning of the sixteenth century, Frixlanda appears as a small island, without detail, close to a large island, called in the legend on the map "Thile," which is here presumably Iceland. The fact that Fixlanda, or Frixlanda,<sup>3</sup> appears with Iceland upon the same map is no proof that they are not intended to represent the same original, as the repetition of the same island, twice or more in different places on the same map, either under the same or different names, was quite in accordance with the practice of the cartographers of the time. For instance, in Fra Mauro's map, Iceland appears at least thrice: first as an island, "Ixilandia"; secondly, on Finland, as "Islant, in which place dwell bad men who are not Christians"<sup>4</sup>; thirdly, on Datia (Denmark), as "Isola Islandia"; and, perhaps, a fourth time, as "Isola di giaccia," literally "the Island of Ice."

The truth of the matter seems to be that Zeno, in compiling his map, was led to choose the Island of Fixlanda (probably on account of the resemblance of its name to that of Frisia or Continental Frislanda, which Nicolò Zeno, the elder, may, very likely, have visited on his recorded voyage in 1385) as a convenient field for the fictitious exploits of his forbears and as a central starting-point for their alleged explorations, and to borrow from it a number of names. Then, finding, on Olaus Magnus' and Mercator's maps, the Faroes, in about the same position as Fixlanda, and not knowing exactly what either of them really represented, he, for the purpose of adding both mystery and *vraisemblance* to his production, combined the two, and imported the Farenian names on to Fixlanda (which is Iceland), and so constructed his enigmatic Frislanda, just as he has combined the Shetlands with Iceland in order to make his warlike Islanda.

It may be concluded from the above<sup>5</sup> that Fixlanda, or Frixlanda, really represents Iceland; and, as many of the names on Zeno's Frislanda have been borrowed from it, and some of the few remaining undoubtedly taken from the Faroes, Zeno's Frislanda cannot be said to represent

<sup>1</sup> *Bidrag till Nordens Äldsta Kartografi*, Plates VII. and VIII.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Plate VI. The legend referring to Thile, on this map, is only partly reproduced by Nordenskjöld.

<sup>3</sup> The form Frixlanda does not appear, as far as we know, in any map dated earlier than 1558.

<sup>4</sup> "Islant in questo luogo habitano mali homeni e non sono Christiani."

<sup>5</sup> See also Appendices IV. and V.

either Iceland or the Faroes, but it is an ingenious combination of both, and never had any real or independent existence.

A striking example of the malign influence upon geographical knowledge of the unfortunate acceptance, by cartographers, of the Zeno compilation as a genuine map, will be seen on comparing the portions of Mercator's "*Europa*," 1554, and of his "*Weltkarte*," 1569, reproduced in Plates VII. and XIII. in the Appendix. The names "*Nordero*," "*Sudero*," "*Monaco*," "*Streme*," and other names correctly placed upon the "*Farre Insule*," in the earlier map, are transferred to the fictitious "*Frislant*" of the later one, which is also disfigured by the presence of the bogus "*Estoilant*," "*Drogeo*" and "*Icaria*."

We have already shown how impossible it is to reconcile the identification of the Faroes with the Frisland of the Zeno narrative. The description of the island "larger than Ireland" (or Iceland, as Major prefers to read it<sup>1</sup>), through which Zichmni marched his victorious army "by land," in no way suits the Faroe Islands. Admiral Irminger has seen this difficulty which, combined with others pointed out by him, has led him to identify Frisland with Iceland.<sup>2</sup> The paper which follows that of Irminger, in the same publication as that in which Irminger's note appears, is a reply by Major,<sup>3</sup> insisting upon the identity of Frisland with the Faroes.

There is little to be said about the Estland of the Zeno map. The name is one well recognized for the Shetland Isles; and except for the theft of the seven islands transferred by Zeno to the coast of Iceland, which has been referred to before, there is little objection to be made to this detail upon the map. Out of the fifteen names on Estland on the Zeno map, we find six on the Olaus Magnus map, 1539, and four of the same six on Mercator's "*Europa*," 1554.

The large map of Estland (Plate X.), in the Lafreri *Atlas*, corresponds, as to outline and nomenclature, with the Estland of the Zeno map. Its history is probably similar to that of the Lafreri map of Frisland (see p. 114).

Icaria is on a different footing from all the foregoing Zenian countries and islands. The mendacity and impudence of the younger Zeno in importing this island from the Eastern Mediterranean into the North Atlantic, and in making the descendants of "*Icarus*," the son

<sup>1</sup> *Voyages of the Zeni Brothers*, Hakluyt Society, 1873, p. 6, n.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of R. Geog. Soc. of London*, 1879, vol. xlix., p. 398.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 42.

of "Dædalus, king of Scotland," living at the end of the fourteenth century, hereditary kings of the island at that time, and in introducing the old classical legend into his narrative, would be incredible, if the narrative itself were not a silent and uncontrovertible witness.

We have seen already (p. 86) that J. R. Forster and R. H. Major identified Icaria with Kerry, and that Zurla considered it to be Newfoundland. To these opinions may be added those of Baron Walckenaer, who thought<sup>1</sup> that Icaria was the Isle of Skye, and of Count Miniscalchi Erizzo, who conjectured<sup>2</sup> that it was the Sunken Land of Buss.

But, though this part of the narrative cannot be treated seriously, we may, nevertheless, consider from what maps, extant when Zeno the younger wrote, he may have borrowed the "Icaria" of his map. On many old maps, there will be found, to the north of Scotland, a large island called Hirtha, or Hirta. It so appears<sup>3</sup> on Mercator's Terrestrial Globe of 1541, and on the Italian map of 1546, the northern portion of which latter is reproduced in our Plate V. It also appears, but placed more to the west, on Mercator's "Europa," 1554 (Plate VIII.), and on later maps. It first occurs, under the name of "St. Kylder," on map 7 (Scotia) in the 1573 edition of Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis*.

On the large map of Olaus Magnus, 1539, the same island seems to be represented by "Tyle," which bears inscriptions stating that the Lord of the Islands dwells there, and that it has more than 30,000 inhabitants. The phrase *Hic habitat Dominus insularum* in this inscription suggests some confusion with the *Regalis Domus* of the *Ptolemy* of 1511, which probably represents the name of Cortereal misunderstood and literally translated.

In the little explanatory pamphlet which was issued with the map Olaus Magnus explains thus:<sup>4</sup>

"Some call this island Tyle, and some contend that it is Iceland; but I find that Procopius has more truly described the island Scandiana under the name of Tyle. Nevertheless in this Tyle is the residence of the Governor (*Presidente*) of the Orcades, and this island has about 30,000 men inhabiting it, who would not change their condition for the happiness of other regions."

The latter part of this passage suggests that it may have been the

<sup>1</sup> *Biographie Universelle*, vol. lii., Art. Zeno, Nicolas et Antoine.

<sup>2</sup> *Le Scoperte Artiche*, 1855, p. 117.

<sup>3</sup> Raemdonck, *Les Spheres Terrestre et celeste de Gerard Mercator*, St. Nicholas, 1875.

<sup>4</sup> *Opera Breve*, under D. r.

source of the passages in the Zeno text:<sup>1</sup> "they [the Icarians] were contented with the state which God had given them, and would neither alter their laws nor admit any stranger," and: "they being all prepared rather to abandon life than to relax in any way the use of their laws." Another possible, but less probable, source may be the passage in Bordone, referred to above on page 89.

In his larger work of 1555,<sup>2</sup> Olaus Magnus identifies Iceland with the "Ultima Thule" of the Ancients. He clearly cannot mean the "Tile" of his map to be identical with Iceland, as he also shows the latter island, though in a very different form and with much detail, in another part of his map. Another origin for his "Tile" must therefore be sought, and it will, we think, be found in "Hirta," or St. Kilda.

Estotilanda and Drogeo of the Zeno map are upon a less satisfactory footing than any other part of it. If we accept the younger Zeno's account of the origin of the map as absolutely true, his travelled ancestor must have drawn these portions of his map from a description by the Frisland fisherman; for Antonio Zeno himself never visited either of these countries. A map drawn from verbal description cannot be regarded as in any way reliable. We regard the whole of the Zeno map as a concoction by the younger Zeno and his publisher, Marcolini, in or before the year 1558, from materials to be found in various maps then existing, and it will be seen that the originals of Estotiland and Drogeo are not wanting.

In many maps of the first quarter of the sixteenth century, both manuscript and printed, will be found certain islands, often undefined as to their western boundaries, which were intended to represent Labrador (either under the names of "Terra Corterealis," "Regalis Domus" or "Terra laboratoris"), or Newfoundland. As examples of such manuscript maps, we may instance the Cantino map of 1502, the King map of the same date,<sup>3</sup> and the Portuguese map of 1505 reproduced by Kunstmann.<sup>4</sup> As examples of such printed maps, we may cite the heart-shaped map of the world in the Sylvanus *Ptolemy*, 1511, the "Orbis typus universalis" of the 1513 edition of *Ptolemy*, and the "Tipus orbis universalis" of *Apianus*, 1520. Any one of these maps might have served, as we believe some of them did serve, to

<sup>1</sup> Folio 55 v, and *supra*, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *De Gentibus Septem.*, p. 62.

<sup>3</sup> *Notice sur une Mappemonde Portugaise Anonyme de 1502.* [The "King" Map.] Par le Dr. E. T. Hamy, Paris, 1887.

<sup>4</sup> Kunstmann, *Entdeckung Amerika's*, Tafel II.

provide the compiler of the Zeno map with the types of his Estotiland and Drogeo. It would suffice, for his purpose, that the parts copied belonged, or were reputed to belong, to the newly-discovered continent of America, with which he wished to connect his ancestors' alleged travels. Very little was known about the northern parts of America, even in the younger Zeno's time, and the fact that he chose for his descriptive text accounts of quite different parts of America was not only unknown, but probably a matter of indifference to him. So far as to the cartographical origins of Estotiland and Drogeo.

The names "Estotiland" and "Drogeo" do not appear, in those forms at any rate, before they are seen in Zeno's text and map.

The first suggestion of a meaning for "Estotiland" occurs on a curious map by H. P. Resen,<sup>1</sup> dated 1605, and reproduced in the 9th Part of the *Meddelelser om Grønland*, where the name, which is placed upon the Scandinavian "Helleland," is followed by the legend, *Forte Esto(es) Tiland, seu Tyle vel ultima Tule (quemadmodum putavit nauta Hispanus qui huc delatus nomen illud loco primum indidit)*.

Several other derivations of the name Estotiland, and identifications of the country have been attempted, but they are all based upon the merest guesswork. Thus Baron Walckenaer believed<sup>2</sup> Estotiland to be the Estland of the Zeni, which he held to be the northern part of Scotland; Forster<sup>3</sup> identified it with Newfoundland, or Winland of the Scandinavians; Zurla<sup>4</sup> identified it with Labrador; Lelewel<sup>5</sup> thought that it was Cape Breton or Anticosti; Maltebrun thought<sup>6</sup> it was Newfoundland, and derived the name from *East-out-land*; Beauvois<sup>7</sup> considered that it was Newfoundland, the name being the result of a clerical error for *Escociland* (Land of the Scots), and believed that this was a name imported by the apocryphal Irish immigrants, Ireland having been called *Scocia* during the middle ages; he further considered that Estotiland was identical with Zeno's Icaria. Most of these conjectures seem to have been founded upon the position of Estotiland on Zeno's map; but the description in the text is so entirely inapplicable

<sup>1</sup> *Indicatio Gronlandia & vicinarum regionum, versus Septentrionem et Occidentem, ex antiqua quadam mappa rudi modo delineata, ante aliquos centenos annos ab Islandis quibus tunc erat isla terra notissima et nauticis nostri temporis observationibus.*

<sup>2</sup> *Biographie Universelle*, vol. lii., Art. Zeno, Nicolas et Antoine.

<sup>3</sup> *Northern Voyages*, p. 204.

<sup>4</sup> *Dissertazione*, etc., p. 108. *Di Marco Polo*, vol. ii., p. 71.

<sup>5</sup> *Géographie du Moyen Age*, vol. iv., p. 104.

<sup>6</sup> *Précis de la Géographie*, ed. 1832-35, vol. i., p. 202.

<sup>7</sup> *La Découverte du Nouveau Monde par les Irlandais*, in *Compte Rendu du Congrès des Americanistes*. Nancy, 1875.

to the north-eastern part of North America that it is impossible to accept them. It has also been suggested that the name is derived from Scocia, or from Sutherland or Sotherlandia, as it is written on some old maps (see Plate V.), and that the voyagers never went further west than Kerry in Ireland. Who is to decide when such doctors disagree?

Considering the other falsities, plagiarisms, and proved inventions of Zeno's work, it is hardly unreasonable to conjecture that the origin in the name Estotiland is the motto "Esto fidelis usque ad mortem," written upon the Scotia of the Olaus Magnus map of 1539, the first six letters of which, with the termination "land" added, would make "Estofiland." Such an impudent concoction would be quite in accordance with the younger Zeno's method.

Drogeo, which appears for the first time in Zeno's work, has also been the subject of some widely different identifications, but does not seem to have attracted so much attention as Estotiland. It is identified by J. R. Forster<sup>1</sup> with Florida; by Zurla<sup>2</sup> with Canada, New England, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Florida; by Walckenaer<sup>3</sup> with the southern part of Ireland, or alternatively with a district near Drogheda; by Lelewel<sup>4</sup> and Maltebrun<sup>5</sup> with Nova Scotia and New England; and by Mercator<sup>6</sup> and Ortelius<sup>7</sup> with the almost equally obscure "Dus Cirnes."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Voyages*, p. 205.

<sup>2</sup> *Dissertazione*, etc., p. 117. *Di Marco Polo*, vol. ii., p. 76.

<sup>3</sup> *Biographie Universelle*, vol. lii., Art. Zeno, Nicolas et Antoine.

<sup>4</sup> *Géog. du Moyen Age*, vol. iv., p. 105.

<sup>5</sup> *Précis de la Géog.*, ed. 1832-35, vol. i., p. 202.

<sup>6</sup> See our Plate XIII.

<sup>7</sup> See our Plate XIV.

<sup>8</sup> We are indebted to Mr. G. R. F. Prowse for nearly all the material for the following note. The earliest dated map to give the word "Cirnes" is that of Des Liens (1541), now at Dresden (see HARRISSE'S *John Cabot*, 1896), but the name must have been in use some years before this as the map in the Biblioteca Riccardiana at Florence (see KRETSCHMER'S *Atlas*, Plate XXXIII.), on which "do Cirnez" appears, cannot have been much later than 1534. The name appears in many forms and disguises, e.g., "Cirnes" (Des Liens, 1541), "de loscives" (Cabot, 1544), "d'arnes" (?) (Vallard, 1547), "I dossirnes" (Freire, 1547), "y des arenes" (Descellier, 1550), "diacernnes" (?) (Le Testu, No. 2, 1553), "I dos Sirmis" (Homo, 1559), "Sirenes" (Simon, 1580), "Drogeo Dus Cirnes Gallis" (Mercator, 1569; Ortelius, 1570; Judæis, 1593), "Orballanda alijs Dus Cirnes" (Dee, 1580), "Cornes" (Lok, 1582), "dus cirnes" (D'Anania, 1582), "I dos Arnes" (Nicolas, 1602), "lisle dorcines" (Devaulx, 1613), "y des Syrnes" (Mathoniere or Postello, 1621), "dosserades" (?) (D. de Rutis, 1676). A map, dated 1553, in the French Ministry of Marine, Paris, gives "I. dos cirmis" and "Sablom." There is no word similar to "dus cirnes" in English, French, Italian, Spanish, or Portuguese which will bear a reasonable interpretation such as would serve for the name of an island. Mr. G. R. F. Prowse considers that the rendering "y des arenes," in Descellier's map, 1550 (B. M. Add. MSS., 24065) [see Judge D. W. Prowse's *Newfoundland*, p. 40], carries most weight. He suggests that



In Rascicotti's map of America, and the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, 1583,<sup>1</sup> Drogeo appears as an island with the legend "Drogeo de Francesi." This is probably an interpretation of Mercator's "Dus Cirnes Gallis." On the Mollineux Globe,<sup>2</sup> 1592, there appears on the Continent of America "Nova Francia Drogeo"; and, on the coast of Labrador, on a map in Dudley's *Arcano del Mare*<sup>3</sup> occur "La Costa di Dragoa" and "Dragoa." It is believed that these are the only instances in which the name appears except as that of an island.

We are unable to point to an origin for the name Drogeo. The only suggestion we are able to make is that Zeno may have borrowed it from some form of Boca del Drago, the strait between Trinidad and Paria, to the neighbourhood of which some of the descriptions in Zeno's text apply, as has been shown above.

In our Appendix IV. will be found a Table on which the 150 names on Zeno's map of 1558 are compared with corresponding names upon earlier or contemporary maps. In our Appendix V. is a Table showing the attempted identifications of the same 150 names with those of real localities, by various commentators upon Zeno's map and book. We call special attention to these Appendices as they contain, in a small compass and convenient form, much detail which it would have been difficult to introduce into the body of this treatise.

Sirenes and Cir(e)nes may be misreadings of "arenas." The representations of the island, with sandbanks adjoining it, and the meaning of the French *arene*, viz., sand, support this suggestion. The Sevillian maps of Ribero at Weimar and in the Borgian Library, show an "y<sup>a</sup> de la saualos" near Cape Porcupine, Labrador, where, according to the *Newfoundland Pilot* (p. 3), is to be found "the only sandy beach of any extent as far as Nain." There is no direct evidence of any kind to justify the association of the two islands; though other cartographical evidence seems to indicate that one of the primary explorations of Labrador was made in this neighbourhood. It is quite permissible to suppose that the survey of this voyage was not coördinated with those that followed in some groups of maps, but placed in a detached position off the coast. Mr. Miller Christy suggests that the island is probably "Sable Island," *sable* and *arene* being convertible terms in French. In 1518, Baron de Lery attempted to found a French settlement on Sable Island, and it is about this time that the name Dus Cirnes first occurs. It therefore seems probable that "Dus Cirnes" is a distorted form of "des arenas," otherwise "Sable Island," but the question must as yet remain in the realm of conjecture. Mercator does not appear to have had any real grounds for connecting the "y<sup>a</sup> des arenas" or "Cirnes" with the Drogeo of Zeno.

<sup>1</sup> *Americæ et Proximarum regionum oræ descriptio*. Venice. Reproduced in Müller's *Remarkable Maps*, etc., Amsterdam, 1894, Part I., No. 12.

<sup>2</sup> See tailpiece on p. 84, *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> Dudley, *Arcano del Mare*, 1661.





## PART II.—SECTION IX.

### THE ISLAND OF BUSS AND OTHER PHANTOM ISLANDS OF THE ATLANTIC.



FROM the earliest times of cartography, the chart of the Atlantic Ocean has been encumbered with many mythical or problematical islands, such as Antilla, Isle Verde, Brazil, St. Brandan, and the Island of the Seven Cities, not to mention the numerous islands of queer, and often geometrical, shapes, which were apparently introduced by the cartographer to fill vacant spaces, or for the sake of artistic effect, but were not considered worthy of names. Those which are named are found in widely different positions on different maps. Some, as, for instance, "Brazil," may sometimes be found in duplicate upon the same map. Some of these phantom islands probably had their origin in legend, others in misreading or misunderstanding on the part of the copyist, and some in the perverse ingenuity of the map-makers, but others may have been the result of the honest reports of mariners who had been deceived into a belief that they had seen land where no land was, or had been mistaken as to their true position—both natural errors.

All such phantom islands are, as a class, akin to the Zenian Islands, but only two of them concern the Zenian story, viz., the "Island of St. Brandan," and "the Island of Buss." The history of the island of St. Brandan begins in the eleventh century: that of "Buss," at the end of the sixteenth century. The connection between "Saint Brandan" and the Zeno story is indirect, and lies in the identification of the modern St. Kilda or Hirta with it, as has been suggested.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> C. H. C. in *Athenæum*, February 6, 1892, p. 183.

The connection of Buss Island with the Zeno subject is far more close and direct, although its history does not begin until nearly two hundred years after the date assigned to the alleged travels of the brothers Zeno, nor until twenty years after the publication of the younger Zeno's compilation. It is found on several later maps in close proximity to the Zenian Frisland; and, as has been already mentioned, it has been supposed, by some believers in the authenticity of the Zeno story, to have been the Island Frisland itself, or the remains of it. It would, therefore, scarcely be right to pass over it altogether without mention.

The so-called island was first heard of on the return of Frobisher's third expedition to the north, in 1578. A brief notice of its alleged discovery appeared in Best's *True Discourse*<sup>1</sup> in 1578, but a fuller account may be found in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, 1589, p. 635, following the account, by Thomas Ellis, of Frobisher's third voyage:

"The Report of Thomas Wiars, passenger in the Emanuel, otherwise called the Busse of Bridgewater, wherein James Leeche was Master, one of the shippes in the last voyage of Master Martin Frobisher, 1578. concerning the discoverie of a great Island in their way homeward the 12 of September.

"The Busse of Bridgewater, was left in Bears Sounde at *Meta incognita*, the second day of September behinde the Fleete, in some distresse, through much winde ryding neare the Lee Shoare, and forced there to ride it out upon the hazard of her cables and ankers, which were all aground but two. The thirde of September being fayre weather, and the Wind North northwest she set sayle, and departed thence and fell with *Frisland*, on the 8. day of September, at 6. of the clocke at night, and then they set off to the Southwest poynt of *Frisland*, the winde being at East, and East southeast, but that night the winde veared Southerly, and shifted oftentimes that night: but on the tenth day in the morning, the wind at west northwest fayre weather, they steered southeast, and by south, and continued that course untill the 12. day of September, when about 11. a clocke before noone, they descryed a lande, which was from them about five leagues, and the Southermost part of it was Southeast by East from them, and the Northermost next, North Northeast, or Northeast. The Master accomplished that *Frisland*, the Southeast poynt of it, was from him at that

<sup>1</sup> *A True Discourse of the late Voyage of Discoverie for finding of a Passage to Catbaya by the North-Weast under the conduct of Martin Frobisher, General.* [By George Best.] London, 1578, 4to, p. 59.

instant, when hee first descryed this newe Island, North west, by North, 50. leagues. They account this Island to be 25. leagues long, and the longest way of it Southeast, and Northwest. The Southerne part of it is in the latitude of 57. degrees and 1. second part, or thereabout. They continued in sight of it, from the 12. day at 11. of the clocke, till the 13 day three of the clocke in the after noone, when they left it: and the last part they saw of it, bare from them, Northwest by North. There appeared two harboroughs upon that Coast: the greatest of them seven leagues to the Northwardes of the Southermost poynt, the other but foure leagues. There was verie much yce neere the same lande, and also twentie or thirtie leagues from it, for they were not cleare of yce, till the 15. day of September, after noone. They plied their voyage homewards, and fell with the west part of Ireland about *Galway*, and had the first sight of it on the 25. day of September."

This account is repeated on the 1599-1600 edition of Hakluyt (vol. iii., p. 44). In the second, and fuller, description of the voyage, in the same volume (p. 75), the name of the captain of "the Emmanuel of Bridgewater" is stated to have been "Newton," and (on page 93) the supposed discovery is briefly recorded, thus:

"The *Busse of Bridgewater*, as she came homeward, to the Southeastward of *Frisland*, discovered a great Island in the latitude of 57 degrees and a halfe, which was never yet found before, and sailed three dayes alongst the coast, the land seeming to be fruitfull, full of woods, and a Champion Country."

This is identical with Best's notice, save for the addition of the degrees of latitude, which Best omits, and some slight variations in spelling.

Soon after this report was published the island began to appear on maps, sometimes in company with *Frisland* (as in Emery Mollineux's "Terrestrial Globe," 1592, in the "Orbis terrarum typus" of Peter Plancius, 1594, and in the "Tabula nautica" in the *Descriptio ac delineatio geographica Detectionis Freti*, describing Hudson's voyage of 1610), sometimes alone (as in Anderson's *Iceland*,<sup>1</sup> and Seller's *English Pilot*<sup>2</sup>), sometimes as identical with *Frisland* (as in Guillaume De l'Isle's "Hemisphere Occidental" 1720).

James Hall, in his second voyage in 1605,<sup>3</sup> "looked to have seene

<sup>1</sup> *Beschryving van Ysland Groenland en de Straat Davis*. Johan Anderson. 4to. Amsterdam, 1750.

<sup>2</sup> *The English Pilot* . . . by John Seller, Hydrographer to the King, Fourth Book, London, 1673 (?), folio, p. 5. [Brit. Mus. 1804, b. 7.]

<sup>3</sup> *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, 1625, vol. iii., p. 815.

*Busse* Iland, but [he says] I doe verily suppose the same to be placed in a wrong Latitude in the Marine Charts." In the following year, viz., on the 1st of July, 1606, he "saw land about eight leagues off, with a great banke of Ice lying off South-west. . . . This land [he says<sup>1</sup>] I did suppose to be *Busse* Iland; it lying more to the westward then it is placed in the Marine Charts." The next day, July 2nd, he says, "We were in a great current setting South South-west. The which I did suppose to set betweene *Busse* Iland and *Froeland* over with *America*."

About 1670, or a little after, a startling development in the cartographical appearance of Buss Island took place. In the two maps reproduced below (Plates XVI. and XVII.), which are taken from the first edition of Seller's *English Pilot* (c. 1673), and in several later maps by Seller, the island appears with a defined shape, and bears the names of harbours, points, and mountains. The explanation of this growth will be found partly in the account of an alleged visit to the island by Captain Shepherd of the "Golden Lion," in the text prefixed to the *English Pilot*, and, partly, in any authentic list of the names of the first "Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay," commonly known as the "Hudson's Bay Company."

The account from the *English Pilot* is as follows:

"This Island lieth in the Latitude of 58° 39'. It bears W. by N. half a point northerly from the *Mizenhead* in *Ireland*, distant about 296 leagues.

"This Island was first discovered in Sir Martin Frobisher's third and last voyage to the North-West, in the year 1578, by one of his vessels that strai'd from his Fleet on their Homeward-bound Passage, who accidentally discovered it, and called it after the name of the Vessel, which was the *Buss of Bridgewater*, and therefore they called it *Buss* Island. They judged it to be about 25 leagues long; lying the longest way S.E. and N.W. They found two Harbours in it; and according to the account they give of it, that the greatest of them is about seven leagues to the Northward of the Southermost point of the Island, called *Rupert's Harbour*; and the other four leagues to the Northwest of that called *Shaftsbury's Harbour*; there are two small Harbours that lie off the East point of the Island."

"This Island was further discovered by Captain *Thomas Shepherd*, in the *Golden Lion*, of *Dunkirk*, in the year 1671, at the charge of Monsieur *Kiel*, *Spawlding* and *Kicquerts* Lords of that Town: the said

<sup>1</sup> *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, 1625, vol. iii., p. 822.

Captain *Shepherd* brought home the map of the Island that is here annexed<sup>1</sup>; and reports that the Island affords store of Whales easie to be struck, Sea horse, Seal and Codd in abundance; and supposes that two voyages may be made in a year, the sea is clear from Ice unless in September, the Land low and level to the Southward and some Hills and Mountains in the N.W. End. The Variation was here, in the year 1671, 9 degrees West. There lieth a Bank about 12 Leagues to the Southward of the Island that hath good store of Fish upon it, and is about 15 Leagues in length lying chiefly N.N.W. and S.S.E. having 40 fathom and 36 fathom Water upon it.

"This Island has several times been seen by Captain Gillam, in his Passages to and from the North West."

In the text prefixed to the *Atlas Maritimus* of Seller, it is stated<sup>2</sup> that, in the year 1667, a design was renewed and undertaken for the discovery of the "North West Passage and for settling a Trade with the Indians in those Parts, by several of the Nobility of *England*, and divers Merchants of note belonging to the City of *London*, who fitted out two small Vessels for that purpose, the one called the *Nonsuch Ketch*, Captain *Zachariah Gillam* Commander, the other the *Eaglet Ketch*, Captain *Staniard* Commander; the latter whereof being by Stormy Weather beaten back, returned home without success; but the other proceeding on her Voyage made the Land of Buss, lying between *Iseland* and *Groenland*; passed through *Hudsons Straits*, then into *Baffins* [*? Hudsons*] Bay." Further on, the position of Buss is described: "South-westward from *Iseland*, about 140 leagues, lyeth an Island called *Buss*; in the latitude of 57 degrees 35 minutes, not yet fully discovered, but only as it hath been accidentally seen by some, who upon other Discoveries have occasionally passed those Seas, as Captain *Gillam* in his first voyage to the North-West Passage had soundings near unto it."

In the voyage last spoken of, Gillam wintered in Hudson's Bay, at Rupert's River, where he built a stone fort, Fort Charles, which was the first European settlement on the bay. On his return to England, Prince Rupert, one of his patrons, with others "of the Nobility of England and divers Merchants of note," some of whose names appear below, applied for and obtained, the Charter of the Hudson's Bay Company, which was signed on the 2nd of May, 1670.

<sup>1</sup> See our Plate XVI.

<sup>2</sup> *Atlas Maritimus or Sea Atlas.* By John Seller. London, 1675, p. 11.

Below is a table comparing the names on Seller's maps with those of the Patentees under the Charter of the Company, and of some other persons mentioned in the account of Shepherd's alleged visit to the island.

## NAMES ON THE MAP.

1. Griffith's Mount.
2. Kirke Point.
3. Arlington Harbour.
4. Point Cartret.
5. Albemarle Point.
6. Shepherd's Island.
7. Munden Island.
8. Bence Point.
9. Warren Bay.
10. Cape Hayes.
11. Hanersford Bay.<sup>1</sup>
12. Craven Point.
13. Rupert's Harbour.
14. Shaftesbury Harbour.
15. Point Carew.
16. Kicks Bay.
17. Viner's Point.
18. Robinson Bay.
19. Duke of Yorkes Sand.

## NAMES OF PATENTEES.

1. Sir John Griffith, Kt.
2. John Kirke.
3. Henry, Lord Arlington.
4. Sir Philip Carteret, Kt.
5. Christopher, Duke of Albemarle.
6. Captain Thomas Shepherd.
- 7.
8. (?) John Fenn.
- 9.
10. James Hayes.
11. (?) Sir Edward Hungerford.
12. William, Earl of Craven.
13. Prince Rupert.
14. Anthony, Lord Ashley (created Earl of Shaftesbury in April, 1672).
- 15.
16. (?) M. Kicquert, of Dunkirk.
17. Sir Robert Viner.
18. Sir John Robinson.
19. James, Duke of York (afterwards King James II.).

No more seems to have been seen or reported of the phantom island, and within fifty years it was considered by some to have been submerged. Even as late as the middle of the present century we find it written of as "the Sunken land of Buss;"<sup>2</sup> and, as has been noticed above, it was supposed by some to be identical with the lost Frislanda of the Zeni.

In 1776, Lieutenant Richard Pickersgill, of H.M.S. "Lion," who was sent into Davis's Strait on much more important business, sought for the lost Island of Buss, and, on the 29th of May, struck soundings on a bank at 320 to 330 fathoms, in N. lat. 57°, W. long. 24° 24', which he supposed might be the remains of it.<sup>3</sup> So sanguine was this gentleman that he wrote in an anonymous pamphlet<sup>4</sup> which was not published until 1783, after his death: "If the situation of Friesland is determined,

<sup>1</sup> "Hungerford Bay" in a map in the *Atlas Maritimus*.

<sup>2</sup> O'Reilly, *Greenland*, London, 1818, p. 11; Miniscalchi Erizzo, *Le Scoperte Artiche*, Venezia, 1855, p. 117; De l'Isle, "Hemisphere Occidental" (1720), first edition of the map in the *Nouveau Atlas*, Amsterdam. In later editions of the map, the legend "Isle de Bus cidevant Frislande," and all other indications of the island, are omitted entirely.

<sup>3</sup> Barrow, *Voyages into the Arctic Regions*, 1818, p. 321.

<sup>4</sup> *Voyages for the discovery of a North-West Passage*. By a Sea officer. London, 1782, p. 37.



that of Buss Island will follow of course: and if this isle is such as it is described, it must be preferable to Newfoundland for its fishery, nor is it to be concluded that the cold will be so excessive as might be at first imagined, since it is surrounded on all sides by the ocean.—Besides, our ships bound to the north might winter there, and it might prove a nursery for hardy seamen." But alas! neither of these valuable islands has ever been re-discovered, and we may now safely conclude that they never will be.

It will be observed that no one of those who have said that they had seen Buss Island has ever stated that he has landed upon it. It has been searched for in vain, since the date of its last alleged appearance, by such men as Ross,<sup>1</sup> Parry,<sup>2</sup> and Graah,<sup>3</sup> and the sea wherein it was said to lie has been sailed over by hundreds of ships.

To those who believed that such an island as Buss was actually seen, and did actually exist between 1578 and 1673, the only possible explanation of its undoubted non-existence a few years after the last named date was its submergence: hence the "Sunken land of Buss" believed in by Anderson, Van Keulen, De l'Isle, Zurla, Pingré, O'Reilly, Erizzo, and many others.<sup>4</sup> But, without doubting the good faith of the crew of the "Emmanuel," or of James Hall and his companions, there are good reasons to suppose that there never was any such island as "Buss."

It is a matter of common experience to those who have been at sea, and even to those who have lived by the sea-shore, that something which seems to be land appears, at times, in the distance, where no land can possibly be; and the illusion is often so strong that it is difficult for the spectator to persuade himself that his eyes are the dupes of common atmospheric conditions. This phantom land may appear in any latitude, but the deceptive appearance seems to be most common, or at any rate most commonly noted, in northern latitudes. It will be well to quote a few instances of such delusive appearances.

The legendary island of St. Brandan was frequently seen by the inhabitants of the Canary Islands, according to their genuine belief, at distances varying from 15 to 100 leagues.<sup>5</sup> It is shown on Martin Behaim's globe, of 1492, about 40° west of Ferro, and is also laid

<sup>1</sup> *Voyage of Discovery . . . for the Purpose of Exploring Baffin's Bay.* London, 1819, pp. 25-26.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage . . . in the years 1819-20.* London, 1821, pp. 4-5.

<sup>3</sup> *Narrative of an Expedition to the East Coast of Greenland . . . translated from the Danish.* London, 1837, p. 20.

<sup>4</sup> See page 114, *supra*, notes 4 to 11.

<sup>5</sup> Washington Irving, *Columbus*, 1828, vol. iv., p. 317.

down on many maps of the sixteenth century. It was repeatedly seen, and by various persons, always in the same place and form; and, in 1526, an expedition under the command of Fernando de Troya and Fernando Alvarez was sent in search of it. In 1570, Alonzo de Espinosa, Governor of the Island of Ferro, embodied in an official report the evidence of more than 100 witnesses, several of them persons of the highest respectability, who deposed that they had seen the unknown island, about forty leagues north-west of Ferro: that they had contemplated it with calmness and certainty, and had seen the sun set behind one of the points.<sup>1</sup> On this and other evidence, an expedition under Fernando de Villalobos, Regidor of the Island of Palma, was sent in the same year, 1570, to find the phantom island. In 1605, a ship, commanded by Gaspar Perez de Acosta, was despatched on the same errand. In 1721, a fourth expedition, under Don Gaspar Dominguez, was sent with the same object; but all these searches were fruitless. In 1759, a Franciscan monk related that he had seen "St. Brandan's Isle" from the Island of Gomera; that it appeared to consist of two lofty mountains, with a deep valley between; and that, looked at through a telescope, the valley seemed to be filled with trees. He summoned the curate, Antonio Joseph Manrique, and upwards of forty other persons, all of whom beheld it plainly.<sup>2</sup>

The Island is laid down on a French map of 1704 as one of the Canary Islands, and Gautier, in his *Observations on Natural History*,<sup>3</sup> published in 1755, places it 5° west of Ferro, in 29° north latitude. Father Feyjoo<sup>4</sup> attributes these appearances of the Island of St. Brandan, which have been so numerous and so well authenticated as not to admit of doubt, to atmospherical deceptions.<sup>5</sup>

A king of Portugal is said to have made a conditional cession of it to a certain person "when it should be found"; and, when the Crown of Portugal ceded its right over the Canaries to the Castilians, the Treaty included the island of St. Brandan, as "the island which had not yet been found."<sup>6</sup> A similar belief in the reality of the island existed also in Ireland.

<sup>1</sup> See Washington Irving, *Columbus*, 1828, vol. iv., p. 323.

<sup>2</sup> See Irving, *Ibid.*, p. 329.

<sup>3</sup> *Fide* Irving, *Ibid.*, p. 329.

<sup>4</sup> *Theatro Critico Universal o discursos varios*. Madrid, 4to, vol. iv., p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> See Irving, *Op. cit.*, p. 331.

<sup>6</sup> *St. Brandan a Medieval Legend of the Sea*. By Thomas Wright (Percy Society), 1844, p. vi.



James Hall, on his voyage in 1605, referred to above,<sup>1</sup> had an experience which shows how, even at close quarters, cloud masses may be mistaken for land. It is recorded in *Purchas His Pilgrimes* thus:<sup>2</sup> "The fift [of June, 1605] in the morning, being very faire weather, with the winde at East South-east, our course North North-west, some of our people supposed they had seene the Land: our Captaine and I went aboard the Pinnasse, when after an houre of our being there wee did see the supposed Land to be an hasie fogge, which came on vs so fast that wee could scarce see one another. But the *Lion* being very nigh unto vs, and it being very calme, we laid the Pinnasse aboard of her, and so the Captaine and I went aboard of them." Again, he says, "on the ninth day about foure a clocke . . . some of our people would not be perswaded but they did see Land, and therefore I stood in North and by East and North North-east, till about three a clocke in the afternoone, when wee met with a huge Iland of Ice. . . ." The account does not give the latitude in which these mistakes occurred; but, on the 4th of June, at noon, Hall's latitude was N. lat. 59° 50', only about 2° from the position assigned to the Island of Buss by its first observers.

Gaffarel, in his chapter entitled *Les îles fantastiques de l'Océan Atlantique*, writes thus:<sup>3</sup> "*Nous avons encore à enregistrer d'autres îles, dont l'existence est tout aussi problématique, mais auxquelles on croyait au moyen-âge, avant la date officielle de la découverte de l'Amérique. Un récit quelconque de voyage, même invraisemblable, se répandait-il, quelque marin prenait-il pour une terre la trompeuse apparence d'un nuage à l'horizon, il annonçait au retour sa prétendue découverte. Aussitôt les cartographes se mettaient à l'œuvre. Associant leurs désirs à des confuses notions, ils créaient quelque terre nouvelle, qui ne disparaissait des cartes qu'après des découvertes bien authentiques.*"

In *The Tour of the French Traveller, M. de la Boullaye le Gouz, in Ireland, in A.D. 1644*, similar experiences are related:<sup>4</sup> When he was approaching the coast of Ireland, between Wicklow and Dublin, on the 14th of May, 1644, "certain vapours arose from the sea, which appeared like land two or three leagues off, with trees and cattle

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, 1625, vol. iii., p. 816.

<sup>3</sup> *Histoire de la Découverte de l'Amérique*. Paris, 1892, vol. i., p. 222.

<sup>4</sup> *The Tour of the French Traveller M. de la Boullaye le Gouz, in Ireland, in A.D. 1644*. Edited by T. Crofton Croker (London, 1837), pp. 3 and 4. See also the original work, *Les Voyages et Observations du Sieur de la Boullaye-le-Gouz, gentilhomme Angevin*. Paris, 4to, 1653, pp. 434-435.

thereon." He then narrates that he sought information about this land from a Dutch pilot residing in Dublin, who replied: "You are not the first who has erred in the supposition of these things. The most expert navigators are often deceived by them. That which to us appears land is only a dense vapour, which cannot be raised higher in consequence of the season and the absence of the sun. Those apparent trees and animals are a part of that miasma, which collects in some places more than in others. When very young, I was on board a Dutch vessel off the coast of Greenland, in  $61^{\circ}$  of latitude, when we perceived an island of this sort. We sounded, without touching the bottom. Finding sufficient water, our Captain wished to approach nearer, but we were astonished that, all at once, it disappeared. Having a different direction, we met the same appearance again. The Captain, desiring to know what it was, ordered them to turn half a mile backwards and forwards to observe it; and, after having traversed many times without finding any real land, there arose so furious a tempest that we expected to perish; and, a calm afterwards coming on, we asked the Captain why he had surveyed this island. He told us that he had heard say that, near the Pole, there are many islands, some floating, some not, that are seen from a distance and are hard to be approached, which, they say, is owing to the witches who inhabit them and destroy by storms the vessels of those who obstinately seek to land upon them; that all he had heard reported and [had] read were but fables; that he now knew that these floating islands proceeded from the vapours raised, and afterwards attracted by the planets, which vapours the wind dispersed on approaching nearer; and that tempests usually followed these phenomena."

The Clerk of the "California" writes<sup>1</sup> as follows:

"The twenty-ninth [June, 1746] was a clear beautiful Day, with Sunshine and little Wind; in the Morning we had a Fog Bank E.N.E. much resembling Land, several of them arose in other Parts of the Horizon in the Afternoon. These Banks will stagger a good Judgment to discern in Places where Land may be expected, whether they be Fog Banks or the real Land, especially as such Banks will often from the Sun's Reflection appear white in Spots, resembling Snow on the Mountains so usual in these Parts. To distinguish whether it be a Fog

<sup>1</sup> *An Account of a Voyage for the Discovery of the North West Passage . . . in the years 1746, 1747, by the Ship "California," Capt. Francis Smith. By the Clerk of the "California."* London, 1748, vol. i., pp. 13-14.

Bank, or Land, you carefully observe whether there is any Alteration of the Form, or Shifting of the Outlines, which, if there is, as it is not the Property of Land to Change the Form, you know it to be one of these Banks."

Doctor Scoresby also gives many instances of the deceptive appearances produced by atmospheric effects in the neighbourhood of Greenland. On one occasion, he saw Home's Foreland, which was easily recognizable by its peculiar form, from a distance of 160 miles, which it would have been impossible to see in an ordinary state of the atmosphere, even from a mast-head 100 feet high. The land was seen on several consecutive days, "and<sup>1</sup> on the 23rd [of July, 1821] it remained visible for twenty-four hours together. . . . In my journal of this day, I find I have observed, that my doubts about the reality of the land were now entirely removed, since, with a telescope, from the mast head, 'hills, dells, patches of snow, and masses of naked rock, could be satisfactorily traced, during twenty-four hours successively.' This extraordinary effect of refraction, therefore, I conceive to be fully established."

Later on, he says:<sup>2</sup> "On the 19th of June [1822] . . . the strong action of the sun's rays soon produced such an unequal density in the atmosphere, that some of the most extraordinary phenomena to which this circumstance gives rise were exhibited. The land, to appearance, was suddenly brought fifteen or twenty miles nearer us; its boldness and clearness, as seen from the deck, being superior to what its elevation and the distinctness had previously been, as seen from the mast-head."

Elsewhere, he says:<sup>3</sup> "Hummocks of ice assumed the forms of castles, obelisks, and spires; and the land presented extraordinary features. In some places, the distant ice was so extremely irregular, and appeared so full of pinnacles, that it resembled a forest of naked trees: in others it had the character of an extensive city, crowded with churches, castles, and public edifices. The land was equally under the influence of this singular mirage."

Again, he says:<sup>4</sup> "The 8th of July [1822] was a fine clear day, with brilliant sunshine. Some land to the northward being seen for the first time, I attempted to carry on my survey; but the whole coast was found to be so disfigured by refraction, that I could not recognize a single mountain or headland."

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of a Voyage to the Northern Whale Fishery.* By W. Scoresby, Jun. Edinburgh, 1823, pp. 106-108.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 117.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 96, 97.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 143.

In another work Dr. Scoresby writes :<sup>1</sup> "A cloud bearing some resemblance to the cumulus, sometimes appears near the horizon ; this, when partly intercepted by the horizon, has an appearance so very similar to that of the mountains of Spitzbergen, that it is often mistaken for land."

To give another instance of the deceptive appearances in the northern latitudes, we may quote Captain William Barron :<sup>2</sup> "This year [about 1850] was noted for the prevalence of dense fogs, which impeded our progress. Once we had a fog which lasted six days ; and, knowing we were some distance from the South lowland, on the west side, north of Cape Hooper, the officer whose watch it was on deck called down the cabin that the vessel was close to the land. The ship was immediately put about and the boat lowered. We could not account for being so near, as by our calculation we ought to be forty miles from it. Taking a gun with me, I pulled towards the supposed land, and found it to be a large scone of heavy ice, covered with gravel, sand, and large stones, some of which would weigh upwards of a ton. This piece of ice must have been attached to the land under a perpendicular cliff. . . . This large piece of ice (or as it might be termed, a floating island) was about one mile in circumference and twenty-four feet thick."

The French Admiral de Langle writes as follows :<sup>3</sup> "Before the nature of the great submarine valleys was understood, many Captains may have been misled by the varied aspects which the sea assumes under different effects of light, and alarmed by meeting banks of sea-weed, shoals of fish, wrecks, or floating ice. Who does not know how the different tints of the sea often take the appearance of sandbanks and deceive the vigilance of the most experienced ? One may explain the small number of uncharted rocks (*vigies*) of which the position might have been verified on the spot, by the timidity with which the navigator approaches objects, the appearance of which is such as to make him doubtful of his own safety."

Fridtjof Nansen, on his recent journey, found that the so-called Franz Josef Land is in fact "cut up into innumerable small islands,

<sup>1</sup> *Account of the Arctic Regions.* By William Scoresby, Jun., F.R.S.E. Edinburgh, 1820, 8vo, vol. i., p. 419.

<sup>2</sup> *Old Whaling Days.* Hull, 1895, pp. 122, 123.

<sup>3</sup> Translated from *Rapports sur les Hauts-fonds et les Vigies de l'Océan Atlantique, entre l'Europe et l'Amérique du Nord.* Par le Contre-Amiral Vicomte de Langle. Extrait du Bulletin de la Soc. Géographique, Juillet, 1865. Paris, 1865.

without any continuous and extensive mass of land"; and that Payer's Dove Glacier, the whole northern part of Wilczek Land, Braun Island, and Hoffman Island, and, perhaps, Freeden Island, had no existence. Nansen writes:<sup>1</sup> "I pondered for a long time over the question how such a mistake could have crept into a map by such a man as Payer—an experienced topographer, whose maps, as a rule, bear the stamp of great accuracy and care, and a Polar traveller for whose ability I have always entertained a high respect. I examined his account of his voyage, and there I found that he expressly mentions that during the time he was coasting along this Dove Glacier he had a great deal of fog, which quite concealed the land ahead. But one day (it was April 7th, 1874), he says [*New Lands within the Arctic Circle*, by J. Payer, vol. ii., p. 129]: 'At this latitude ( $81^{\circ} 23'$ ) it seemed as if Wilczek Land suddenly terminated, but when the sun scattered the driving mists we saw the glittering ranges of its enormous glaciers—the Dove Glaciers—shining down on us. Towards the North-east we could trace land trending to a Cape lying in the grey distance: Cape Buda-Pesth, as it was afterwards called. The prospect thus opened to us of a vast glacier land conflicted with the general impression we had formed of the resemblance between the newly discovered region and Spitzbergen; for glaciers of such extraordinary magnitude presuppose the existence of a country stretching far into the interior.'

"I [Nansen] have often thought over this description, and I cannot find in Payer's book any other information that throws light upon the mystery. Although, according to this, it would appear as if they had had clear weather that day, there must, nevertheless, have been fog-banks lying over Hvidtenland, uniting it with Wilczek Land to the south, and stretching northwards towards Crown-Prince Rudolf's Land. The sun shining on these fog-banks must have glittered so that they were taken for glaciers along a continuous coast. I can all the more easily understand this mistake as I was myself on the point of falling into it. As before related,<sup>2</sup> if the weather had not cleared on the evening of June 11th, enabling us to discern the sound between Northbrook Island and Peter Head (Alexandra Land), we should have remained under the impression that we had here continuous land, and should have represented it as such in mapping this region."

Other instances of the deception of experienced navigators by

<sup>1</sup> *Farthest North*. Westminster, 1897, vol. ii., pp. 474-476.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 442, 443.

delusive appearances might be cited, but enough have been given to show the great probability that such mistakes may account for some of the erroneous reports of the existence of land in the North Atlantic where no land was. But other sources of error existed.

In the first place, before the middle of the eighteenth century,<sup>1</sup> navigators had no means of calculating the longitude, except by dead reckoning—a very rough and ready method, which was liable to be rendered valueless by strong currents, or baffling winds. In the second place, they had no means of accurately ascertaining the direction in which they were proceeding; for, though they had the compass, the variation was little understood, as, indeed, it is not fully even at the present day. This variation would, of course, be more marked and more puzzling in the higher latitudes. The methods of ascertaining the latitude, given fair weather, were fairly accurate; but it will be seen, on reference to any good modern map of the North Atlantic, that any navigator in those seas who found land between 55° and 70° north latitude, and had no means of determining his longitude, might be on the coasts of Labrador, Baffin's Land, Greenland, Iceland, Scotland, or Norway, without being able, at the time, to fix precisely his true position, even if he had been able to keep, by the compass, a record of his apparent course.

It has been suggested, and with great probability, that, just as Frobisher mistook the southern part of Greenland for the fictitious Island of Frisland, so Wiars and his companions might have mistaken some part of Greenland, or even of Iceland, for an island which, according to their honest belief, they thought they had just discovered.

Then, on the hypothesis of submergence, it is known and admitted that the positions of Buss and Frisland lie within an area of depression—that is, an area which, in recent geologic times, has had a tendency to sink to a lower level. But the subsidence is very gradual, and it is impossible that any sudden convulsion of nature, strong enough to cause this engulfment of Frisland, an island "as large as Ireland," or of Buss, an island stated to have been seventy-five miles long, should have occurred, since the year 1400, in the case of Frisland, or since the year 1675, in the case of Buss, without being noticed and recorded in Europe.

<sup>1</sup> In 1714, the British Government offered a reward for methods of determining longitude at sea. Harrison produced his first chronometer in 1735; his second, in 1739; his third, in 1749; and his fourth, which won him the reward, a few years later.

The case of the Island of Buss stands upon a somewhat different footing from that of Frisland; for, though it may safely be concluded that no such island as Buss has existed in historic times, the reports of its existence may, very probably, have been founded on the statements either of those who really had seen land, but had mistaken their position at the time, or of those who had actually seen either ice-floes or fog-banks, and had mistaken them for firm land.

Shepherd's account of Buss must, however, be considered to be as entirely fictitious and mendacious as the account of Frisland by the younger Zeno.

NOTE.—For a full and concise summary of the subject of the Island of Buss, see Appendix B. *On Busse Island*, by Mr. Miller Christy, in Gosch's *Danish Arctic Expeditions*, 1605-1620, Hakluyt Society, 1897. Vol. I., pp. 164-202.



NORTH-EASTERN QUARTER-SECTION OF MAP OF AMERICA.  
(From D'Anania's *Universale Fabrica del Mondo*, Venice, 1582.)





REGNORUM AQUILONARUM DESCRIPTIO.

(From Olaus Magnus's *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus*, 1555, p. 8.)





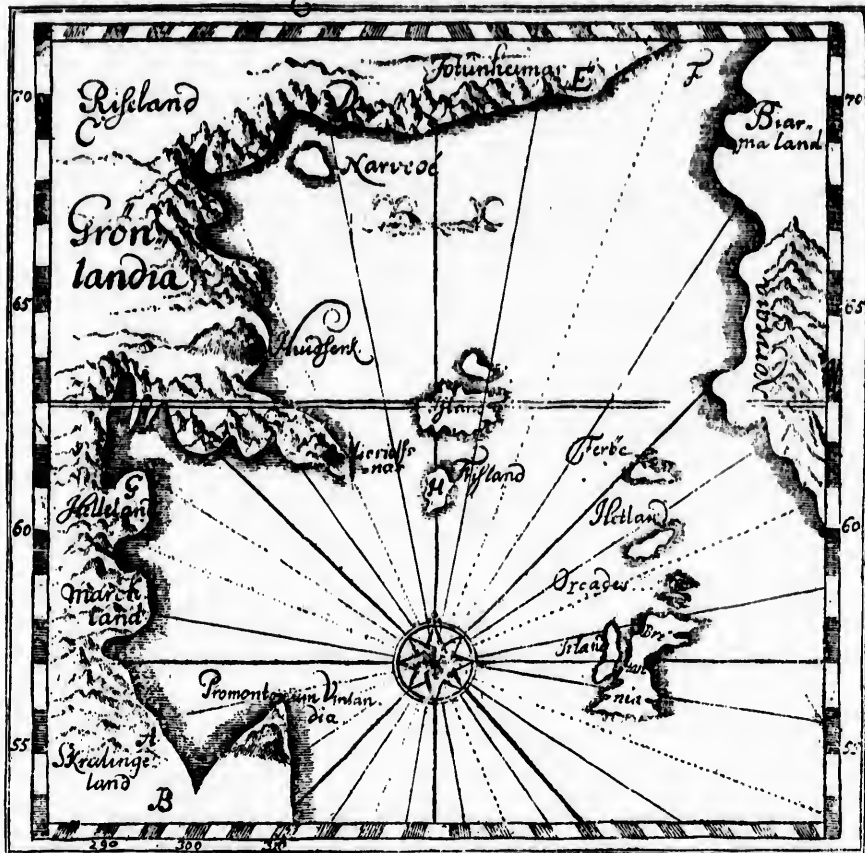
THE VOYAGES OF THE BROTHERS ZENI.

PART III.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.



Sigundi Stephani terrarum hyper.  
borearum Techniatio  
Anno 1570



MAP OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC, DRAWN IN 1570 BY SIGURDUS STEPHANIUS.  
(From Torfæus, *Gronlandia Antiqua*, Havniæ, 1715.)



### PART III.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.



NOTWITHSTANDING all that has been written during the past three centuries, by Terra-Rossa, Zurla, Major, and others, in defence of Nicolò Zeno, the younger, that writer has continued before the public up to the present time in the position of a defendant; and it is right that he should have done so. He published a book purporting to relate genuine history, illustrated by a map claiming to present authentic cartography. Yet, within fifty years of the publication of these documents, practical mariners had proved that the map was (to say the least) largely incorrect; while, later, it was discovered that both the book and map contained matter which was, partly, untrue and misleading (whether intentionally or not), and partly inexplicable.

We are now in a position to convict Nicolò Zeno, the younger, on new and what appears to be clear evidence, of the perpetration of a contemptible literary fraud—one of the most successful and obnoxious on record.

That a deception of the kind should have caused great perplexity, and should therefore have given rise to an enormous amount of discussion, was inevitable. The fraud was sufficiently ingenious to deceive many, even amongst those who might be regarded as authorities. Thus Major, one of the most able and staunch of the defenders of the integrity of Zeno the younger, speaks<sup>1</sup> of the account of the alleged travels in the North as "having been, in conjunction with the map which accompanies it, the cause of a vast amount of error and misconception,

<sup>1</sup> *Voyages of the Zeni*, Preface, p. ii.

and the subject of so much discredit as to have been justly condemned as 'false' and 'a tissue of fiction.' He complains,<sup>1</sup> "that this unlucky document has met with almost as injurious treatment from its advocates as from its enemies; since, from failing to detect the real solution of that which perplexed them, even friendly critics have been compelled to resort to random speculations, which have only 'made confusion worse confounded.'"

Of all the critics of Zeno, whether favourable or adverse, there is not one (except, perhaps, the egregious Terra-Rossa) who does not recognize the difficulties of reconciling some of the statements in the text and some portions of the map with each other, or with known facts. Indeed, all the defences of Zeno resolve themselves into endeavours to explain or correct his misstatements, and to suggest something consistent with truth which he might have meant to convey—"to track the causes of such misconceptions and to free the document, if possible, from the discredit under which it laboured," as Major says.<sup>2</sup>

It is interesting to observe to what pitiful shifts the defenders of Zeno have been sometimes driven, and how they have unwittingly destroyed each other's work. Thus Zurla, in trying to explain the suppression for a hundred and fifty years of the precious manuscript history of the Zeno travels and discoveries, cites<sup>3</sup> the well-known modesty and retiring nature of the Venetian nobility; while Major, again and again, strives<sup>4</sup> to account for the younger Zeno's inaccuracies by charging him with the use of "bombast," "grandiloquence," "ignorance," "misreading," "unintelligent interference," "inflated language," or "exaggeration employed only for the glorification of the occasion." Surely this last expression is only a somewhat elaborate euphemism for mendacity! Then, again, the identifications of the Zenian localities by the supporters of Zeno are often ridiculously inconsistent the one with the other.

Those who have upheld the good faith of Nicolò Zeno have put forward the following principal arguments or excuses:

1. That Nicolò Zeno, the younger, as a nobleman with a reputation for learning and belonging to a highly distinguished family, had no temptation to glorify himself or his family by the concoction of a false story, and that no motive can be shown for an imposture by him.

<sup>1</sup> *Voyages of the Zeni*, p. iii.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* Preface, p. ii.

<sup>3</sup> *Dissertazione*, pp. 34 and 35, and *Di Marco Polo*, vol. ii., p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> *Voyages of the Zeni*, pp. xxii, xxvi, xxviii, xxx.

2. That he has given evidence of his good faith by his frank acknowledgment of the difficulties under which his work was prepared and of his share in creating those difficulties by the mutilation of the family papers, and by his admission that, in writing the story and drawing the map, he had had to make the best he could out of very imperfect materials.

3. That such errors and misstatements as appear in his story were due to his having misread or misunderstood such parts of the family papers as he was able to recover when at last he realized their value.

4. That the strange names which appear are the result of the unfamiliarity of the travellers and the compiler (all of them Venetians) with the forms and sounds of Northern names and words.

5. That, amongst much which is puzzling, there are certainly many things in the story that are true in themselves, though distorted or misapplied through want of knowledge on the part of the compiler.

6. That the story was accepted at the time of its publication as genuine, and was so treated by many later writers.

7. That the map was adopted by Mercator, Ortelius, and many other leading geographers, who embodied its materials in their maps.

8. That, even had Nicolò Zeno been so dishonourable as to put forward as genuine a false story and map, there did not exist elsewhere in Europe, in his day, materials for the work which he produced, and that he must, therefore, have possessed some special sources, such as the family papers and the old map from which he alleged that he had derived his information.

As to the first of these arguments, it may be answered that mendacity is, unfortunately, not confined to any particular class of society; that a reputation for learning was as easily acquired on very slight grounds by a rich and powerful man in the sixteenth century, as has been the case in later times; and that the motives for the perpetration of many undoubted literary frauds and forgeries have been very slight, and, apparently, inadequate.

Very little is known of the private character of Nicolò Zeno the younger; and, though it is just and fair to take into account, as presumptive evidence in his favour, the improbability that a man of his position would have published his book and map with the deliberate intention of committing a fraud on the public, such evidence is not only not conclusive, but is liable to be upset by positive evidence and to be outweighed by greater probabilities on the other side.

The circumstances connected with the literary frauds perpetrated by Annius of Viterbo had several points in common with the case now under consideration. His *Commentaria super Diversorum Auctorum*, first published in Rome in 1498, contained pretended works of Manetho, Berosus, and others, which he alleged were copied from fragments of manuscripts, some of which he had found at Mantua, and others of which he had obtained from Armenia. The genuineness of the work was quickly suspected, but the high rank which Annius held at the Roman Court, and his previously irreproachable character, induced many to believe in his assertions. Some pronounced the whole of the fragments to be forgeries; others took the opposite view and obstinately contended for their authenticity; a third party declared that, though the fragments were forgeries, Annius had published them in good faith, and that his credulity had been imposed upon; while a fourth opinion was that the materials were partly authentic, but that their editor had introduced errors through trying to give an undue importance to his work. So far the circumstances are nearly parallel with those surrounding the work of Nicolò Zeno. The book of Annius is now thoroughly discredited, but where was his motive for concocting it? There is no apparent motive, unless it be a love of notoriety and mystery.

The names of Lauder, Chatterton, and Ireland all suggest literary frauds founded upon pretended original documents.

William Lauder published in 1751 his *Essay on Milton's Use and Imitation of the Moderns in his "Paradise Lost,"* in which he charged Milton with plagiarizing Grotius and others; and, in order to make out his case, interpolated passages of his own in his quotations from Grotius' *Adamus Exsul*, and other works. The fraud was immediately detected by Bishop Douglas, who exposed it in his *Vindication of Milton from Lauder's Charge of Plagiarism*, 1751. Lauder afterwards made a written confession, which was dictated by Dr. Johnson.

Thomas Chatterton, in 1768, when only sixteen, published his *Description of the Friars passing over the Old Bridge*, and, soon after, the *Rowley Poems*, which he professed to have derived from ancient manuscripts found in the muniment room of St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, of which church his father had formerly been sexton. The fraud was, however, after achieving a certain measure of success, soon detected and exposed. Chatterton died in 1770.

William Henry Ireland, born in 1771, forged various legal documents under the seal of Shakespeare, and some dramatic works which he

pretended to have found at Stratford-on-Avon. One of these dramas, *Vortigern*, was purchased by Sheridan and performed at Drury Lane Theatre before the fraud was discovered. Ireland afterwards published, in 1805, a shameless and impenitent written confession. He died in 1835.

Fictitious travels have been, perhaps, the most plentiful subjects of literary impostures, so much so that "travellers' tales" have become proverbially the objects of suspicion.

In some cases, the reports of travellers have been unjustly suspected. Thus many of Tavernier's allegations<sup>1</sup> were for a long time considered to be fictitious, but were afterwards proved to be true. For many years, some of James Bruce's statements<sup>2</sup> were generally disbelieved, and it was not until the expedition to Abyssinia, in 1868, that the strangest of them were confirmed. Dr. Chaillu suffered as Bruce did.<sup>3</sup> His facts were openly disputed, and he was given the lie in the public lecture room; but subsequent investigations confirmed his statements and established his truthfulness.

The late Dr. Robert Brown, referring to Leo Africanus, writes<sup>4</sup>: "If we find that he is worthy of general confidence on matters which can be checked, it is justifiable to assume that he is equally to be trusted when his statements cannot be verified."

This is a reasonable proposition, but is not the converse equally true? What conclusion can be come to as to those travellers' tales which subsequent investigations prove to be mainly false, as those of Benjamin of Tudela,<sup>5</sup> Sir John Mandeville,<sup>6</sup> Psalmanazaar,<sup>7</sup> Maldonado,<sup>8</sup> De Fuca,<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Les six Voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier*. Paris, 1676, 2 vols., 4to. Translation by Dr. V. Ball. London and New York, 1889, 2 vols. 8vo.

<sup>2</sup> *Travels to discover the Source of the Nile*, 1768-1773, by James Bruce of Kinnaird, F.R.S. 5 vols. 4to. London, 1790.

<sup>3</sup> *Adventures in Equatorial Africa*, by Paul B. du Chaillu. London, 1861. 8vo.

<sup>4</sup> *The History and Description of Africa*, written by Leo Africanus, translated into English by John Pory, and edited by Dr. Robert Brown. Hakluyt Society, 1896.

<sup>5</sup> *Itinerarium*, published in many editions and various languages. His travels were alleged to have taken place between 1160 and 1173.

<sup>6</sup> *The Book of John Maundeville, Knight of Ingelonde*. [Brit. Mus. Bib. Reg. 17 cxxxviii.] Printed in many editions and several languages. The date of his alleged travels was between 1322 and 1356.

<sup>7</sup> *An Historical and Geographical Description of Formosa*. London, 1704; and *Memoirs of* \* \* \* commonly known by the name of George Psalmanazar . . . written by himself. London, 1765.

<sup>8</sup> Amoretti, *Viaggio dal Mare Atlantico al Pacifico per la via del Nordovest, etc.* Milan, 1811. Barrow's *Chronological History of Voyages into the Arctic Regions*. London, 1818, p. 125, and Appendix II. Burney, *Collection of Voyages*, vol. v., p. 165.

<sup>9</sup> Michael Lok in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, vol. iii., p. 849. Burney, *Collection of Voyages*, vol. ii., p. 110.



and Nicolò Zeno? There can be but one which is reasonable, namely, that the demonstrable falsehoods they contain taint the whole works of the authors, and justify the conclusion that they are altogether unreliable from cover to cover—*falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus*. In ordinary life, a man detected in a lie never fully regains credit; and a literary lie is the worst of lies, as it is generally more far-reaching and long-enduring than a verbal falsehood.

Other writers, such as Bernard O'Reilly<sup>1</sup> come into a less objectionable, but still not admirable category. Their accounts of the countries described by them may have been in the main correct, but they are discredited by the authors' fraudulent claims to have been themselves the actual travellers and observers; the truth being that they were only plagiarists, or, at the best, compilers from the works or reports of others.

As actual exploration of the world's surface has extended, it has become increasingly difficult to use travels as the foundation for literary impostures; but, even so lately as 1875, a fictitious work on New Guinea<sup>2</sup> achieved some success. As it contained marvellous accounts of things huge and new, and was brightly and cleverly written, it would probably have longer continued to be seriously accepted, had it not happened that H.M.S. "Basilisk" was exploring that island at the time. On her return, the imposture was exposed, and the book has never been defended against Captain Moresby's destructive criticism.<sup>3</sup>

Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), though never intended to deceive, was, nevertheless, accepted for some years as a genuine account of the actual adventures of a real man. Dean Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726) and Raspe's *Travels of Baron Munchausen* (1785) were simply vehicles for satire. Imaginary travels have also been constantly and legitimately used as the foundations for stirring, and even instructive, romances.

Most fictitious works of travel purport to describe the adventures and observations of the authors themselves. Zeno is singular in this respect: he only pretends to describe the travels of other persons; but he adopts the favourite device of other literary impostors, and professes to found his book upon fragments of ancient documents marvellously rescued from oblivion.

As to the second argument in favour of Zeno (viz., that his frank

<sup>1</sup> *Greenland, the Adjacent Seas, and the North-West Passage*. London, 1818.

<sup>2</sup> *Wanderings in New Guinea*, by Captain J. A. Lawson. London, 1875.

<sup>3</sup> *Discoveries in New Guinea*, by Captain John Moresby. London, 1876, pp. 321-327.

admissions as to the defective sources of his narrative give evidence of his good faith): this is a fair view to take on one side. But, on the other hand, it may be contended, with equal reason and justice, that this apparent candour is evidence of the caution and astuteness of a dishonest compiler. Zeno must surely have foreseen that, sooner or later, the flaws in his story would be discovered, and that explanations would be required. His admissions, in that case, would serve to shield him from serious blame and his memory from shame, by suggesting that, as his sources of information were defective or misleading, any errors or misstatements were not altogether his fault.

It will be well in this connection to distinguish between the different component parts of the narrative, and to estimate their several values as evidence, accepting, for this purpose, Zeno's own account of them.

First, there are the letters of Nicolò Zeno, the knight and traveller, to his brother Antonio, in Venice.

Secondly, the letters of Antonio to his brother Carlo, which also contain mention of the alleged Book by Antonio, giving accounts of the countries, the monstrous fishes, the customs and laws of Frisland, Island, Estland, the Kingdom of Norway, Estotiland, and Drogeo, and the life of Nicolò Zeno, the traveller, and the separate Life and acts of Zichmni, the Prince of Immortal Memory, which works Nicolò, the younger, asserts that he destroyed, and which are, certainly, not forthcoming.

Thirdly, there is the story told by the fisherman of Frisland to Zichmni and Antonio Zeno; and,

Fourthly, the preliminary remarks and connecting links supplied by the compiler Nicolò Zeno, the younger.

Of these, the letters included under the first two heads would furnish good documentary evidence, were it not for the facts that the original letters are not in existence; that no person has ever seen, or even been said to have seen, those originals; and that we have only the unsupported statement of Nicolò Zeno to show that they ever existed. Even if his statement be accepted, the story which he puts forward is, avowedly, compiled from the remaining fragments of those mutilated letters (the books having been utterly lost), collected many years after the letters themselves had been torn in pieces. These considerations reduce to a minimum the value of the evidence afforded by those parts of the narrative drawn from the letters.

The story of the Frisland fisherman, which comes to us through

Antonio Zeno's letters, not only shares the weakness of the letters themselves as evidence, but is open to the further objections that, even had the letters been genuine, the story was itself mere hearsay; and that the truth of it failed, according to Antonio's own account, to stand the test of experiment.

The portions of the narrative supplied by Nicolò Zeno, the younger, consist, in part, of family history (in which he would not be likely to go far astray), and, in part, of his own personal history so far as it affects the story of the letters, of Antonio's lost book, and of the rotten old map. This is direct evidence, and is the best in kind offered by Nicolò Zeno, the younger; but even this is tainted, as its value depends upon his credibility; and, as in that other part of his story relating to Icaria, the compiler has undoubtedly put forward fiction as fact, and his veracity is, consequently, not to be relied upon.

The best of the evidence before us is, therefore, of that very inconclusive kind which requires strong corroboration from independent and untainted sources before it can be credited. Not only is it without any such corroboration, but the story is, in many points, contradicted by all human knowledge and experience, and is at variance with facts now well established.

How strange it is, moreover, that those valuable documents of the Zeno family should have lain unnoticed for 150 years or so! Some (and those the most important) were, according to the compiler, addressed to the great Carlo Zeno, whose descendants were living as late as 1653. How, then, did the books, the letters, and the map come to be in the possession, and at the mercy, of the boy Nicolò, a descendant of Antonio, in the third or fourth decade of the sixteenth century? His father Catarino only died in 1557, and, if any one in Antonio's line had possessed them it would have been the father, not the son. And what, it may be asked, suddenly informed Nicolò of the value of the documents? May it not have been the discovery of America and the world-wide and increasing interest excited by accounts of it?

It is to be noted that Nicolò Zeno's book was published in the year following his father's death. Why was it not published before? If the date of Barbaro's *Discendenze Patrizie* (*viz.*, 1536), is correct, the contents of the alleged documents must have been known then. Nicolò was then twenty-one years of age. Why should he have delayed twenty-two years more before giving to the public the story of his ancestors' travels, so curious and valuable—if true? It seems probable that it

was only on the death of his father that he felt himself fully at liberty, in conjunction with his able coadjutor, the skilful wood-engraver and publisher Marcolini, to carry out the idea of concocting a book which should reflect credit upon the Zeno family and upon the State of Venice, and at the same time detract from the fame of Columbus, a native of the rival state of Genoa. The dates of Catarino Zeno's death, and of the publication of his son's book, are certainly significant.

The third excuse (*viz.*, that the errors and misstatements of the compiler were due to his misreading or misunderstanding of the family documents), though it may protect him to some extent, does not tend to confirm his alleged reputation for learning. But the fact that it has been put forward on his behalf proves how wisely provident was his "candour" in depreciating his own work, and how well it has served, not only to disarm his opponents, but to bring him adherents.

The fourth excuse (*viz.*, that Venetians would be unfamiliar with the forms and sounds of Northern words, and that the strange Zenian names are the result of attempts by Venetians to write down such words) may contain a certain amount of truth; but, in attempting to give practical illustrations of its working Major has certainly overstepped the bounds of probability. Such a transmutation as that, for example, from *Norderdahl* to *Bondendon*<sup>1</sup> puts too great a tax on the imagination of most healthy-minded mortals. It must be remembered also that Nicolò and Antonio Zeno, the travellers, were not mere clowns, but gentlemen educated at least so well as to be able to write, and that they were supposed to be in constant and intimate personal communication with their alleged employer. One of them (Antonio) was with the strangely-named Zichmni for fourteen years, and is alleged to have written his life; yet Major, who, following Forster, believed Zichmni to be identical with Henry Sinclair, is quite content with the theory that his Captain-general, right hand man and biographer, could get no closer to the proper spelling of "Sinclair" than "Zichmni"!

The fifth argument (*viz.*, that there is much distorted truth in the narrative) is undeniably true; but it is quite worthless as a defence of Zeno, if it can be shown, as has been done, whence the true portions have been derived, and that they have been misapplied in such a way

<sup>1</sup> Major, *Voyages of the Brothers Zeno*, p. xvi.

that, in the narrative, they no longer represent the truth. Professor Gaffarel, a staunch adherent of Zeno, has said :<sup>1</sup>

*On a encore prétendu que ce voyage fut inventé par un Vénétien jaloux de Gênes, et désireux de rabaisser la gloire du génois Colomb. On n'y trouve pourtant aucune récrimination, ni même aucune allusion contre Colomb. Les pays décrits par Nicolò et Antonio Zeno ne présentent aucune analogie avec les descriptions du navigateur génois. Rien pourtant n'eût été plus facile, si la révélation eût été apocryphe et dirigée contre Colomb, que d'y introduire la description très reconnaissable par exemple d'Hispaniola, de Cuba ou de toute autre Antille. Or rien dans la relation ne ressemble, de près ou de loin, aux terres signalées par Colomb. L'inventeur de la relation, quel qu'il soit, aurait donc bien mal exécuté son dessein si réellement il avait cherché à décrier Colomb, et voulu le présenter comme le plagiaire des Zeni.*

This, however, is precisely what Zeno has done, though Gaffarel shows clearly in the foregoing passage that he had not discovered that fact.

The sixth and seventh arguments (*viz.*, that the story and map were accepted as genuine by many writers and cartographers of Zeno's own and later times, and embodied by them in their books and maps), prove nothing except that such writers and geographers were not sufficiently cautious, and were too eager to put new matter into their books and upon their maps without testing its authenticity. It is to be noted, in connection with this, that the geographers to whose judgment Terra-Rossa and Zurla appeal, show upon their maps, almost without exception, the huge Southern Continent, covering a sixth part of the surface of the globe, which, as is now well known, never existed in historic times—if ever. There was, perhaps, some excuse for Ruscelli, Molelius, Mercator, and Ortelius, and other geographers of the second half of the sixteenth century, for accepting as genuine the narrative and map on the faith of a man of Nicolò Zeno's position; indeed, it would have been difficult, if not impossible, for them at once to test his accuracy. It may be added that an adverse critic of a Member of the Council of Ten, in Venice, in the middle of the sixteenth century, would have been a remarkably bold, not to say foolhardy, man. There was less excuse for Terra-Rossa at the end of the seventeenth century, and scarcely any for Zurla and his successors in the nineteenth century,

<sup>1</sup> Gaffarel, *Histoire de la Découverte de l'Amérique*. Paris, 1892, vol. i., p. 373.

unless some indulgence may be allowed to the Venetians among their number, on the ground of patriotic feeling and the natural bias arising from it.

The eighth argument (*viz.*, that Nicolò Zeno must have had some genuine materials, otherwise unknown, upon which to found his history and geography) would be well-nigh unanswerable could it be shown to be founded on fact; but, as appears above, there actually existed in Venice, early in the sixteenth century, books and maps, easily accessible to any man with a few ducats in his pocket, from which Nicolò Zeno could have derived all the more prominent portions of both text and map. These materials have been pointed out, and the pages of the books, and the titles of the maps in which they are to be found, given above.

As to the sources of Zeno's text, it has been shown that the pseudo-American portions are parts of original accounts of the voyages of Columbus, Vespucci and others, or of works drawn directly from those accounts; and, as to the northern portions, that they are from Olaus Magnus and other published books relating to the Northern Regions, all of them earlier in date than 1558. These works have not generally been copied exactly by Nicolò Zeno in his *Annals*; but their influence upon his own narrative is quite unmistakable, and even the wording of certain passages which he has taken from them may be recognized in places. The materials are drawn from many sources, and are cunningly interwoven so as to form the plausible and specious story which is embodied in the *Annals*. The work has, perhaps, deserved some portion of the success which it has achieved on account of its ingenuity alone.

As to the sources of the "Carta da Navegar," they are to be found in at least eleven maps of different dates, ranging between 1457 and 1558, and of Italian, Catalan, Scandinavian (published in Venice), German and Flemish origin. These maps are of such various forms and of such different characters that it is impossible that they could all have been copied from any one map. Several of them also contain names correctly and intelligibly formed and written, which, when they appear on the Zeno map, are so distorted and misspelt that they represent no recognizable localities. Besides this, the alleged "Carta da Navegar" of Nicolò and Antonio Zeno, though presented as dating from the year 1380, was utterly unknown throughout the whole of the fifteenth century, and during the sixteenth century, until 1558.

The original map was not produced to the world even then, and was only made known to the public in the form of a woodcut map representing an alleged amended copy. The Zenian "Carta da Navegar" could not, therefore, have been the original of the other maps mentioned, nor even have had a common origin with them, but they, or similar early maps, must have been the originals from which the Zenian map was compiled. In the face of these facts, this great argument of Humboldt,<sup>1</sup> so confidently quoted by Major<sup>2</sup>: *En examinant avec impartialité la relation des Zeni, on y trouve de la candeur et des descriptions détaillées d'objets dont rien en Europe ne pouvait leur avoir donné l'idée*, falls to the ground. It is by far the strongest argument ever put forward in favour of Zeno, the younger; but it did not fully convince Humboldt himself, for he goes on to say, further on,<sup>3</sup> *Mais le silence de Fra Mauro, géographe vénitien d'une immense érudition, et l'ignorance parfaite du nom de la Frislande dans les Sagas et les annales de l'Islande et de la Norvège sont deux circonstances bien difficiles à expliquer.*

It may also be repeated that the alleged Northern Voyages of the brothers Zeni are wholly unknown except through the *Annals* of Nicolò Zeno, the younger, either directly (from that book itself) or, more often, indirectly through the reprint in the collection of voyages, which is inaccurately attributed to Ramusio. No independent allusion to the Zeno voyages is known otherwise to occur in any prior literary or historical production, unless in Barbaro's manuscript *Discendenze Patrizie*, for which Nicolò Zeno may easily have supplied the material for the passage relating to Antonio Zeno, either at the assigned, but doubtful, date, 1536, or later.

Moreover, it is nowhere stated, either by Nicolò Zeno himself or by any other writer, that the alleged original manuscripts destroyed by Nicolò Zeno, or their fragments (marvellously collected years after their mutilation) have ever been seen by any eyes but those of the compiler of the *Annals*.

It also seems extraordinary that, after the compiler had realized the extreme value of these fragments, he should not have been careful to preserve such precious *pièces justificatives*.

Another suspicious feature in the Zenian narrative is the omission of all personal names except those of "Zichmni" and of members of the

<sup>1</sup> *Examen Critique*, Tom. II., p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> *Examen Critique*, Tom. II., p. 124.

<sup>3</sup> *Voyages of the Zeni*, p. ix.



Zeno family, and of all dates, except the unimportant "1200" and the important "1380," which latter has been proved by Zurla (who assumed the truth of the story and is one of the younger Zeno's principal supporters) to be wrong by at least ten years.

As to the map, we have shown the sources of every detail, except a few of the names in Greenland and Frislanda and the wonderful monastery of St. Thomas in Greenland (of the former existence of which there is no independent evidence whatever). All the positive evidence which we now possess as to the east coast of Greenland points to the conclusion that no such monastery as that described by Zeno, the younger, can have ever existed anywhere near the place assigned to it by the Zeno narrative or map.<sup>1</sup> The very form of the name given on the map, *viz.*, *S. Tomas Zenobium*, is suggestive of fiction; for the compiler has given to the first two syllables of the Latin *cænobium* (Gr. *Κονώβιον*) the form of his own family name. There is no authority whatever for such a transmutation.

As to the south-westerly extension of Greenland and the comparatively correct mapping of Denmark, which have been so persistently claimed as original features of the Zeno map, it has been shown, without a shadow of a doubt, that they have been derived from earlier maps.

In view of Nicolò Zeno's own statement of the manner in which his work was compiled, it is somewhat remarkable, notwithstanding the ingenuity of the composition, that it should have been so long accepted as a genuine account of travels in the fourteenth century. It might have been expected that, after the more glaring falsehoods had been detected, the work would have been discredited, and read only for amusement, instead of being regarded as one from which useful geographical and historical information might be derived. Zeno has had far more than fair-play in this respect. Many notable names have appeared among those of his defenders; though, no doubt, some of these latter have been led to treat his work as genuine, because it seemed to support their own theories, now broken down, as to the relative situations of the ancient Eastern and Western Scandinavian colonies in Greenland. But it must be remembered that there is scarcely any limit to the gullibility of the public, as evidenced in our own times by the fact that, notwithstanding frequent public exposures, the "Spanish prisoner" fraud and the "confidence trick" still find numbers of ready dupes.

<sup>1</sup> The place assigned is, in fact, if we follow Zeno's latitudes and longitudes, in the middle of the sea.

For the reasons adduced in the foregoing pages, and from the evidence embodied in the appendices, it may fairly be concluded :

1. That, though Nicolò and Antonio Zeno may have sailed into the North Sea, and may even have visited the Continental Frislanda, Frisia, or Friesland, and may have written letters to Venice during their travels, Nicolò Zeno, the younger, certainly did not compile his narrative from any such letters, but from the published works of Bordone, Olaus Magnus, and other authors indicated above.

2. That the two accounts of Greenland attributed to Nicolò and Antonio Zeno are untrue as applied to that country, and could not have been honestly written by any persons who had visited it.

3. That there is no evidence that Antonio Zeno ever visited any part of America, or any of its islands, as claimed by Marco Barbaro, Terra-Rossa, Zurla, Beauvois, and others ; nor, indeed, do the *Annals* themselves state that he did so.

4. That there is no evidence to show that either Christopher Columbus or Juan de la Cosa ever heard of "Frislanda."

5. That, in fact, no such island as Zeno's Frislanda ever existed, his map of it having been compounded from earlier maps of Iceland and the Faroes.

6. That Zichmni, if such a man ever existed, was certainly not identical with Henry Sinclair, Earl of Orkney.

7. That the story that the "Carta da Navegar" was copied from an old map found in the archives of the Zeno family is a pure fiction ; and that it was, in fact, concocted from several maps, of various dates and nationalities, and not from any one map.

8. That a sufficient motive for the compilation of Zeno's story and map is to be found in a desire to connect, even indirectly, the voyages of his ancestors with a discovery of America earlier than that by Columbus, in order to gratify the compiler's family pride and his own personal vanity, and to pander to that Venetian jealousy of other maritime nations (especially of the Genoese) which was so strong in the early days of the decadence of the great Venetian Republic, and which, later on, appeared so forcibly in the works of Terra-Rossa, Zurla, and other Venetian writers.

9. That however harmless may have been the original motive of Nicolò Zeno, the younger, for the compilation of the narrative and map, it ceased to be innocent when he re-edited his map for publica-

tion in Ruscelli's edition of *Ptolemy* (1561), whose work was, in Zeno's time, accepted as the greatest authority on geography.

10. That Zeno's work has been one of the most ingenious, most successful, and most enduring literary impostures which has ever gulled a confiding public.

We may fitly conclude our indictment by quoting the trade motto of Francisco Marcolini, the printer of Zeno's book, which appears both at the beginning and the end of that book :

"VERITAS FILIA TEMPORIS."







APPENDICES.



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#### APPENDIX I.

Photographic facsimile of the Title, Dedication, Pedigree, Sub-title, Folios 45-58, and Colophon, of the original edition of the *Commentarii* or *Annals* by Nicolò Zeno, the younger, published by Francesco Marcantoni in Venice, in 1558.

[A facsimile of the map which illustrated the above-mentioned work is given in Plate XI.]







REGISTRO.

A B C D E F G

Tutti sono quaderni, eccetto G  
che è quaterno.

DE I COMMENTARII DEL  
*Viaggio in Persia di M. Cacerio Zeno il K.  
& delle guerre fatte nell'Imperio Persiano,  
dal tempo di Vissungiano in qua.*

LIBRO DUE.

ET DELLO SCOPRIMENTO  
dell'Isola Frislanda, Eslanda, Engvondlanda, Eslo  
rilanda, & Icaria, fatto sotto il Polo Artico, da  
due fratelli zeni, M. Nicolò il K. e M. Antonio.

LIBRO VNO.

CON UN DISEGNO PARTICOLARE DI  
tutte lecite parte di tramontana da lor scoperte.

CON GRATIA, ET PRIVILEGIO



VERI TAS.

IN VENETIA  
Per Francesco Marcolini. M D C LIII.

AL REVERENDISSIMO  
MONSIGNOR M.  
DANIEL BARBARO  
ELETTO PATRIARCA  
D'AQUILEGIA.

Francesco Marcelini. Vmil seruo.

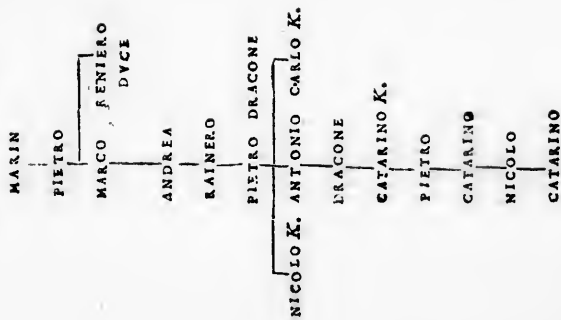


REVERENDIS-  
simo Signor mio,  
mandando io in  
luce i Commem-  
tarij de tutte le  
guerre Persiane,  
fatte dal tempo de  
V. successore in  
qua. Con il v'ing-  
gio del Magnifi-  
co M. Caterino Zeno il Caudillere, fatto a sua Si-  
gnoria come Ambasciatore di questo Illustrissi-  
mo Dominio al detto Re di Persia, il quale fu il  
primo che ardi di andar a tãta et così jactata lega-  
tione. Et il sopprimiento delle Isola, Frilandia,  
Estlandia, Engoueland, Esttilandia, & Tartia,

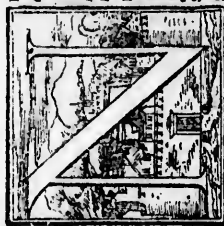
A

fatto dal Magnifico M. Nicolo il Caudillere & il  
Magnifico M. Antonio Zeni, hauendo ornareli  
la fronte cò il celebrato nome della Signoria Vostra  
Reuerendis. dedicandogli, & per la fratellanza in  
amore che ha Vostra Reuerendis. Signoria col  
Magnifico M. Nicolo Zeno. Quelli che legge-  
ranno trouaranno cose marauigliose di guerre, di  
costumi, di habiti: & di uiver di genti: & sti di  
paesi, & animi di diuersi, & p'segioni. Et fra l'al-  
tre marauiglie, narra il Magnifico M. Nicolo il  
K. hauer ueluto in Groelandia faro il Polo Ar-  
tico (dove sono freddi gran' ni, & neue, & ghiacci grandi), uno mon-  
te di frati nominato  
S. Tomaso, piu miracolofo, che marauiglioso per-  
che non solo quelli padri si riparano dalli grandissi-  
mi freddi, senza fuoco, ma che in acquistando li terre  
ni, con l'acqua tagliente che esce di un monte uici-  
no al lor monistero gli fanno produrre herbe fiori  
& fructi necessarii da uiver. Et quel che piu mi  
per marauiglioso, è il cuocere il pane senza fuoco,  
con ditta acqua buy. nte, che con il loro artificio  
lo cuoceno meglio che non s'fa in un forno bene al-  
do. Et scaldano le stanze & la Chiesa a uso di stu-  
fe a lor modo, tal che le genti v'ozze di quei paesi  
tengono quelli frati come Dei, & li honorano, &  
obediſcono come loro Signori. Di Venetia di  
Decembre M D L V I I I.

ALBRO DELLA  
FAMIGLIA ZENA.



45  
DELLO SCOPRIMENTO DEL  
l'Isle Frislanda, Eslanda, Engouelend Esso-  
tilanda, &c. Icaria, fatto per due fratel-  
li Zeni M. Nicolo il Cavaliere, &c.  
da Antonio Libro Vno, col di-  
segno di dette Isle.



F. MILLE, &  
ducento anni del  
la nostra salute  
se molto famoso  
in Venetia M.  
marin zeno chia-  
mato per la sua  
gran virtù, et de  
sirezza d'inge-  
gno possedè in  
alcune Repubb. d'Italia, ne' governi de'quali si  
portò sempre così bene, che era amato, & Gran-  
demente riverito il suo nome da quelli arvi, che  
non l'hauerano mai per presenza conosciuto, et tra  
l'altre sue belle opere particolarmente si narra,

che pacificò terre gravi disorde cittadinesche na  
te tra i cronisti, dalle quali si affrettavano grandi  
motui di guerra, se la sua estrema diligenza, e  
buon consiglio non usi fosse interposto. Di co-  
sui nacque M. Pietro, che fu padre del Duce Ri-  
nieri, il qual Duce morendo senza lasciar di se fi-  
gliuoli fece suo herede M. Andrea, figliuolo di  
M. Marco suo fratello. Questo M. Andrea fu  
Capitan Generale, e Procuratore di grandissi-  
ma riputatione per molte rare parti, che erano in  
lui; e fu suo figliuolo M. Rinieri, Senatore illu-  
stre, e più volte Consigliero; di cui usi M. Pie-  
tro Capitan Generale della lega de' Christiani con-  
tra i Turchi, chiamato Dragone, perche nel suo scu-  
do portò in cambio di un draccone, che haueua  
prima, un Dragone; il quale fu padre di M. Cri-  
stan Generale contra Genovesi in quelle periculose  
guerre, che furono fatte, mentre quasi tutti i mag-  
giori Principi dell' Europa oppugnarono la nostra  
libertà, e l' imperio, nelle quali per il suo valore  
liberò non alicamenti, che un altro Enrico Camillo  
Roma, la sua patria da un instante pericolo, che  
correa di non diuenir preda de' suoi nimici onde  
per ciò se ne acquistò il cognome di Leone, portan-  
dolo per eterna memoria delle sue prodezze nello  
scudo dipinto; Di M. Carlo furono fratelli M.

Niccolò il Caudiere, e M. Antonio, padre di  
M. Dragone, del quale nacque M. Caterino, che  
generò M. Pietro, di cui uscì un altro M. Cateri-  
no, che morì l'anno passato, padre di Niccolò, che  
ancor uive. Or M. Niccolò il Caudiere, come  
huom di alto spirito, doppo la sedetta guerra Ge-  
nuense di Chioggia, che liude tanto da far à i mo-  
nisti di Chioggia, e in grandissimo desiderio di  
uider il mondo, e peregrinare, e farsi capoe  
di uarij costumi, e di lingue de' gli huomini, ac-  
cò che con le eccessiui spasse meglio far ser-  
uigio alla sua patria, e à se acquistar fama, e  
honore. La onde partì, e armata una nave delle  
sue proprie ricchezze, che amplissime haueua  
sui fuori de' i nostri mari, e passò lo stretto di  
Gibilterra nauigò alcuni dì per l'Oceano sempre  
seruendosi verso la Tramontana con animo di ue-  
der l'Inghilterra, e la Fiandra, doue, assalta-  
to in quel mare da una gran fortuna molti di an-  
do trasportato dalle onde, e di ueni senza sa-  
pere, doue si fosse, quando finalmente scoprendo  
terra, ne potendo più reggersi contra quella fieris-  
sima bonafica, suppe nell' isola Frislanda, saluan-  
dosi gli huomini, e gran parte delle robbe, che  
erano sì la nave, e questo fu l'anno mille e tre-  
cento, e ottanta; Qui concorrendogli Islandi ar-  
mati in gran numero assaltarono M. Niccolò, e

i suoi, che tutti tremagliati per la fortuna possente, non sapiano, in che mondo si fossero, & per conseguenza non erano atti a far un picciolo insulto, non che a difendersi gagliardamente, come il pericolo il portava contr' i sassaniti; & in ogni modo facebbono stati mal menati, se la buona ventura non faceva, che casualmente si fosse trovato in vicino un Principe con gente armata, il quale inteso, che s'entrava per all'ora una gran nave nell'isola corsa di romore, & alle grida, che si facevano contra i nostri poveri marinai, & cacciati via quelli del paese, parlò in Latino, & dimandò, che genti erano, & di dove venivano, & saputo, che venivano d'Italia, & che erano uomini del nostro paese, se preso di grandissima allegrezza, Orde, promettendo a ciascuno, che non verrebbero alcun dispiacere, & che erano venuti in luogo, nel quale farebbono benissimo trattati. Or meglio vedrai, si tolse tutti sopra la sua fede. Era regnati eran Signore, & possedeva alcune isole dette Portland, vicine a Frislanda da mezzo giorno: le più reche & popolate di tutte quelle parti, & se chiamava Zichimi; & oltre le dette picciole isole, signoreggiaua sua terra la Duchessa di Sora, posta dalla banda verso Scotia. Di queste parti di Transmontana m'è paruto di trattare un poco più della corsa da navigare, che ancora mi rim-

an hanno tra le antiche usanze cose di età; l'apotele, con tutto che sia Marcia, & uerba di molti cani, m'è riuscita assai bene; & potrà darsi agli occhi di chi si dilettava di queste cose, servirà quasi per un lume a dargli l'intelligenza di quel, che forse esse non saprebbe così ben sapere. Con tutto stato, che s'è detto, Zichimi era belluoso, & valente, & sopra tutto famosissimo nelle cose di mare, & per hauer havuto vittoria l'anno avanti del Re di Noruega, che signoreggiava l'Isola, e molti huom, che desiderava con l'arme di farsi molto più illustre, che non era, eua le sue genti era di scio per far l'impresa, & acquistarsi il paese di Frislanda, che è Isola assai maggiore, che l'Irlanda; Onde, vedendo che Ma. Nicolo era per sua sposa, & nelle cose marinarie, & della guerra grandemente pratico, gli commise, che andasse sull'armata con tutti i suoi, imponendo al Capitano, che l'honorasse, & in tutte le cose si adosse del suo consiglio, come di quel, che conosceva, & sapete da se molto per lungo uso di navigare, & dell'arme. Questa armata di Zichimi era di tredici legni, due solamente da remo, il resto navigli, & una nave, con la quale navigavano verso l'Isola, & s'insignorirono con poca fatica di Ledano, e di Hofe, & di alcune altre isole, nelle quali era un golfo, chiamano Sudero, dove nel porto del-

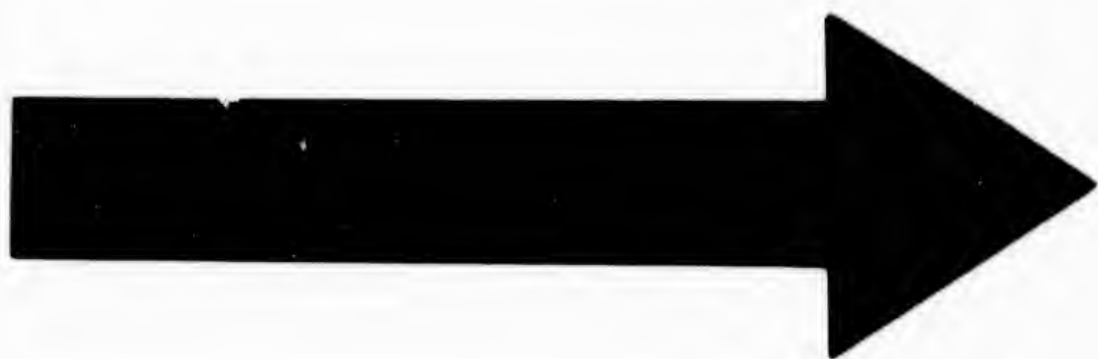
La terra detta Santeſſa preſero alcuni nauiglieri di peſce ſalato, e trouato qui Zichmini, che con l'eſercito di terra era venuto acquiſtando tut- to il peſce, poco uſi ſi fermarono, poſche fatto uela- pur per Ponente peruennero ſin all'altro capo del Goſfo, & giuandoſi di nuovo trouarono alcune Iſole, e terre, che furono tutte da lor ridotte in po- ter di Zichmini. Queſto mare da lor nauigato era in maniera pieno di Seccagne, & di Scogli, che ſe non foſſe ſtato M. Nicolo il ſuo Piloto, & i ma- rinai Venetiani, tutta quell'armata, per giudi- cio di quanti u'erano ſu, ſi ſarebbe perduta, per la poca pratica, che haueno quelli di Zichmini a comparatione de i noſtri, che nell'arte erano ſi- prio diſi nati, creſciuti, & inueſchati. Or, ha- uendo l'armata ſate quelle coſe, che ſi ſono dette, il Capitano col conſiglio di M. Nicolo uolſe, che ſi facceſſe ſcila a una terra, chiamata Bonadon per intendere i ſuccceſſi della guerra di Zichmini, do- ue inteſe con ſuo molto piacere, che egli haueua ſar- ro una gran battaglia, & haueua rotto l'eſercito nimico; per laqual ſua vittoria tutta l'Iſola gli mandaua Ambaſciadori a ſorgli deditione, luan- do le ſue inſegne per tutte le terre, & caſtella; per il che gli parue di ſopraſtar in quel luogo ſin alla ſua uenuta, dicendoli per fermo, ch'egli coſo u ha- ueua da ſoffere. Al ſuo arriuare ſi ſettero grande

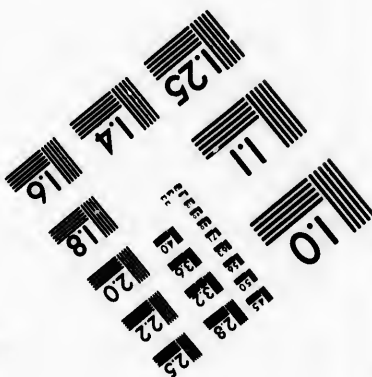
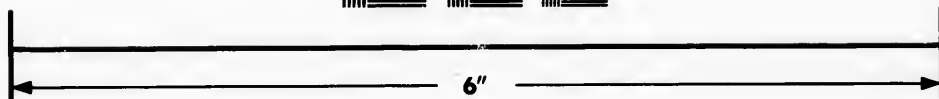
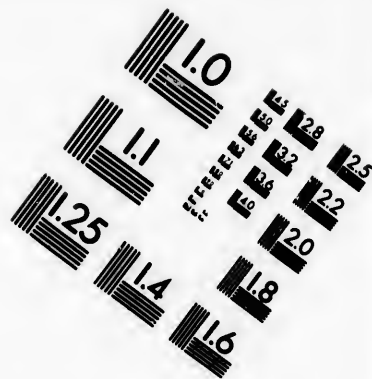
dimoſtratione di allegrezza, coſi per la vittoria di terra, come per quella di mare, per la quale era- no tanto honorati, & celebrati da tutti i Venetiani, che non ſi ſentua d'altro parlare, che di lo- ro, & del valore di M. Nicolo. Onde il Premieſo, che era da ſi amantiffimo de' ualenti huomini, & di quelli ſpecialmente, che ſi portauano bene nelle coſe marittime, ſi fece uenir M. Nicolo, et dopo hauerlo con molte honorate parole comendato, et lodato la ſua grande induſtria & l'ingegno, dal- le quali due coſe diceua, che riconſceſſe un molto grande, & rileuato beneficio, come era quel di ha- uergli ſaluata l'armata, & acquiſtato ſenza alcun na ſua ſarca tanti luoghi, lo fece caudiere, & honorati, & donati di richiſſimi preſentati tutti i ſuoi, parti di quel luogo, & a cauſa di triouſanti per la vittoria haueua aiuto alla uolta di Friſlan- da, città principale dell'Iſola, poſta dalla banda di Levante uerſo Oſtro dentro un goſſo, che uolſi ne ſia quell'Iſola, nel quale ſi prende peſce in tanta copia, che ſe ne caricano molte navi, & ſe ne ſon- niſce la Flandra, la Bretagna, l'Irghilterra, la Scozia, la Noruicia & Danimarche, & di quel ne cauano grandiffime richieſte. Fin qui ſcri- ue M. Nicolo in uia ſua lettera a M. Antonio ſuo fratello queſti anſi, pregandolo, che con qua- che uane lo uolſe andar a trouare. Perche egli,

che non m'era era desideroso, che si fosse il fratello di ueder il mondo, & praticar uari genti, & per ciò fossi illudite, & grand'huomo, comprò una naua, & dirizzauosi a quel cammino doppo un lungo viaggio, & uari pericoli s'ossigiuose finalmente sano, & saluo à M. Nicolo, che lo ricuettè con grandissima allegrezza, & perche gli era fratello, & perche era fratello di ualore. Fermossi M. Antonio in Frislanda, & ci habito quattordici anni, quattro con M. Nicolo, & dieci solo; doue peruenuti in tanta gratia, & fauor di quel Principe, che per grazia camlo, ma più, perche desideraua pur troppo il ualore, fece Captain della sua armata M. Nicolo, & con grande apparato di guerra si mossero all'impresa di Estlanda, che è sopra la costiera Frislanda, & Noruegia, doue fecero molti danni, ma inteso che il Re di Noruegia con una grossa armata di navi ueniva lor contra per distorle da quella guerra, si leuaron con una Batteringa si terribile, che cacciati in certe sceragini ruppero gran parte delle lor navi, saluandosi il rimanente in Grislenda, Isola grande, ma dubbiata. L'armata del Re di Noruegia anch'ella assediata dalla medesima fortuna, si ruppe, et perdè uenta per quei pedeghi, doue hanno anco Zithmme, da un nauoglio de' nimici scorsio per fortuna in Grislenda, hauendo già racconciata la sua arma

ta, & uidendosi per la Tramontana uicino delle Isole, si deliberò d'assaltar l'Isola che meglio si trouò il paese così ben munito, & guardato di celsa, che re sarbuitato per hauer poca armata, & quella poca era malissimo ordine di arme. & in uenti, per loquale cosa si parida quella impresa senza haueru fatto mala, & assaltone gli stessi canali l'altre isole dette Islande, che sono sette, cioè Aldas, Breas, Iscon, Treas, Milmant, Dambers, & Breas; & messo tutto in preda celsa una fortezza in Breas, alla quale lasciò M. Nicolo con alcuni nauogli, & genti, & altre mantioni, & essi parendogli all'hora di hauer fatto assai con quella poca armata, che gli era rimasta uenue il saluamento in Frislanda. M. Nicolo rimaso in Breas, si deliberò a tempo uenue di uscir fuori, & scoprir terra; onde armati tre nauigli con molto grandi del mese di Luglio fece uelare Tramontana, & giunse in Engueland, doue trouò un monistero di frati dell'ordine de' Predicatori, & una Chiesa dedicata à San Tomaso, appresso al monte, che tutta spozzò come Vesuuio, & Erua; et c'una fontana di acqua affocata, con la quale nella Chiesa del monistero, et nelle camere de' frati si fa l'habitatione calda, essendo nella cucina essi bulana, che senza altro fuoco fanno, si fer







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uono al bisogno di quella, mettendolo nelle pignuete  
divano il fuoco senz'acqua, che si cuoce, come in  
un forno ben riscaldato. Et ei sono giardinietti, co-  
pperi di uerno, i quali inghiati di quell'acqua si di-  
fendono contra la neve, et il freddo, che in quelle  
parti per essere grandemente siuate s'eto il Polo,  
u'è affrissimo, onde ne nascono fiori, et frutti, et  
herbe di varie sorti non altrimenti, che si facciano  
ne' paesi temperati alle loro stagioni, per laquali  
cofe le genti rozzee, et saluariche di quei luoghi,  
vedendo esserli sopra natura tengono quelli frati  
per Dei, et portano a lor polli, carne, et altre cose,  
et come Signori li hanno tutti in grandissima rive-  
renza, et rispetto. Nel modo adunque, che s'è  
detto, fanno questi frati, quando u'è maggior il  
ghiaccio, et la neve la lor habitazione temperata,  
et possono in un attimo riscaldar, et raffreddar  
una stanza con far crescer à certi termini più l'ae-  
qua, et con aprir le finestre, et lasciarvi entrar la  
freddezza della stagione. Nelle fabbriche del moni-  
stero non si servono di altra materia, che di quella  
stessa, che porta lor il fuoco, perche tolgono le pie-  
tre ardenti, che à similitudine di foglie escono dal  
la bocca dell'arsura del monte alhora che sono più  
infiammate, et burlano lor sopra dell'acqua, per  
laquale si aprono, et fanno bimbino, à caduta bian-  
chissima, et molto tenace, che possa in conserva

non si guasta mai. Et le foglie medesime, schin-  
te che sono servano in luogo di pietra à far i muri,  
et i muri, perche, come si raffreddano non si posso-  
no più disfare, o rompere, se per accidenta non so-  
no spezzate dal ferro; et i muri fatti di quelle so-  
no in maniera leggitima che non hanno bisogno di al-  
tro sostentacolo, et durano sempre belli, et in con-  
cilio. Per queste tante comodità u'hanno fatto quei  
buon padri tante habitazioni et muraglie, che è uno  
stupore à vederle. Il più de' coperti, che mi sono si-  
fanno in questo modo, che tirato il muro fin alla  
sua altezza, lo uanno à poco à poco avanzando so-  
pra il solito muro che nel mezzo forma un giuffo  
più; ma di piogge non ci si teme troppo in quel  
le parti, perche, per essere il Polo, come s'è detto  
freddisimo, caduta la prima neve non si disfi  
più, se non passati i mesi dell'anno, che tanto  
tra lor dura il uerno. V'uono di saluariche, Co-  
di pesci, perche, doue entra l'acqua rispida nel  
mare, u'è il porto assai capace, et grandi, che per  
l'acqua, che bolle, di uerno non si congela mai: La  
onde c'è tanto concorso di ucelli marini, et di pe-  
sci, che ne prendono un numero quasi infinito, ed  
quasi fanno le spise à un gran popolo vicino che  
regnano in continua opera, così nel tirar su le fabri-  
che come nel prender gli ucelli, et il pesce, et nel  
far mille altre cose, che bisogno di mostrare. Le

esse di costoro sono intorno al monte tutte volande, & larghe ventiquattro piedi, & nell'altro si non si fringendo in maniera, che si lasciano di sopra una picciola apertura per dove entra l'aere, che dà lume al luogo. & la terra è così calda di sotto, che dentro non ci sente alcun freddo. Qui di state vengono molti nauigi dall'Isole di Treadon, & dal capo di Isola Noruegia, & dal Treadon, & portano di sopra tutte le cose, che si possono desiderare, & le cambiano con loro per essi del pesce, che scaccano all'aere, & al freddo, et altri di diverse sorti di animali, Onde s'acquistano molta di abbruciare, & legnami eccellentemente lavorati, & erino, et hanno da nascere; conciosia che per il cambio delle due cose dette questi tutti i comici di desiderano di smaltir le mercatantie loro, & essi senza fatica, & dispendio hanno ciò che vogliono. Et concorrono in questo monastero frati di Noruegia, di Suetia, & di altri paesi, ma la maggior parte sono delle Isole. Et sempre in quel porta ci sono molti nauigi, che non possono partire per essere il mare agghiacciato, & aspettano il nuovo tempo, che lo disgelte. Le barche de' pescatori si fanno come le navi celle, che usano le resistori nel far la vela, e tutte le pelle de' pesci le formano con alcuni ossi de' merdosi, ma pesci, che le formano; et cucite insieme, et poste in più doppi, riescono sì buone, & sicure, che è cosa

certo miracolo, & sentire nelle fortune in sofferrano dentro, et lasciano portarsi dall'onde, et da' venti per il mare senza alcun timore di di rovere, o di affogarsi. & se danno in terra, stanno saldi a molte peross. Et hanno una manica nel fondo, che con sono legata nel mezzo, et quando entra acqua nel nauigio, la prendono nell'altra metà. & con due leghi chiusi serrando di sopra, & aprendo la legatura di sotto, scacciano l'acqua fuori, e quante volte uolera di sotto scacciano l'acqua senza sforzo di scaccio, & di pericolo alcuno. L'acqua poi nel nauigio era per esser di Zolfo, li conduce nelle camere de' maggiori porcelli ussi di rame, si flegno, o di pietra così calda, che come una stufa, riscaldano benissimo la senza senza che si introduci fuoco, & d'altro carissimo olio. Oltre di questo mettono un'altra acqua senza di un muro sotterra, acciò che non si agghiacci, & nel mezzo della corte d'onde cade in un gran vaso di rame, il quale sta in mezzo di un fusto ballen, et così riscaldando l'acqua per il bere, et adoperando i giardini, hanno dal monte tutte le comodità, che si possono desiderare maggiori; se pongano in altro più cura quei buoi padri, che nel coltivar bene i giardini, & nel far belle fabbriche, et ualche, & sopra tutto conode; ne maciano loro in questo buona ingegni, & hanno in industria, perche pagano, & danno largamente, & verso quelli, che portano fratti, &

semper sono senza fine liberali, & larehi nello spendere. Per che u'è un grandissimo concorso di oue, & di maccheroni per esser in quel luogo così buon guidagno, & miglior auere. Vano il più d'essi la lingua Latina, & specialmente i superiori, & i grandi del monistero. Questo tanto si sa di Enguendand, della quale M. Niccolò descrive tutte le cose dette, & particolarmente la ruina da lui scoperta, come nel disegno per me fatto si può vedere; & infine, non essendo egli ufo a quelli freddi affari, in uino, & poco dopo ritornato in Frislanda morì. Et M. Antonio successe nelle sue ricchezze, & all' honore, ne, con tutto che tenesse molte uie, & pretese, & supplicasse assai, gli venne mai fatto di ritornarsene a casa sua; perche Zachimi, come huom di spirito, & di cuore si haueua al tutto messo in cuore di farsi padron del mare; Onde, uandossi di M. Antonio uelle, che con alcuni nauoli nauigasse verso Ponente per essere stare di soperte da quel lato da centi suoi pescatori isole ricchissime, & popolarissime; laqual scoperta narra M. Antonio in una sua lettera scritta a M. Carlo suo fratello così pounamente, mouete però alcune uoci antiche, & lo stile, & lasciata star nel suo essere la materia.

Si portarono uentisei anni fa quattro nauoli

di pescatori; i quali, assalati da una gran furona molti giorni andarono, come per perduti per il mare, quando finalmente raddolcinosi il tempo scoprirono una isola, detta Efforilanda posta in Ponente, lontana da Frislanda più di mille miglia, nella quale siuppe uide' nauoli, & sei homini, che u'erano su furono presi da gli isolani, & condotti a una città bellissima, & molto popolata, dice il Re, che la signoraggina, fatti uenir molti interpreti, non ne erano mai deueno, che sapessi la lingua di quelli pescatori; se non un Latino nella stessa isola per fortuna medesimamente capitato, ilquale dimandando lor da parte del Re che erano, & di doue uenivano, raccolse il tutto, & lo riferì al Re, ilquale ualse tutte queste cose uelle, che si formassero nel paese; perche essi fare stettero cinque anni nell' isola, & appreso la lingua, et un di loro particolarmente fu in diuer si parti dell' isola, & narra, che è richissima, & abundantissima di tutti li boni del mondo, & che è poco minore di Islanda, ma più fertile, hauendo nel mezzo un monte altissimo, dalquale nascono quattro fiumi, che la irrigano. Quelli, che l'habitano sono ueniosfi, & hanno tutte le arti, come noi; & credesi, che in altri tempi hauessero commercio con i nostri, perche dice di ha-

ser veduti libri Latini nella libreria del Re, che  
 non vengono hora da lor intesi; hanno lingua, &  
 lettere separate, & escono metalli di ogni sorte,  
 & sopra tutto abbondano di oro, & le lor prati-  
 che sono in Emporeland, di doue traggono pella-  
 recie, & zolfo, & pegola; & uerso l'istiro na-  
 ra, che u'è un gran paese molto ricco d'oro, & po-  
 polato; somitano grano. & fanno la ceruola, che  
 è una sorte di beuanda, che usano i popoli Setten-  
 trionali, come noi il uino; hanno bisola d'immen-  
 grandezza, & fabbricano à meraviglia, & ci sono  
 molte città, & castella, fanno nauigli, & nau-  
 gono, ma non hanno, ma non hanno la calamita, ne  
 intendono cal bussola la Tyramontana. Per ilche  
 questi pescatori fanno in gran prezzo, sì che il Re  
 li spedi con dodici nauigli uerso l'istiro nel paese,  
 che essi chiamano Drogio; ma nel uisgerio hebbe-  
 ro così gran fortuna, che si teniano per perduti i  
 nauiganti, fuggita una morte crudele, diedero di  
 petto in una crudelissima; perciò che presi nel pa-  
 se furono la più parte da quelli feroci popoli man-  
 giati ebandisi essi di carne humana, che erano  
 no per molto spaurita uiuanda. Ma, mostrauo  
 lor quel pescatore co' compagni il modo di pren-  
 der il pesce con le reti, scampo la uita; & pescan-  
 do ogni di in mare, & nelle acque dolci prendeano  
 assai pesce, & lo donaua ai principali, Onde se us-

acquillo perciò tanta gratia, che era tenuto caro,  
 & amato, & molto honorato di ciascuno. Spar-  
 sasi la fama di costui ne' comincini popoli entrò in  
 tanto disiderio un signor uicino di hauerlo appresso  
 di se, & ueder, com'egli usaua quelle sue mira-  
 bil arte di irouer il pesce, che mosse guerra à  
 quell'altro signore, appresso il quale egli si ripa-  
 raua, & prevalendo infine per essere più potente,  
 & armigero, gli fu mandato insieme con gli al-  
 tri; & in tredici anni, che stette continuamente  
 in quelle parti dice, che fu mandato in quel modo  
 à più de' uenticinque signori, mouendo sempre  
 questo à quel guerra, & quel à quell'altro salu-  
 mente per hauerlo appressato; se, & così errando  
 andò senza hauer mai ferma habitazione in un  
 luogo lungo tempo, sì che conobbe, et praticò qua-  
 si tutte quelle parti. Et dice il paese essere gran-  
 disimo, & quasi un nouo mondo, ma gente ro-  
 za, & prima di ogni ben, perche uanno molti por-  
 ti che paciscano freddi crudeli, ne fanno coprisse  
 delle pelli degli animali, che prendano in caccia;  
 non hanno metallo di sorte alcuna, uiceno di can-  
 xie gioui, & portano lancia di legno uella punta  
 d'oro, & areti, le corde de i quali sono di pella  
 di animali; sono popoli di gran ferocità, combatte-  
 no insieme mortalmente, & si mangiano l'un l'al-  
 tro; hanno superiori, & certe leggi molto di fo-

venni me di loro; ma più che si mi verso Carbone, uolli esser più ciuilis per l'arte temperato, che a' di maniera, che ci sono città, tempi, egi adoli, & uolli sacrificare gli huomini, & se li mangiarono poi, hauendo in quella parte qualche inuisione. Et uolli dell'oro, & dell'argento. Or sendo stato così anni questo pescatore in questi paesi, si deliberò di ritornar, se uenia alla patria, et a suoi compagni disperatosi di poterla più riuedere, lo lasciarono partir a buon uageo, & essi si rimasero là. Ond'egli, detto a lor a Dio, fecegi uia per i boschi verso Drogo, & fu benissimo ueduto, & accarezzato dal Signor uicino; che lo conuocò, e tennessi grande familiarità con l'altro; & così andandoli di uia in un'altra maniera di quelli inuisioni per li quali era passato, dopo molto tempo, & assai stancogli, & faticosi per tutto finalmente in Drogo, nel quale habito tre anni continui, quando per sua buona uentura incese da paesani, che erano giunti alla marina alcuni nauogli; Ond'egli entrato in barcha speranzadi far bene i fatti suoi, uenne al lupo per di mandato, di che paese erano, intesa così suo gran piacere, che erano di Eritlandia: perche, hauendo egli pregato di essere tenuto, si uolentieri ritruouo per hauer la lingua del paese, ne uisitando altri, che le sapessi, lo uisitano per lor interpreti; La onde egli frequentò poi con lor quel

uaggio, si che dauano molto uita, & fatto, & amato un nauiglio del suo, se ne è ritornato in Eritlandia, portando d'quello Signor la lingua del la sopramente di quel paese ricchissimo; & è uero se gli dà fede per i miei crismi. Or molte cose m'ho, che appreso offere uero, quanto egli ha riportato. Per loquid' ora questo signore s'è risoluto di mandarmi con un'armata verso quello paese, e tanti sono quelli, che si uogliono in uenire, per la uita della cosa, che fare a dispendio pubblico preso, che serano per misfatti. Questo si contiene nella lettera per me di sopra allegata, & ho passato il suo tenor qui, a uia che si ueranda un altro nauigio, che fece M. Adriano, dopo di farli molti crismi. & nauigio, uassellante per il suo stato Capitano, come da prima haueua prefato, perche Zichama in persona uisò nelle creature, & ho ma lettera sopra questa impresa, che dice in questo modo. E' apparso nostro grande augurio, perche tre di a punto uenuti la nostra partita, morì il pescatore, che haueua da essere nostro guida: uenuta una uella questo Signore di se quier uenuti il preso nauigio, prenduto per gli di in cello del nostro pescatore alcuni marinai, che erano uenuti da quella. Il che con lui se così si può, mod'auar verso Eritlandia, si sapremo alcune ispe-



le seggiate à Frigidula, et passate certe foccare si fermarono à Lido, doue per scire di summo per cerione di riposo, & di farir l'armata della co- se necessarie. Partiti di qui arruinarono il primo di Luglio all'Isola di Ilofe, & perche il vento se- cona per ni forza puoto fermarsi, possanno e- uacui, & ingolfarsi nel più capo pelago, non dop- po molto ci assalio una fortuna così forte, che per- uero giorni continui ci tenne in tremaglio, & bal- stro senza saper, doue ci fossimo perdendoli & an- porte de' nauigli, in sua tranquillità il tempo, si raguarono insieme i legni, che si erano smarriti da gli diti, & nauigando con bona uento scoprim- mo da Ponente terra, perche dirizzate le vele & quella uolta erruimmo in un porto quieto, & seco- ro & uideammo un popolo quasi infinito poso in- arno, & in atto di farir offrire corso al luo per- dissa dell'Isola: La ualde Zichanni, facendo dar di- suoi signori di pace gli Isolei mandarono dieci luo- mini, che seppano parlar in dieci lingue, & ne fu- inojo alcuni di loro, signor di mal' i danda. Così u- sendo stato condotto davanti il nostro Principe & dimandato da lui, come si chiamano quell'Isola, et- quai genti l'habitanano, & chi la signoreggiaua; disse, che l'Isola si chiamaua Icaria, & che tutti i Re che haueteo regnato in quella si chiamarono I- cari dal primo Re, che ui fu, che dicono esser stato

55  
figliuolo di Dedalo Re di Sicilia; ilquale, sendo- ingiurito di quell'Isola, per la sua per Re il figlio- lo con le legi, che auere gli Isolei osano, & dop- po fatte queste cose, uolendo più auanti nauigare, per sua gran fortuna, che si luo si sanuiersegondo per la sua morte auere chiamano quel mare Ica- ro, & i Re dell'Isola Icar, & perche si appog- uano di quello stato, che hanno lor dano Dio, ne- letano puoto inuacur costumi, non riceuano alcun foretiero, & che perche pregano il nostro Prin- cipe, che non uolessero per quelle legi, che hanno no hanno dalla felice memoria di quel Re, & offer- uate sia alloro; perche non lo potrebbe fare se non con manifesti a sua rena, essendo essi uari appa- chiani di laudar arzi la uita, che di perder in deu- se, che in uario risauessero il comprie di gli altri- uano, gli dicano per conchiisione che uolun- tieri haberebbono rispetto in de' nostri, & l'hau- e debbono tra loto fatto de' primi: & questo si per- appender la lingua mia, & hauer nel nome de' in- stri costumi, così come habbiamo già riceuto per- gli altri diti d' diti diversi diti paesi, che all'Is- sola erano uenuti. A queste cose non risposi, dico- il nostro Principe, se non che fatto rector di miei ci era buon porto, fece uita di uerso, & rimandò- do l'Isola si caccia è piene uelle con tutta l'armata

in un porto mostravoli dalla banda di Levante, ne quale, fatto solo difeseo i marinai a far legna, et acqua con quella prestezza, che poterono maggio re dubitando tuttavia di non esser assaliti da li I solani; ne fu nato il timore, perche quelli, che habbiano al intorno, facendo segno a gli altri con fuoco. Et così fummo si misero tosto in armar, et so pravenendo gli altri, in tanto numero difeseo al lino sopra di noi con arme. Et fante, che molti ve stirono morti. Et feriti; ne uolera che si facesse se gno di pace, che quasi che combattessero della som ma di tutte le cose, s'incrudelivano ogn'hor più.

Per laqual cosa ci fu forza di temere, e dalla lunga andar con un gran circuito girando intorno l'Isola essendo sempre accompagnati per i monti, et per le marine da una moltitudine infinita di buomini armati; et così andando il capo dell'Isola verso l'ra monti, et trovavano grandissime secagne, nelle qua li per dieci di cent'anni furono in molto pericolo di non perder l'armata: ma per buona nostra sorte fu sempre bisogno tempo. Passando adunque alcuni fin al capo di Levante, sempre vedevano gli I solani nelle sommità de' monti; e per i liri venir con noi, et con grida, et con scettacci della lunga dimostrar verso di noi ogni hor più un intelligenza animo niu ti; co'perche si deliberammo di far mosi in un porto sicuro, et uolti di parlar ad altre uoci: con l'i

lando; ma non ci riuscì il disegno, perche quel po polo poco men che bestialità in questo stete conuincamente in arme: et animo deliberano di comba tterci, le buone si ritiro la discesa. La uide Zich mini, vedendo di non poter far cosa alcuna, et che s'egli fosse stato più ostinato nel suo proposito, la sua famiglia habrebbe potuto muover all'armata, si leuò con buon numero, giungendo sei giorni per po nente; ma uolendosi il tempo a Genova, et inge gliandosi per lo mare scorse l'armata quattro di con vento in poppa, et il scoprendo finalmente ter ra con non picciolo timore si appressarono a quel la per essere il mar grosso, et la terra scoperta da noi non conosciuta: giunsero Dio vi aiuti, che inancato il vento si pose in bonaccia; onde alcuni de l'armata andando a terra con i nauigli da remo, dopo non molto ritornarono, et ci riferirono con summo nostro piacere, che habbiamo trovato luo gnisimo paese, et miglior porto: per loqual nuo ua, rimorchiate noi le navi. Et i nauigli andiamo a terra; et entrati in un buon porto vedemmo del la lunga un gran monte, che gettaua fumo; il che ci diede speranza, che nell'Isola ci sarebbero tro uati genti; ne con tutto che fosse offeso l'antico re sto Zichmini di mandar cento buoni soldati, che vi conossessero il paese, et rappresentassero qua renti l'habitu: et fra tanto l'armata si fece a de

qua, & di legna, & prese di molto pesce, & ucelli marini; & u si trovarono tante uocce di ucelli, che se ne sciliarono le genti merze assai. Mentre noi dimorauamo qui entrò il mese di Giugno, nel qual tempo l'aria era nell'Isola temperata, & d'idee più che si possa dire; stant'auia non uisi uedendo alcuno, entrammo in sostituzione, che an si bel luogo fosse dihabitato, & ponemo nome al porto, & alla punta, che uicina in mare Trin, & Capo di trin. I cento soldati andati dopo otto di ritornarono, & riferirono essere stati per l'Isola, & di monte, & che quel fiume nasce uia, perche dimostraua, che nel suo fondo u'era gran fuoco, & che era una fontana, il laquale nascea una certa materia, come perla, che correua al mare; & che u'habituano molte genti intorno mezz'el solua che riparandosi nelle cauerne di picciola statura, & molte parrufe perche saputo, che ci uidero fuggir uano nelle cauerne; & ch'era un gran fiume, & un porto buono, & sicuro. Dicte riformato Zichimi, uedendo il luogo con aere salubre, & satile, & con miglior terra, & fiumi, et altre diue particolarità entrò in pensiero di farlo habitare, & di fabricarui una città; quando la sua gente, stancata hoggi mai di un uaghiocci piene di trauegli cominciò a tumultuare, & a dire, che uoleuano ritornar à casa, perche

il uerno era uicino, & che se lo lasciavano andare, non haueuano poi poco più partire, se non la state, che ueniva. Per laqual cosa egli ritenemmo lamenti uasigli da remo, & quelli, che si uoleuano restare, rimandò di altri in dietro uersi con le navi, & uolle, che contra mia moglie io fossi loro Capitano. Partirono adunque, poi che altro non si poteu fare, senza mai ueder terra, non di uerso Lemante uenti giorni continui; uoleuano poi sero saluo doppo cinque di scopersi terra, rimandommi arruado nell'Isola N come, & com'iuero il paese, mi accorsi di hauer possato l'Isola, perche presi uis frescamenti da gli Isolani, che erano sotto l'Imperio di Zichimi, nauigai con buon uento in tre di in Fridlanda; dove il popolo, che credea di hauer perduto il suo Principe per sì lunga dimora, che nel uicigio haueuamo fatto ci raccolse con segni di grandissima allegrezza. Doppo questa lettera non trouo altro, se non che per conuentione giudicio, come posso crear da un altro capo di un'altra lettera, che porro qui di sotto, che Zichimi fece una terra nel porto dell'Isola de la uall'ampere discoperta, & che d'adesso meglio à cercare il paese la di sopra uita, insieme con le riuere dell'una, & l'altre porte di Espruolanti; perche la uaga particolarmente disfredda nella carta da nauigare; uedimmo la narratiue è perduta. Il capo

della lettera dice così. Quanto a sapere le cose, che mi ricreare de' costumi de' gli huomini, de' gli animali, & de' pestiferi uenuti, ho fatto di uero un libro deluso, che piacendo a Dio porterò con meco; nelquale ho descritto il paese, i pesti morosi, i costumi, le leggi di Frislanda, di Estlanda, di Eslanda, del Regno di Noruegia, di Estlandia, di Dregio, & infuella uita de' Nicolai. Cavaliere nostro fratello con la scoperta da lui fatta, & le cose di Grolanda. Ho uero scritto le uita, & le imprese di Zichmni, Principe certo degno di memoria immortale quando negi altro sia stato mondo per il suo molto ualore, & molto bontà, nellaquale si legge lo scoprimento di Enguailand da tutte due le parti, & la città edificata da lui. Però non mi dirò altro in questa lettera, sperando restio di essere con uoi, & di soddisfare di molte altre cose con la uua uoce. Tutte queste lettere furono scritte da M. Antonio a M. Carlo suo fratello, & mi dolgo, che il libro, & molte altre scritture per in questo medesimo passiro siano andati non so come miseramente dispersi; perché, sendo io uero fanciullo, & peruenuto alle mani, ne seppe ciò che fossero come fanno i fanciulli le squarci. & manda tutte a me, il che non posso se non con grandissimo dolore ricordarmi hora. Per, perché non si perda

una sì bella memoria di cose qual, che ho potuto hauere in detta materia, ho posto per ordine nella narrazione di sopra; acciò che si ne sòla farua in qualche parte questa età, che più che altra altra mai passata, meriti di tanti scoprimenti di nuove terre fatte in quelle parti, dove è posto uicino si pensasse, che ui fossero, & studiosissima delle narrazioni nuove, & delle disquisite de' paesi non conosciuti fatte dal grande animo, & grande industria de' i nostri maggiori.

I L F I N E.

## APPENDIX II.

Photographic facsimile of the first English version of the voyages of Nicolò and Antonio Zeno, from Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages, etc.*, 1582, signatures D 4 to E, being a translation from Ramusio's text (*Navigazioni et Viaggi*, vol. ii., 2nd edit., Venice, 1574, folios 222-225).

[A facsimile of Lok's map, one of the two which illustrate Hakluyt's work, is given in Plate XV. The other map (Robert Thorne's, 1527) is reproduced in Nordenskjöld's *Facsimile Atlas*, 1889, Plate XLI. It has no direct bearing on the Zeno question.]











## The discovery of

could begeth from them selves well at the *Oratoria* M. Nicolson to the youths before him, and after having commended them with many honourable speeches, and praised his great benefactor and benefice of him, for the which he acknowledged himself to have received an incalculable benefit, he made him singe, and rewarded the men with many tithes and beautiful gifts: After departing from thence they went in triumphing manner towards Friesland, the chief City of *Flammar*, thence on the Shortest line of the Ylle, within a week, (as there are very many in that Island). In this goulfe on the way there is such great abundance of fish taken, that many ships are laden therewith to serve Flanders, Brittain, England, Scotland, Norway and Denmark, and by this trade they gather great wealth.

And thus much is taken out of a letter, that M. Nicolo sent unto M. Antonio his brother, requesting him that he would sende some means to come to him. *Antwerpe* hee, who has so great desire to translate as his brother, brought a ship, and intercepting his counsells that way, after hee had sayed a great while and escaped many dangers, hee arrived at length in safetie unto M. Nicolo, who received him very fully, for that hee was his brother not only in faith and blood, but also in valour and good qualities. M. Antonio remained in Friesland and dwelt there for the space of thirtene yeeres, four yeeres with M. Nicolo, and ten yeeres alone. *Antwerpe* they came into such grace and favour with the prince, that hee made M. Nicolo, Capitaine of his Franche, of which great preparation of warre they were first taught by the example of Holland, which lived before the crosse betweene Friesland and Norway, where they did many adventures, but hearing that the king of Norway was coming, some of them took a great Fleet, they departed in such a secret state of waite, as they were vntill they came to London. *Antwerpe* a great part of these ships were cast away, yett were saved by Gralland, a great Island but dangerous. *France*

**M. J. Jones, master  
arrives by  
train.**

Ships laden  
with fish as fre-  
quent as flames,  
Dress, Billings,  
land, (Fog),  
and Vermont.  
But not to be  
proudly distant  
we came there.  
A letter (not by  
master \$2.50 and  
from friends)  
to his brother,  
Mr. Antonio in  
Genoa.  
End of the first  
letter.

**Mortm'beza.**

[illegible]

Engineering, Building, and  
Electrical.

they have the Climate of the mountains and the South  
country is committed also into the bottom is being bare,  
clear they let no other fire to split their waste, and putting  
their heads into little pots and put my water, it was  
done as it were in a hot sun. They have also small gro-  
ves about our in the winter time, which being water'd  
with this water are defended from the force of the frost  
and cold, which in these parts being thus far from the  
pole, is very extreme, and by this means they produce the  
wheat and fruit and herbs and all manner of things, even as in  
other temperate countries in these seasons in such sort that  
the rude and savage people of these parts seeing these the

**2024**

[illegible]

have occasion without any terms or stipulations  
to possess the matter of the merchandise being of stipulations  
C 4

continue doing, and in a convenient other necessary affairs and business  
about

### The discourse of

an industrious nature is conveyed into the longings of the  
principal officers by certain vessels of speech, time of some  
to hear that it beneath the place as it were a globe, not carry-  
ing with it any smoke or other noxious smell.

Officers this they give another consequence to being  
not lower with a wall under the ground to the case it should  
not freeze, into the middle of the court, where it falls in-  
to a great vessel of brass, that stands in the middle of a hop-  
ping company, and this is to heat their water to drink and  
to water their gardens, and thus they have from the hill the  
greatest commodities that may be wished, and so these officers  
employ all their treasure and store in the most part in  
furnishing their gardens and in making fair and beautiful  
buildings and especially handsome and commodious, where  
they are they desire of ingenious and painful artificers  
for the purpose, for they give very large payment, and so  
them that bring them fruits and seeds they are very bound-  
tiful and give they are not what. So that there is great  
resort of workmen and masters in various faculties, by res-  
ort of the good gains and large allowance that is there.

The most of them speak the Latin tongue, and especially  
the superiors and principals of the monastery. And this  
is as much as is known of Engroelande, which is all by  
the tradition of M. Nicolo, who maketh also particular de-  
scription of a river, that he discovered, as is to be seen in  
the case that I have. And in the case M. Nicolo has be-  
ing seen and acquainted with these cruel robbers, fell sick,  
and a while while after returned into Friland, where he dy-  
ed. He left behind him in Venice two sons, M. Giovanni  
and M. Toma, who had two sons M. Nicolo, the father of  
the famous Cardinal Zeno, and M. Pietro of whom before  
has the other Zeno, that are living at this day.

John M. Nicolo being dead, M. Antonio succeeded him both  
in his goods and in his dignities & honour, and albeit he ac-  
quired many treasures and made great supplication he  
could never obtain licence to returne into his Country.  
So of Zichman had determined to make himselfe Lord of

In the middle  
of the  
most of them  
speak the Latin  
tongue.  
and of the case  
before.

John M. Nicolo  
being dead.

### Morum bega.

the sea. When the king alwayes the conside and ser-  
vice of M. Antonio, hee first upon which some should be-  
lieve to the officers, for that sometimes their parties some of  
his followers had withered certaine Glasse were rich  
and populous, which was M. Antonio in a letter  
to his brother M. Carlo, recommended from point to point in  
this manner, saying that we have changed some able  
troopers, leaving the matter entire as it was

So he and thence perris agree there they departed four  
of their boats, the which a mightie tempest arising, were  
casten for the space of many dayes being necessarily upon  
the sea, when at length the tempest ceasing and the  
weather was very daye they discovered an Island called El  
coiland, lying to the Northward about 1000. Spikes there in  
from Friland, upon the which one of the boats was  
cast awoye, and five men that were in it were taken of the  
Indians, and brought unto a very large and populous  
City, where the king of the place sent for many in-  
terpreters, but there was none could be founde that in-  
terpreted the language of the Indians, except one that  
spoke Latin, who was also called by chance upon the same Is-  
land, who in the behalf of the king, who willed that they  
should carry in the Country, wherefore they obeying  
his commandment for that they could not otherwise doe,  
dwelt five perris in the Island, and learned the lan-  
guage, and one of them was in many parties of the Island,  
and reported that it is a very rich Country, abounding  
with all the commodities of the world, and that it is little  
less than Spaine, but there were few people, being in  
the middle thereof a very high mountain, from the  
which there issued some waters, that past through the  
whole Country.

So hee  
and  
the  
Indians  
were  
rich  
in  
the  
country.

The  
Indians  
are  
very  
rich  
people,  
and  
have  
all  
the  
necessaries  
of  
life  
in  
their  
country,  
and  
it  
is  
rich  
in  
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things  
that  
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world  
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produce,  
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rich  
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produce,  
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The  
Indians  
are  
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The  
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things  
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world  
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produce.

**Motum beer.**

[illegible]

But the fathers with his followers glorifying them the mass  
set of taking the witch sisters, saved their lives: and because  
you every day a witness to the fact and in their sisters, and table  
great abundance of fish and give it to the sister men of the  
country, whereby her great health great success, that her  
house were well be seen and because of every one.

The farmer of this man being three albums in the country, there was a Lapee thereby that was born brothers to him. him with him, and to the father but also his maternal uncle of catching this. in so much that he made heart with the other 4 Lapee, with whom he was single, and in the crime presuming that he had been more majestic, and a better son. From the difference here first into him with the rest of his company. Also by the space of thirteen years that he was in this service he found that he was first in this space worth in these services he found that he was first in this space

**DONOR**  
IN 62-87  
JANUARY 1962

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

2

●

# The discourse of

De becomen- they woulde take him into them, whiche they doo verie tall-  
repairs by a King, and say that hee had the language of the Countrey  
men that were there, and there were none of them coulde speake in theyr own  
beare of the for their interpreter.

Quo after that hee frequents that trade with them, in  
the same hee such sayes that hee became verie rich, and so furnishing out  
crayn with them a barke of his owne hee returned into Frislande, where hee  
in and for the same reports unto this Lorde of these welthe Countrey.

And in fine, thus hee is thought to have beene the cause of the Countrey, but a  
rich, and in fine, thus hee is thought to have beene the cause of the Countrey, but a  
rich, and in fine, thus hee is thought to have beene the cause of the Countrey, but a

rich, and in fine, thus hee is thought to have beene the cause of the Countrey, but a  
rich, and in fine, thus hee is thought to have beene the cause of the Countrey, but a  
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rich, and in fine, thus hee is thought to have beene the cause of the Countrey, but a  
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rich, and in fine, thus hee is thought to have beene the cause of the Countrey, but a  
rich, and in fine, thus hee is thought to have beene the cause of the Countrey, but a  
rich, and in fine, thus hee is thought to have beene the cause of the Countrey, but a

rich, and in fine, thus hee is thought to have beene the cause of the Countrey, but a  
rich, and in fine, thus hee is thought to have beene the cause of the Countrey, but a  
rich, and in fine, thus hee is thought to have beene the cause of the Countrey, but a

# Morum bega.

verre call attemp, afterwarde having their bestest the gude-  
reth by the bestest of the Dutches that were but, and  
spilling such a profression in the bestest of the Dutches that were but, and  
spilling such a profression in the bestest of the Dutches that were but, and

spilling such a profression in the bestest of the Dutches that were but, and  
spilling such a profression in the bestest of the Dutches that were but, and  
spilling such a profression in the bestest of the Dutches that were but, and

spilling such a profression in the bestest of the Dutches that were but, and  
spilling such a profression in the bestest of the Dutches that were but, and  
spilling such a profression in the bestest of the Dutches that were but, and

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spilling such a profression in the bestest of the Dutches that were but, and  
spilling such a profression in the bestest of the Dutches that were but, and

spilling such a profression in the bestest of the Dutches that were but, and  
spilling such a profression in the bestest of the Dutches that were but, and  
spilling such a profression in the bestest of the Dutches that were but, and

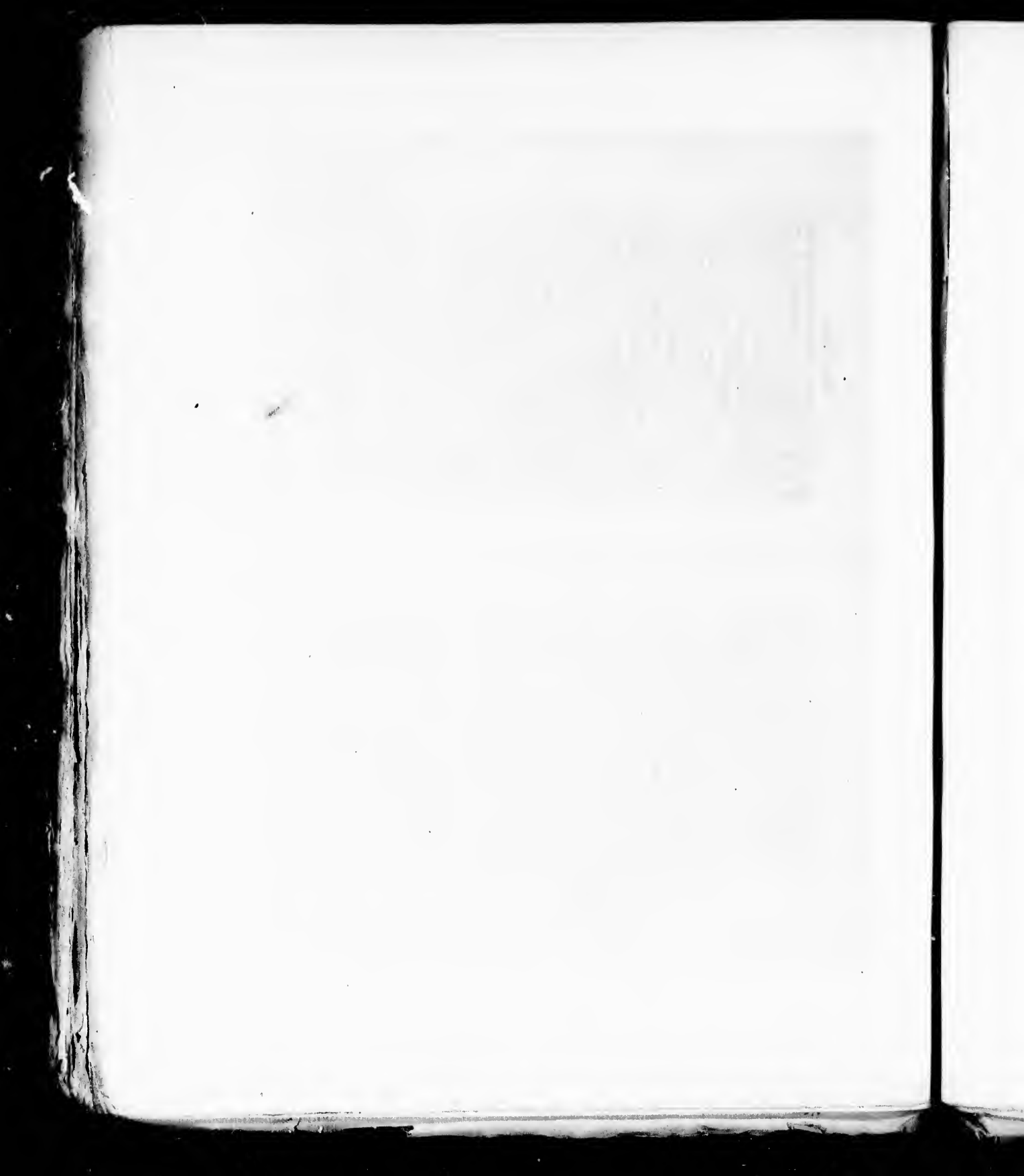
spilling such a profression in the bestest of the Dutches that were but, and  
spilling such a profression in the bestest of the Dutches that were but, and  
spilling such a profression in the bestest of the Dutches that were but, and

spilling such a profression in the bestest of the Dutches that were but, and  
spilling such a profression in the bestest of the Dutches that were but, and  
spilling such a profression in the bestest of the Dutches that were but, and











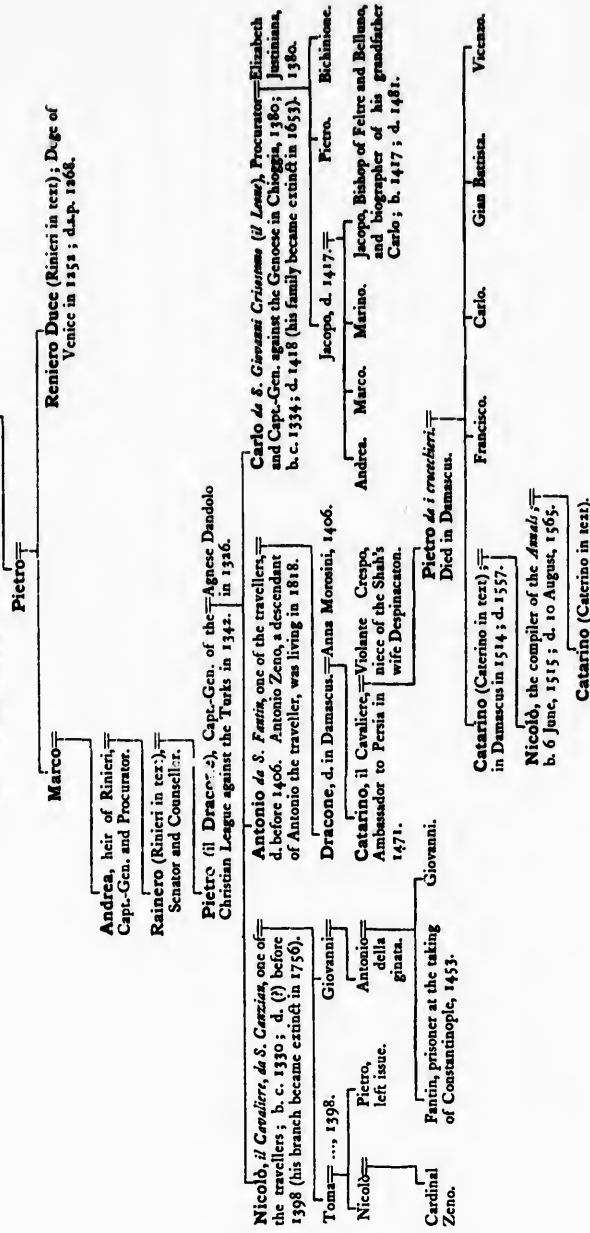
### APPENDIX III.

Extended version of the Pedigree of the Zeno Family given on the  
verso of folio 44 of the *Commentarii*.

[The additions are principally derived from the travels of Caterino Zeno in Persia, in the earlier part of the *Commentarii*, etc.; Ramusio's *Navigazioni et Viaggi*, vol. ii. (ed. 1574), pp. 65, etc.; Zurla's *Dissertazioni*, etc., 1808, cap. 2, and *Dei Viaggi*, etc., di N. et A. Zeni in *Di Marco Polo*, etc., 1818, vol. ii, cap. 2, etc., etc.]

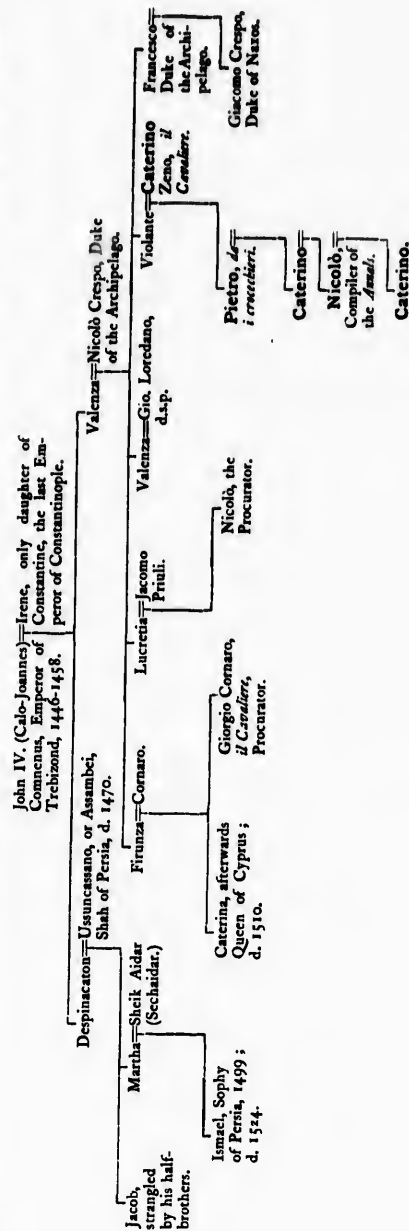
# SKELETON PEDIGREE OF THE VENETIAN FAMILY OF ZENO.\*

Marin Zeno, Governor of some Italian provinces, and first Venetian *Pedris* in Constantinople in 1405.



## PEDIGREE OF VIOLANTE,

Wife of Caterino Zeno, *il Cavaliere*, and great-grandmother of Nicolò Zeno, the Compiler of the *Annals*.



\* Extended from the *Albero della Famiglia Zeno*. (The names in the *Albero* are printed in *Clarendon type*.)



#### APPENDIX IV.

Table comparing the 150 names upon Zeno's "Carta da Navegar" of 1558 (see Plate XI.), with corresponding names on the following earlier or contemporary maps:

1. The Andrea Bianco map, 1448. (Ongania's photograph.) See Plate I.
2. The Fra Mauro map, 1457-1459. (Baron Heath's full-sized photograph.) See Plate II.
3. The Zamoiski map, 1467. (Nordenskjöld's *Facsimile Atlas*, Plate XXX.) See Plate II.
4. Fifteenth century map in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence. (Nordenskjöld's *Bidrag till Nordens Aldsta Kartografi*, Plates I., II. and III.) These three maps are referred to in the following Table as "Florence map No. 1," "Florence map No. 2," and "Florence map No. 3," respectively.
5. Fifteenth century map in the Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence. }
6. Fifteenth century map in the Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence. }
7. Fifteenth century Catalan map. (Nordenskjöld's *Bidrag, etc.*, Plate V.) See Fig. 7, opposite page 111, *supra*.
8. Engronellant, Norbegia, Suetiaque, et Gottia } (From the Donis (Ulm) *Ptolemy*, 1482.) See Plate III.
9. The Olaus Magnus map, 1539. See Plate IV.
10. Map by Mattheus Prunes, 1553. See Fig. 8, p. 112, *supra*.
11. Mercator's "Europa," 1554. See Plate VII.
12. Tramezini's map (*Lafreri Atlas*), 1558. See Plate VIII.
13. Map of Frisland (*Lafreri Atlas*), undated.\* See Plate IX.
14. Map of Estland (*Lafreri Atlas*), undated.\* See Plate X.
15. Septentrionalium Partium Nova Tabula, in Ruscelli's *Ptolemy*, Venice, 1561, Tab. xxxv.; also in Moletius's *Ptolemy*, Venice, 1562, Tab. xvii., Additarum et xxvi., Secundum seriem numerorum. See Plate XII.

\* As to the probable date of these two maps, see *supra*, pp. 114 and 119.

# Appendix IV.

## NAMES ON GREENLAND.

	Zemski Map, 1467.	Florence Map, No. 1, 14—(?)	Florence Map, No. 2, 14—(?)	Florence Map, No. 3, 14(?)	Dani Ptolomy, 1482.	Zeno Map, 1558.	Zeno Text, 1558.	Ricelli, 1561. Melin, 1562.
1	Gronclandia	...	Gronclanth	Gronclanth	...	Gronclandia	...	{ Gronclandia ... }
2	...	...	...	...	...	S. Tomas Zenobius	...	S. Tomas Zenobius
3	Ther pmō	Ther pmō	Ther pmōt (dit)	Ther pmō	Ther pmō	Ther promāt	...	Ther prom
4	Boyer. f.	Bever flua*	Boier fl.	Boier flua.	Boier fl.	Boier f.	...	Boier f.
5	...	...	...	...	...	Chin pm	...	Chan prom
6	Naf f.	Naf fl <sup>2</sup>	Naf fl	Naf f.	...	Naf f.	...	Naf f.
7	Hien p.	Hien pmāt	Hien pmōtē	Hien pro	Hien pmon	Hien promontor	...	Hien prom
8	Engronclan*	...	Engronclan*	Engronclanth*	Engronclant*	Engronclant	...	Engronclant
9	Yhi pmō.	Yi pm.	Yc pmōtē	Yc pmōt	Y pmō	Gii promontor	...	Gii prom
10	Lande f.	Lande fl <sup>2</sup>	Lande f.	Lande f.	Lade fl	Lande f.	...	Lande f.
11	Müder pro.	Münders p	Müder pmo.	Müder pro	Mud pmō	Müder pmontor	...	Müder prom
12	Han f.	Han flui <sup>2</sup>	...	Han f.	...	Han f.	...	...
13	Trin p.	Ceum pmō	Trin pmo	Trin pmō	...	Trin pmontor	...	Trin prom
14	Ancr fl	Aver pmō	Aver prom (?)	Ancr f.	...	Ancr f.	...	Ancr f.
15	Al p.	Haff pmō	Al pmōtē	Al pmō.	Al pmo	Al pmontor	...	Al prom
16	Nice f.	Nice flm	Nice fl	Nice f.	...	Nice f.	...	Nice f.
17	Hoer p.	Hoer pmōt.	Hoer pmōtē	Ht en p.	...	Hoer promontor	...	Hoer prom
18	Han f.	Han flui <sup>2</sup>	Hain fl.	Han f.	Han fs	Han f.	...	Han f.
19	Dancr pmō	Dancr pmō'or	Dancr pmōtē	Oaver p	Oaver pmō	Diaver pmontor	...	Diaver prom
20	Fiesde f.	Fiesde fl	Fiesde fl	Fiesde flua	Fiesde fl	Fiesde	...	Fiesde
21	Hic pmō	Hic prom	Hic pmōtē	Hic pmō	Hic pmō	Hit pmontor	...	Hit prom
22	Feder fl	...	Foder fl <sup>2</sup>	Feder f.	...	Feder f.	...	Feder f.
23	Drüer f.	Drüer flui <sup>2</sup>	Drüer fl	Drüer f.	...	Drüer flumen	...	Drüer f.
24	Sadi p.	...	Sadi pmōt (dit)	Sadi pmō	Sadi pmō	Sadi pmontor	...	Sadi prom
25	Nha pmōtorliū	Naa pmōtorlium	Na pmōtē	Nha pmō	Na pmō	Nha pmontor	...	Nha prom
26	Neum pmāt	Neum promontor.	Neum pmōtē	Neum pmōt.	...	Neum pmontor	...	Neum prom

\* On the four maps marked with an asterisk, Engronclant appears a second time on the Northern part of the Scandinavian Peninsula.

# NAMES ON ICELAND.

	<i>Zamiski Map,</i> 1467.	<i>Florence Map,</i> No. 1, 14—(?)	<i>Florence Map,</i> No. 2, 14—(?)	<i>Florence Map,</i> No. 3, 14—(?)	<i>Davis Ptolemy,</i> 1482.	<i>Olavi Magnus,</i> 1539.	<i>Mercator,</i> 1554.	<i>Zeno Map,</i> 1558.	<i>Zeno Text,</i> 1558.	<i>Ravelli, 1561.</i> <i>Medini, 1562.</i>	
27	Islandia	Islandia	Islandia	Islandia	Islandia	Islandia	Islandia	Islandia	Islandia	Islandia	27
28	Thirhos	Hofos	Thir	Tuhos	Tirchos	Hanahord	Hanahord	Anahord	...	Anahord	28
29	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Tuhos	...	Tuhos	29
30	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Joucl	...	Joucl	30
31	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Vestrabord	...	Vestrabord	31
32	Hanos f	...	Hanos f.	Hanos f	...	...	...	Honos f	...	Honos f	32
33	Knesol	Knesol pmo.	Knesol	Knesol	Kiesol	...	...	Conesol	...	Conesol	33
34	Hollisis	Hollisis	Hollisis	Hollisis	Hollisis	Hollisis	Hollisis	Hollisis	...	Hollisis	34
35	Hanog pin	Hanog pin	Hanos	Hanos	Hanos	Holos	Holos	Hanos	...	Hanos	35
36	Nader	ader pin	...	Nader	Nader	...	...	Nader	...	Nader	36
37	Maere	Maere prom	Maere	Maere	Maere	...	...	Maere	...	Maere	37
38	...	Edos	...	Oados	...	...	...	Dos	...	Dos	38
39	...	Harsis	Harsis	Harsol	Haisel	...	...	Aisel	...	Aisel	39
40	Selonth	...	Seloch	Seloch	Velonick	...	...	Valen	...	Valen	40
41	...	...	...	...	...	Foglakter	...	Sleloeth	...	Sleloeth	41
42	...	...	...	...	...	Chos	...	Flogacer	...	Flogacer	42
43	...	...	...	...	...	Rok	...	Ochos	...	Ochos	43
44	...	...	...	...	...	Sealholdin	...	Rok	...	Rok	44
45	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Sealholdin	...	Sealholdin	45

# NAMES ON ISLANDS OFF THE SOUTH AND EAST COASTS OF ICELAND.

	<i>Zeno Map, 1558.</i>	<i>Zeno Text, 1558.</i>	<i>Ravelli, 1561.</i> <i>Medini, 1562.</i>	
46	Mimant	Mimant	Mimant	46
47	Bres	Bres	Bres	47
48	Talas	Talas	Talas	48
49	Danbert	Danberc	Danbert	49
50	Brons	Brons	Brons	50
51	Iscant	Iscant	Iscant	51
52	Trans	Trans	Trans	52
		OFF SOUTH COAST.		
53	Grislada	Grislanda	Grislada	53

None of these appear (so far as we know) as islands off Iceland on any map earlier than Zeno's "Carta da Navegar" of 1558.



Appendix IV.—continued.

NAMES ON FRISLAND.

	Andrea Bianco, 1448.	Fra Mauro, 1459.	Catalan Map, 14— (?)	Olav Magnus, 1539.	Matthæus Prætor, 1553.	Mercator, 1554.	Zeno Map, 1558.	Zeno Text, 1558.	Russ'ls, 1561. Molitus, 1562.	Lafritz, 1561 (?)	
54	...	Ixlandia	Fixlanda	Fare	Fixlanda	Farre insule	FRISLAND	Friland...	Friland	FRISLAND	54
55	...	...	Porlanda	Monachus.	...	...	Monaco	Monaco	Monaco	(north field of map)	55
56	...	...	...	...	...	...	Porlanda	Porlanda	Porlanda	P. Orlanda	56
57	...	...	Gamola	...	...	...	Ocibar	Ocibar	Ocibar	Ocibar	57
58	...	...	Lavina	...	Grimola	...	C. Cunala	...	C (?) Cunala	Ocunala	58
59	...	...	...	...	Lavina	...	Verias	...	Venai	Vena	59
60	...	...	Sanestol	Sudero	...	Sudero	Sudero colfo	Sudero	Sudero colfo	Sudero Colfo	60
61	Inestol	...	...	...	Sunifase	...	Sanestol	Sanestol	Sanestol	Sanestol	61
62	Liderovo	...	C. di viya	...	C. de viya	...	Ledeve	Ledoro	Ledeve	{ (not in field of	62
63	...	...	...	...	...	...	Ilofe	Ilofe	Ilofe	map)	63
64	...	...	...	...	...	...	C. deria	...	C. Deria	C. Deria	64
65	...	...	...	...	...	...	Banar	...	Banar	Banar	65
66	...	...	...	Nordero	...	Nordero	Colfo Nordero	...	Colfo Norda	C. Norda	66
67	...	...	{ Porci	...	...	...	Porti	Bondendon	{ Bondendea	Bondendea	67
68	...	...	Carua	...	Porti	...	C. Bouft	...	C. Bouft	C. Bouft	68
69	...	...	Espraya (hi)	...	Caruo	...	Cabaru	...	Cabaru	Cabaru	69
70	...	...	Sibideu	...	Espraya (hi)	...	Spaga	...	Spaga	Spaga	70
71	...	...	Bodifordi	...	Sibideu	...	C. Vidil	...	C. Vidil	C. Vidil	71
72	...	Odifordi	Aqua (hi)	...	Godifordi	...	Andefort	...	Andefort	Andefort	72
73	...	...	...	...	Aqua	...	Aqua	...	Aqua	Aqua	73
74	...	...	...	...	...	...	Dolfo	...	Dolfo	Dolfo	74
75	...	...	Forau and Forasi	...	Forasi	...	Alanco	...	Alanco	Alanco	75
76	...	...	...	...	...	...	Forali	...	Forali	Forali	76
77	...	...	...	...	...	Luino	Dvi	...	Dvi	Dvi	77
78	...	...	Compa	...	Compo	...	Campa	...	Campa	Campa	78
79	...	...	...	...	...	...	Logosi los	...	Logosi	Logosi los	79
80	...	...	Carne	...	Carne	...	Ranc	...	Ranc	Ranc	80
81	...	...	...	...	...	...	Vadin	...	Vadin	Vadin	81
82	...	...	...	...	...	...	Abde	...	Abde	Abde	82
83	...	...	...	...	...	...	Piglu	...	Piglu	Piglu	83
84	...	...	Sabrus	...	Sabrus	...	Ibni	...	Ibni	Ibni	84
85	...	...	...	...	...	...	Rifa	...	Rifa	Rifa	85
86	...	Bodel	Rodelal	...	Radelal	...	Rodea	...	Rodea	Rodea	86
87	...	...	...	...	...	Farre.	Friland (town)	Friland...	Friland	Friland	87

88	...	Dorasis	...	Dorasis	...	Dorasis	...
89	...	Streme	...	Streme	...	Streme	...
90	...	Godinech	...	Godinech	...	Godinec	...
91	...	Estuya	...	Estuya	...	Sprige	...
92	...	{ Isola Solan { detached }	...	Solanda	...	SORLAND	...
93	...	Annius	...	...	...	Aneises	...
<hr/>							
NAMES ON TWO ISLANDS.							
94	...	...	...	ille neome	...	Ncome	...
95	...	...	...	illa portlanda	...	POTALIDA.	...

**NAMES ON NORWAY, SWEDEN, AND DENMARK.**

<i>Olaus Magnus, 1539.</i>	<i>Mercator, 1554.</i>	<i>Tramezini, 1558.</i>	<i>Zeno Map, 1558.</i>	<i>Zeno Text, 1558.</i>	<i>Ruscelli, 1561. Molietini, 1562.</i>
NORVEGIA	Norvegia	NORVEGIA	NORVEGIA	NORVEGIA	NORVEGIA
Tronis	Trunis	Tronis	Tronis	Tronis	Tronis
Langanes	Langanes	Langanes	Langanes	Langanes	Lunga
Helgeland	Helgeland	Engal	Engal	Engal	Engal
Trondana	Trondana	Trondano	Trondano	Trondano	Trondano
Trondem	Trundhem, Nidrosia	Stoppel	Stoppel	Treadon	Dituen
Bræ	Bræ	Bræ	Bræ	Bræ	Stoppel
Skorpena	Skorpena	Stæt	Stæt	Stæt	Bræ
Stad	Stad	Stæmont	Stæmont	Stæmont	Score
Bergen	Berge	Berge	Bergen	Bergen	Stæsoni
Scutenes	Scutenes	Scutenes	Scutenes	Scutenes	Bergen
Gansendael	Gansendael	Gansendael	Scuta	Scutenes	Scutenes
Ekeont	Ekeont	Excedent	Gandel	Scutenes	Gandelob
Itan-vallest	Itan-vallest	Recuēt (?)	Recuēt (?)	Recuēt	Excedent
Dernaes	Dernaes	Trant	Trant	Trant	Recuēt
Succia	Succia	Gernæs	Gernæs	Gernæs	Trant
Gothia	Gothia	SVLCIA	SVLCIA	Suctia	Gernæs
DENEMARCK	DENEMARCK	GOCIA	GOCIA	Suctia	SVLCIA
Bovenberghen	Bovenberghen	DANIA	DANIA	Danimarchia	GOCIA
Munit	Munit	Bovenberghen	Bovenberghen	Danimarchia	DANIA
Uthoc	Uthoc	Munit	Munit	Danimarchia	DANIA
Fanu	Fanu	Uthoc	Uthoc	Danimarchia	Bovenberghen
Manu	Manu	Fanu	Fanu	Danimarchia	Munit
Ruin	Ruin	Manu	Manu	Danimarchia	Uthoc
Salt	Salt	Ruin	Ruin	Danimarchia	Fanu
Amere	Amere	Salt	Salt	Danimarchia	Manu
Fuy	Fuy	Fuy	Fuy	Danimarchia	Ruin
				Danimarchia	Munit
				Danimarchia	Uthoc
				Danimarchia	Fanu
				Danimarchia	Manu
				Danimarchia	Ruin
				Danimarchia	Munit
				Danimarchia	Uthoc
				Danimarchia	Fanu
				Danimarchia	Manu
				Danimarchia	Ruin
				Danimarchia	Munit
				Danimarchia	Uthoc
				Danimarchia	Fanu
				Danimarchia	Manu
				Danimarchia	Ruin
				Danimarchia	Munit
				Danimarchia	Uthoc
				Danimarchia	Fanu
				Danimarchia	Manu
				Danimarchia	Ruin
				Danimarchia	Munit
				Danimarchia	Uthoc
				Danimarchia	Fanu
				Danimarchia	Manu
				Danimarchia	Ruin
				Danimarchia	Munit
				Danimarchia	Uthoc
				Danimarchia	Fanu
				Danimarchia	Manu
				Danimarchia	Ruin
				Danimarchia	Munit
				Danimarchia	Uthoc
				Danimarchia	Fanu
				Danimarchia	Manu
				Danimarchia	Ruin
				Danimarchia	Munit
				Danimarchia	Uthoc
				Danimarchia	Fanu
				Danimarchia	Manu
				Danimarchia	Ruin
				Danimarchia	Munit
				Danimarchia	Uthoc
				Danimarchia	Fanu
				Danimarchia	Manu
				Danimarchia	Ruin
				Danimarchia	Munit
				Danimarchia	Uthoc
				Danimarchia	Fanu
				Danimarchia	Manu
				Danimarchia	Ruin
				Danimarchia	Munit
				Danimarchia	Uthoc
				Danimarchia	Fanu
				Danimarchia	Manu
				Danimarchia	Ruin
				Danimarchia	Munit
				Danimarchia	Uthoc
				Danimarchia	Fanu
				Danimarchia	Manu
				Danimarchia	Ruin
				Danimarchia	Munit
				Danimarchia	Uthoc
				Danimarchia	Fanu
				Danimarchia	Manu
				Danimarchia	Ruin
				Danimarchia	Munit
				Danimarchia	Uthoc
				Danimarchia	Fanu
				Danimarchia	Manu
				Danimarchia	Ruin
				Danimarchia	Munit
				Danimarchia	Uthoc
				Danimarchia	Fanu
				Danimarchia	Manu

Appendix IV.—continued.

NAMES ON SHETLAND.

	<i>Fra Mauro</i> , 1459.	<i>Zamberti Map</i> , 1467.	<i>Danti Ptolomy</i> , 1482.	<i>Olavi Magni</i> , 1539.	<i>Mercator</i> , 1554.	<i>Zeno Map</i> , 1558.	<i>Zeno Text</i> , 1558.	<i>Pavelli</i> , 1561. <i>Martini</i> , 1562.	<i>Laferté</i> , 1561 (?)
127	Stillante	Herlant	Herlant	Herlandia	Herlant	ESTLAND	{ Estlanda and Eslanda }	ESTLAND	ESTLAND
128	...	...	...	...	...	Oloford	...	Oloford	Oloford
129	...	...	...	...	...	Onlefort	...	Onlefort	Onlefort
130	...	...	...	...	...	Incaford	...	Incaford	Incaford
131	...	...	...	...	...	Souneral	...	Souneral	Souneral
132	...	...	...	...	...	Incafort	...	Incafort	Incafort
133	...	...	...	...	...	Sandclot	...	Sandclot	Sandclot
134	...	...	...	...	...	Flodi	...	Sandclot	Sandclot
135	...	...	...	...	...	Lonabies	...	...	...
136	...	...	...	...	...	Itiant	...	Lombics	Lombics
137	...	...	...	...	...	Bristund	...	Itiant	Itiant
138	...	...	...	...	...	Scaluogi	...	Bristund	Bristund
139	...	...	...	...	...	S. Magnus	...	Scaluogi	Scaluogi
140	...	...	...	...	...	cledere	...	S. Magnus	S. Magnus
141	...	...	...	...	...	Sumbercouit	...	Eledere	Eledere
								S. Vambercouit	Sumbercouit

NAMES ON SCOTLAND AND ADJACENT ISLANDS.

142	Scotia	Scotic Regnum	Scotia	Scotic pars	...	SCOTIA	SCOTIA	SCOTIA	142
143	...	Leasat	Levisat	Livs	...	Tev	...	Tev	143
144	...	beira	bara	...	...	Ara	...	Ara	144
145	...	...	...	...	...	Lopapia	...	Lopapia	145
146	...	...	...	...	...	Contanis	...	Contanis	146

MISCELLANEOUS NAMES.

147	...	...	...	...	...	ICARIA*	ICARIA	ICARIA	147
148	...	...	...	...	...	ESTOTILANO*	ESTOTILANDA	ESTOTILANO	148
149	...	...	...	...	...	DRACIO*	DRACIO	DRACIO	149
150	...	...	...	...	...	Mare et terre incognitæ	{ Open Sea and GYARDYS INSULA }	{ Open Sea and GYARDYS INSULA }	150

\* Do not appear on any map before Zeno's "Carta da Navegar" of 1558.

## APPENDIX V.

Table showing identifications of Zenian localities, by  
various authors, viz. :

- 1784-86. FORSTER, John Reinhold, *Hist. of Voyages and Discoveries in the North*.
- 1784. BUACHE, *Memoire sur l'Isle Frislande* in *L'Hist. de l'Academie des Sciences*.
- 1794. EGGER, H. P. von, *Ueber die Wahre lage des alten Ostgrönlands* and *Prüsskrist om Grönlands Osterbygds sande Beliggenhed*.
- 1806. ZURLA, Placido, *Il Mappamondo di Fra Mauro*.
- 1808. " " *Dissertazione intorno ai viaggi, etc., de N. e A. Zeno*.
- 1818. " " The same, with slight alterations, in his *Di Marco Polo*, vol. ii.
- 1828. WALCKENAER, Baron, Letter to Dezos de la Roquette, in Michaud's *Biographie Universelle*, Article "N. et A. Zeno," vol. lii.
- 1845. BREDSORFF, J. H., *Brødrene Zeno's Reiser*, in *Grönlands Historiske Mindesmarker*.
- 1852. LELEWEL, Joachim, *Géographie du Moyen Age*.
- 1855. ERIZZO, Miniscalchi, *Scoperte Artiche*.
- 1873. MAJOR, R. H., *Voyages of the Venetian Brothers Nicold and Antonio Zeno, etc.*
- 1878. KRARUP, *Reise til Norden al Tolknungs Forsøg and Om Zeniernes Reise til Norden*.
- 1879. IRMINGER, Admiral, *Zeno's Frisland is Iceland and not the Færoes*, in *Journ. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xlix.
- 1883. STEENSTRUP, Japetus, *Zeniernes Reiser i Norden*, in *Årbøger for Nord Oldkindighed*.
- 1884. " " *Les Voyages des Frères Zeno dans le Nord*, in *Compte Rendu du Congrès des Americanistes*, Copenhagen, 1884.

Appendix V.

IDENTIFICATIONS OF NAMES ON GREENLAND.

1558. Zeno Map.	1794. Eggers.	18—, Walckenaer.	1845. Bridgford.	1854. Lefschütz.	1855. Erizzo.	1873. Major.	1878. Krump.	1884. Stenstrup.
1 Crolandia ...	Greenland	...	...	Greenland	...	...	...	(Stenstrup's interpretations of names on Engronnelant are mostly founded on philological grounds, and are often too long for tabulation.)
2 S. Tomas Zenobium	...	...	{ Ruins reported to have been seen near Igloodurssit, between 65°-66° N. Lat.	I. Bonetto	{ Monast. S. Benedetto in Ransfjord (i)	{ First Omartok, afterwards abandoned in favour of S. Olaus Monast. on Tessermit Fjord.	{ Russian Convent on the White Sea.	2
3 Ther promont.	...	...	Bereford (?)	Cape Parry	...	...	...	3
4 Boier f.	...	...	...	Scoreby Sound	...	...	...	4
5 Chin prom.	...	...	Nafli (Icelandic)	C. Galeland	...	...	...	5
6 Naf fl	...	...	Kotesermio (?)	Cite inermar	...	...	...	6
7 Hian promontor.	...	...	Greenland ...	Hertofines	...	...	...	7
8 ENGRONELANT.	{ James Island in Baffin's Bay }	{ The southern part of Iceland }	Asiout	Rams Hoogde.	...	...	{ Han or Ham = the English word Home. Evident in Schleswig.	8
9 Glii promontor.	...	...	Hennessy's fjord	C. Discond	...	...	Lapland	9
10 Lande fl	...	...	Cap Bille (?)	...	...	...	...	10
11 Munder promontor.	...	...	Andafjörðr	...	...	...	...	11
12 Han fl	...	...	{ Cape between Mundingen and Aglutsook }	C. Farewell	...	...	...	12
13 Trin promontor.	...	Mull (Hebrides).	Aurriðafjörðr	{ Tessermit { Kullsfjord }	...	...	...	13
14 A ier f	...	...	{ (?) Misreading for Irice f. Ecksfjord }	C. Desolation	{ C. Egede in I. Sermesok }	...	{ Aver (= Aber) = the mouth of a river.	14
15 Af promontor.	...	...	Hornanes (perhaps a name for Cape Desolation, on account of its shape).	Frideriksfjord	...	...	...	15
16 Nice f	...	...	Anavik	C. Christian	...	...	...	16
17 Hoen promontor.	...	...	{ Misreading for P. Vestre = Baals River }	...	...	...	...	17
18 Han fl.	...	...	Petrsvik	Bearund	...	...	...	18
19 Diaver promontor.	...	...	Dyrafjörðr	C. Comfort	...	...	...	19
20 Fiestle	...	...	Sandnes	Baal River	...	...	...	20
21 Hit promontor	...	...	a nefum (Icelandic)	C. Chidley	...	...	...	21
22 Feder f	...	...	...	In S.E. Bay	...	...	...	22
23 Duier fumen	...	...	...	In Jacob's Bay.	...	...	...	23
24 Sadi promontor	...	...	...	{ C. Blackhak or C. Cranstown }	...	...	Sandi = a dune	24
25 Nlia promontor	...	...	...	C. Svartehuk	...	...	...	25
26 Neum promontor.	...	...	...	C. Seddon	...	...	...	26

# IDENTIFICATIONS OF NAMES ON ICELAND.

	1558. <i>Zeno Map.</i>	1794. <i>Eggers.</i>	1845. <i>Bredsdorff.</i>	1852. <i>Leiswel.</i>	1855. <i>Erizzo.</i>	1873. <i>Majör.</i>
27	Islandia	Iceland	Iceland	Iceland	...	...
28	Anaford	Arnafordr	...	Hanförd	...	...
29	Tubos	...	Tjaldnes (?) or Thorunes	...	...	...
30	lucel	...	Glanajökull (?)	...	...	...
31	estrabo	Vestrophsholar	...	Snarfelvögel	...	...
32	Honos f	Mouth of the Hunavatsna	...	Berdestrand in Westland	...	...
33	Conesol	Spakonufells or Skagastrandar-Höfn.	...	R. Hounavals	...	...
34	Olenis	Holar	Spätonufell	Tindisföll (?)	...	...
35	Havos	Hofós	Hofós	Holar	...	...
36	Noder	Modruvalla Klausr	...	Ille Heis	...	...
37	Mane	Munte Thvera Klausr	...	Modervaller	...	...
38	Dos	...	...	Minotn	...	...
39	Aiscl	Eyafialla } both in Rangarvalla- Rangarvalla } sysla	Eyafjöll	Orosoc	...	...
40	Valen	Sealvogr in Arnesysla	{ Steinsholt in Rangarvalla Sysse- or, perhaps, Skalholt	Ranaa Valle	...	...
41	Sleoth	* Geirfuglesker, near Reykianes	...	Siglavik	...	...
42	Flogascr	Reykjavik in Guldbringesyssa	Öxará	Fugle aster	...	...
43	Ochos	...	{ Reykjavik or, perhaps, Reykianes	As (?)	...	...
44	Rok	...	Skalholt	...	...	...
45	Scalodin	...	...	Skalholt	...	...

## IDENTIFICATIONS OF NAMES ON SEVEN ISLANDS EAST OF ICELAND.

	The Islands together	Austfordingafordungr	Part of Iceland	Part of Iceland	Shetlands (misplaced)	Shetlands (misplaced)
46	Mimant	{ Myvatn, N. part of Mulesysla and greater part of Thingysysla }	Myvatnsveit	† Ile Meinnaar, or I. Moisen	Mainland	Mainland
47	Bres	† Part of Mulesysla	Berastad	Mouth of R. Brou	Bresla	Bressay
48	Tals	Part of Mulesysla	The Icelandic Dair	Tangoe	Icell	Yelli
49	Danbert	Breidmerkisökl in Skaptafellsysla	{ Bjarnanes (?), further south than Berunes	...	Hemer in N. of Mainland	Hanna
50	Brons	Bornes in Mulesysla	...	Berouford	Burra	E. and W. Barra
51	Isant	Skapta, in W. of Skaptafellsysla	Skopta	Escasford	Unst	Unst
52	Trans	Torfajökul	Torfajökull	...	Tronda	St. Ronans Isle

\* Geirfugl, Skarvia = Great a-b's Rocks. There were three, if not four, skarvia so called round Iceland; the one here referred to disappeared in 1850. The last geirfugl was killed on Elsey Island in 1844.  
† Leiswel (vol. IV, p. 95) writes that only the island Mimant of these upon the Zeno Chart can be considered real; the others represent supposed currents of the sea.  
‡ The castle built by Nicolò Zeno in Bres = Berastad.

## IDENTIFICATION OF NAME OF AN ISLAND

	1558. Zeno Map.	1784. J. R. Forster.	1784. Buache.	1794. Eggers.	18—. Walckenaer.	1845. Bredsdorff.	
53	Grislada ...	{ Grimsey, or per- haps Enkhuysen }	...	Westmanna Is. ...	Mainland Shetlands.	{ Goroee, near the Romsdal, Norway }	53

## IDENTIFICATIONS OF

54	Frisland ...	{ Farø, small island in the Orkneys }	The Faroes ...	The Faroes ...	N.E. part of Ireland	Færo ...	54
55	Monaco ...	...	Munk ou Le Moine ...	Munken ...	...	Munken ...	55
56	Portlanda ...	The Faroes ...	Suderoe ...	Part of Syderoe ...	N.E. part of Ireland	Porkeri ...	56
57	Ocibar ...	...	...	Gjögurá ...	...	Gjögvaraa ...	57
58	C. Cunala ...	...	...	Oexlin ...	...	Qvönnafjeld ...	58
59	Verias ...	...	...	(Vens) Famlan ...	...	(Vera) Beinivera ...	59
60	Sudero Colfo ...	...	{ Sound between Stromoe and Sandoe }	Sudero fiord ...	Bay of Galloway ...	Sudero fjord ...	60
61	Sanestol ...	Schantsoer ...	...	Sands in Sandoe ...	{ Mouth of the Shannon }	Sands ...	61
62	Ledeve ...	Lewis ...	Hestoe ...	Part of Suderoe ...	Lewis ...	Sörvaag on Vaagö ...	62
63	Ilofe ...	Islay ...	Colter ...	Skuoe ...	Uist ...	Myggenæs ...	63
64	C. Deria ...	...	...	Frodl hodai ...	...	Tréair ...	64
65	Banar ...	...	...	Skopunnarvig ...	...	Baren ...	65
66	Colfo Nordero ...	...	{ Sound between Stromoe and Waagoe }	...	...	{ Vestmanna- havr. fjord }	66
67	Bondendea Porti ...	Pondontown in Skye ...	...	{ Near Kirkcuboe, Thorshavn }	Brandon in Kerry ...	{ (?) Funding dal Vestmanhavn }	67
68	C. Bouct ...	...	Mygnes ...	Myggenæs ...	...	Mulen ...	68
69	Cabaru ...	...	...	C. Beari ...	...	Svartaa ...	69
70	Spagia ...	...	I. Stachen ...	Saxenhavn ...	...	Stakken ...	70
71	C. Vidil ...	...	...	Kiedling ...	...	Eide ...	71
72	Andefort ...	...	Andefort ...	Andaford ...	...	Andefjord ...	72
73	Aqua ...	...	Funding ...	...	...	Gjogv ...	73
74	Dolfo ...	...	...	Kalsoe ...	...	Kalsö ...	74
75	Alanco ...	...	...	Blanskaali ...	...	Blankskale ...	75
76	Forali ...	...	Fugle ...	Haraldsund ...	...	Haraldssund ...	76
77	Dvi ...	...	{ Group of four islands, Norderoe }	Konoe ...	...	Mule ...	77
78	Campa ...	...	...	Strait in Bordoe ...	...	Lamba ...	78
79	Logosilos ...	...	Gosti Kladi ...	Episcopos ...	...	Skaaletofte ...	79
80	Rane ...	...	Arne ...	Quanesund ...	...	Arnefjord ...	80
81	Vadin ...	...	...	...	...	Vai ...	81
82	Abde ...	...	...	...	...	...	82
83	Pigiu ...	...	Fugloc ...	A rock ...	...	(Figlu) Fuglö ...	83
84	Ibini ...	...	Bispen ...	Svinoe ...	...	(Isbini) Svinö ...	84
85	Rifu ...	...	...	...	...	Rideviig ...	85
86	Rovca ...	...	Lamhau ...	Bordoe ...	...	Hoiviig ...	86
87	{ Frisland [town] }	Stromoe (Faroes) ...	Kingshavn ...	{ A place in Osteroe }	{ Belfast or Downpatrick }	Thorshavn ...	87
88	Dossais ...	...	...	Strait Toftir ...	...	{ [Doff Nes] Tofte og Næs }	88
89	Streme ...	...	Nolsoc ...	Stor Dimon ...	...	Strömdö ...	89
90	Godmec ...	...	Thorshavn ...	Strait Skaalevig ...	...	Skaaleviig ...	90
91	Spirige ...	...	...	Porkerjinas ...	...	Sur aa Vuig ...	91
92	SORAND ...	{ Suderoe, or Sureona, i.e., the Western Isles }	Scarvenes ...	I. Suderey ...	{ On N.E. part of Ireland }	Sudero, Qvalbö ...	92
93	Anieses ...	...	...	Strait of Nes ...	...	Aa Nesi ...	93

## IDENTIFICATIONS OF NAMES

94	Ncome ...	...	...	Foula ...	Isla ...	Foula ...	94
95	Podanda ...	...	...	Fair Isle ...	...	Pentland ...	95



## OFF SOUTH COAST OF ICELAND.

	1852. <i>Lehweh.</i>	1855. <i>Erizzo.</i>	1873. <i>Major.</i>	1879. <i>Irming.</i>	1884. <i>Steenstrup.</i>	
53	...	...	{ Grossey, Orkneys }	...	{ Corruption of Wrislanda = Frislanda = Reisland = Islanda. Iceland. }	53

## NAMES ON FRISLAND.

54	The Faroes ...	Mainland, Orkneys	The Faroes ...	Iceland ...	Iceland ...	54
55	Munkurin ...	...	...	Westmanno	Westmanna Isles ...	55
56	Holmarin ...	...	Pentland (?)	Portland	...	56
57	Oravujuk (?)	...	...	Orebakke	Orebakke on the S. ...	57
58	Kvalbjø (Bay)	...	...	...	Conical hill on Reykianes (Italian = cuneale)	58
59	W. of Witternes	...	...	...	...	59
60	Sudero Sund	...	Sudero fjord	...	Sudere Tiefe in continental Friesland	60
61	Sandoe	...	{ Sandsbugtin Sandoe }	{ Budensland Havnefjord Hvalfjord }	Steinsolt in Sudere Tiefe	61
62	Troll-hoddi I.	...	Lille Dimon	...	...	62
63	Kolter I.	...	{ Store Dimon and Skuoe }	...	...	63
64	Drassund	...	...	Snæfeldsnæs	Snæfeldsnæset	64
65	...	...	...	Bjarnarhöfn	Bjarnarhafn = Stykkisholmr	65
66	Washes Vaagoe	...	...	Brede Bugt	Nordere Tiefe in continental Friesland	66
67	{ Town on the Island Vaagoe Mujlingur, S. point of Stromoe }	...	Norderdahl	Budardalr Stykkisholm	Bondum or Bundum in Nordere Tiefe	67
68	...	...	...	...	C(olfo) Bolungur	68
69	...	...	...	...	Fugleberg	69
70	Svujnafir	...	...	Skagen	Skagen on N.W. point	70
71	Kadlurin	...	...	...	C(olfo) Veidileysa	71
72	Andafer	...	...	Arnarfjord	Arnarfjord. N.W. point of Iceland	72
73	...	...	...	...	Vatnsfjord	73
74	{ A fiord near Mikla-dal }	...	...	...	* Hvalvatnsfjodr-pt. (See 76.)	74
75	Lambha (?)	...	...	...	{ Alanco for Bianco = Hvitabjorns Vandet = Hunavtn }	75
76	Bordoe	...	...	...	* Hvalvatnsfjodr-pt. (See 74.)	76
77	Deble in Bordoe	...	...	...	Grimsey	77
78	...	...	...	...	Sletta = a field, a plain	78
79	Blankskala	...	...	Langanæs	...	79
80	{ Île Kunoj with its town Kuni }	...	...	Raudanæs	Randanes	80
81	Videroe	...	...	Vafnafjord	...	81
82	...	...	...	...	...	82
83	Fugloe	...	...	...	...	83
84	Bispen	...	...	...	...	84
85	Rutewik (?)	...	...	Reidarfjord	...	85
86	Larvijk	...	...	Roverhavn	...	86
87	A town in Ostroe	{ Kirkwall, Main- land Orkneys }	Thorshavn	...	Continental Friesland	87
88	Tofter in Ostroe	...	...	...	...	88
89	{ Stromoe, especi- ally Thorshavn }	...	...	...	Ostrehorn	89
90	Nolsoe	...	...	...	...	90
91	Porkieri	...	...	...	...	91
92	Suderoe	...	I. Swona (?)	...	...	92
93	Mavanes	...	...	Arnæs-syssel	Arnessyssel	93

## ON TWO ISLANDS.

94	Foula	...	Pentland	...	...	94
95	Fair Isle	...	...	...	...	95

\* Steenstrup treats Dolfo Forali as one name.

Appendix V.—continued.

IDENTIFICATIONS OF NAMES ON NORWAY, SWEDEN, AND DENMARK.

1558. <i>Zeno Map.</i>	1794. <i>Eggers.</i>	1845. <i>Bredtveit.</i>	1852. <i>Lekens.</i>	
96 Norway	Norway	...	...	96
97 Tromsø	Tromsø	...	...	97
98 Langens	Langens in Vestraalen	...	...	98
99 Engal	Engelund	...	...	99
100 Trondo	Trondhjem	...	...	100
101 Duten	(Torten) Trondhjem's Leed	...	...	101
102 Söpel	Stoppeløer	...	...	102
103 Bruc	Bresund	...	...	103
104 Scorp	Skorpø	...	...	104
105 Stat	Stadland	...	...	105
106 Stesont	Stensund or Stavens	...	...	106
107 Bergen	Bergen	...	...	107
108 Scutenes	Stutenes	...	...	108
109 Scute	Stone (Sira) between Hardanger Fjord and Selbofjord, or the land between Bullefjord and Bummeffjord	...	...	109
110 Garsndeb	Gjesdal	...	...	110
111 Eceser	Egersund	...	...	111
112 Racucit	Rasvag on Hitteroe	...	...	112
113 Tlaat	Listerland	...	...	113
114 Geranes	Lindernes	...	...	114
115 SVICIA	...	...	...	115
116 GOCIA	...	...	...	116
117 DANIA	...	...	...	117
118 Bonvenbergen	C. Bovbjerg	...	...	118
119 Munit	Immo (Strait)	...	...	119
120 Uthoc	C. Vesterhorn	...	...	120
121 Fanu	Fanø	...	...	121
122 Manu	Mandø	...	...	122
123 Ruin	Rønø	...	...	123
124 Salt	Sylt	...	...	124
125 Ahiere	Anrom	...	...	125
126 Fuy	Før	...	...	126
110	Gjesdal	...	...	110
111	Egersund	...	...	111
112	Rasvag on Hitteroe	...	...	112
113	Listerland	...	...	113
114	Lindernes	...	...	114
115	...	...	...	115
116	...	...	...	116
117	...	...	...	117
118	C. Bovbjerg	...	...	118
119	Immo (Strait)	...	...	119
120	C. Vesterhorn	...	...	120
121	Fanø	...	...	121
122	Mandø	...	...	122
123	Rønø	...	...	123
124	Sylt	...	...	124
125	Anrom	...	...	125
126	Før	...	...	126

# IDENTIFICATIONS OF NAMES ON SHETLAND.

	1558. <i>Zena Map.</i>	1784. <i>J. R. Forster.</i>	1794. <i>Eggers.</i>	1806-18. <i>Zenla.</i>	1810-17. <i>Multebra.</i>	18—. <i>Walden.</i>	1845. <i>Bridgess.</i>	1852. <i>Leland.</i>	1855. <i>Erizzo.</i>	1873. <i>Meyer.</i>	1878. <i>Krupp.</i>
127	ESTLAND	The Shetlands	The Shetlands	...	...	{ Peninsula on the north of Scotland }	...	Shetlands	...	...	...
128	Oloford	...	...	...	...	...	{ Perhaps only a repetition of Onlefarth (follows Eggers) }	Valeyund	...	...	...
129	Onlefort	...	...	...	...	...	...	Rade d'Onlefort	...	...	...
130	Incaford	...	...	...	...	...	...	Hannavoe on Papa	...	...	...
131	Sonucal	...	...	...	...	...	...	Sandvik	...	...	...
132	Incafort	...	...	...	...	...	...	{ Hannavoe, Nord Marva }	...	...	...
133	Sandeiot	...	...	...	...	...	...	Sandvick, or Sandvick in Yell	...	...	...
134	Plodi	...	...	...	...	...	...	Fedlar	...	...	...
135	Lonabies	...	...	...	...	...	...	Peninsula Lunna	...	...	...
136	Idant	...	...	...	...	...	...	Lambanes in Unst	...	...	...
137	Brittund	...	...	...	...	...	...	Brassa Sound	...	...	...
138	Sealuog	...	...	...	...	...	...	Stallway	...	...	...
139	S. Magnus	...	...	...	...	...	...	St. Magnus Bay	...	...	...
140	Cledere	...	...	...	...	...	...	{ Island to the West of Mainland }	...	...	...
141	Sumbercouth	...	...	...	...	...	...	Sumburgh Head	...	...	...

# IDENTIFICATIONS OF NAMES ON SCOTLAND.

142	SCOTIA	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
143	Tev	...	...	...	...	...	...	{ Tew on the River Toungo }	...	...	...
144	Ara	...	...	...	...	...	...	{ Ro on the N. coast of Scotland }	...	...	...
145	Lopapia	...	...	...	...	...	...	The Papa, Papalvestr	...	...	...
146	Contanis	...	...	...	...	...	...	Cathness	...	...	...

# IDENTIFICATIONS OF MISCELLANEOUS NAMES.

147	ICARIA	{ Kerry in Ireland }	Newfoundland	Newfoundland	...	L. of Skye	{ Coast of Co. Mayo, Ireland, Benvea Head, Broadhaven, etc. }	...	{ The Sunkin Land of Buss. }	{ One of the Faroos }	147
148	ESTOTLAND	Newfoundland	Labrador	Labrador	{ Newfoundland land (East of Scotland and the outland) }	The northern part of Nova Scotia same as Esland	Most likely Nova Scotia or the ancient Markland	...	Newfoundland	...	148
149	DRUGRO	Florida	Nova Scotia	Nova Scotia	{ N.E. America from Canada to Florida }	{ Southern part of Ireland }	Florida	{ Anicosti or Cap Breton }	...	...	149
150	{ Marc et Terre incognite }	...	...	...	...	...	...	{ Nova Scotia, Acadia and New England }	...	...	150

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## APPENDIX VI.

### CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL AUTHORITIES, LITERARY AND CARTOGRAPHICAL.

#### (A) AUTHORITIES EARLIER THAN 1558.

1154. **Edrisi.** *Tabula Rotunda Rogeriana.* (1)  
From Edrisi's description. The original, engraved on silver for Roger, King of Sicily, now lost. Two copies only of Edrisi's illustrative map are known (*vide* Lelewel), one at Oxford, the other in Paris. A small reproduction is given in the Atlas to Lelewel's *Géog. du Moyen Âge*, and a description in the text of that work, Vol. I., Prolegomena lii-lxvii, and sections 54-64.
1154. **Edrisi.** *Tabula Itineraria Edrisiana.* (2)  
From a MS. Atlas in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (*vide* Lelewel). Small restoration of part in Atlas to Lelewel's *Géog. du Moyen Âge*, Plates XI. and XII. Description in the same work, Vol. I., sections 60-64, and Vol. III., pp. 73-82.
1360. **Hyggeden, Ranulphus de.** *Imago Mundi.*  
Map illustrating the MS. *Polyconyon* of Hyggeden. (3)  
Reproduction in Lelewel's *Géog. du Moyen Âge*, Atlas, Plate XXV.
1367. **Pizigani, Francesco and Marco.** Map of the World. Original in the National Library, Parma. (4)  
Facsimile in Jomard's *Monuments Géographiques*, Map X. [Brit. Mus. S. 11. 1.] also, Photograph by F. Odorici, Parma, 1875 [Brit. Mus. S. 205 (3)].
1375. [Anon.] *Atlas Catalan de Charles V., Roi de France.* (The "Catalane" Map.) (5)  
Facsimile in Santarem's *Atlas* [Brit. Mus. Tab. 1850. A.], Plate XIII.; and a better one in Schöler's *Documents Géographiques*, Paris, 1883 [Brit. Mus. S. 35. 5]; see also Fig. 3 on p. 107 *supra*, and No. 368.
- [1427, c.] **Clavus, Claudius.** Map of the North Atlantic. (6)  
Facsimiles in Storm's *Den Danske Geograf Claudius Clavus* (*infra*, No. 364) and in Nordenkjöld's *Facsimile Atlas* (*infra*, No. 360). See also p. 58, *supra*.
1436. **Bianco, Andrea.** Map. Original in Biblioteca Marciana, Venice. (7)  
Photograph by Ongania, Venice, 1879. See also p. 106, *supra*, fig. 1.
1448. **Bianco, Andrea.** Map. Original in Biblio. Ambrosiana, Milan. (8)  
Photograph by Ongania, Venice, 1879.
- 1457-9. **Mauro, Fra.** *Mappa Mondo.* Original in R. Biblio. Marciana di Venezia. (9)  
Full-sized photograph taken for Baron Heath. Small facsimiles in Lelewel's *Géog. du Moyen Âge*, and in Zuti's *Mappamondo di Fra Mauro*, Venice, 1806. See Plate 1, *infra*.
- [1467, c.] **Zamolski Map.** Original in Biblio. Zamolskiensi, Warsaw. (10)  
Reproduced in Nordenkjöld's *Facsimile Atlas*, 1889, and on a reduced scale in Plate II., *infra*.
- 14— ? [Anon.] Catalan Map. Original in Biblio. Ambrosiana, Milan. [S. P. II. 5.] (11)  
Reproduced in Baron Nordenkjöld's *Bidrag till Nordens Aldsta Kartografi*, Stockholm, 1892, Plate V. See also fig. 7, opposite p. 111, *supra*.
- 14— ? [Anon.] Map of North Europe and Greenland from a fifteenth century MS. of *Ptolemy*, in the Biblio. Nazionale, Florence. [Sec. xv. '1444.] (12)  
Reproduced in Nordenkjöld's *Bidrag till Nordens Aldsta Kartografi*, Stockholm, 1892.
- 14— ? [Anon.] Map of Scandinavia and Greenland, original in MS. of Christ. Ensenius' *Descriptio Cieladum aliarumque insularum*, in Biblio. Laurenziana, Florence. [Plut. xxix., Cod. xxv., Sec. xv.] (13)  
Reproduced in Nordenkjöld's *Bidrag*, etc.
- 14— ? [Anon.] Map of Scandinavia and Greenland, from a MS. *Ptolemy* in Biblio. Laurenziana, Florence. [Plut. xxx., Cod. 3.] (14)  
Reproduced in Nordenkjöld's *Bidrag*, etc.
1482. **Donis, Nicolaus.** *Engronclant, Norbegia Suetiaque et Gottia Occidentalis.* Map from the *Ptolemai Cosmographia* (edited by Nicolaus Donis), Ulm, 1482. (15)  
See Plate III., *infra*.
1492. **Behaim, Martin.** Globe. (16)  
Facsimiles in Ghillany's *Geschichte des Seefahrers Ritter, Martin Behaim*, Nuremberg, 1853; and, of part, in Lelewel's *Géog. du Moyen Âge*.
1493. **Schedel, Hartmann.** *Registrum huius operis libri cronicarum cum figuris et ymaginibus ab inicio mundi.* Schedel, Nuremberg, 1493. [The Nuremberg Chronicle.] (17)  
Map of North Europe on folio ccxcia verso.
1497. **Ancone, Fredrici D' (Wolfenbutel).** Map. (18)  
Facsimile in Santarem's *Atlas*, see No. 299 [Brit. Mus. Tab. 1850. A.], Plate LXXIV. See also p. 108 *supra*, fig. 4.

1500. **Cosa, Juan de la.** Map of the World, signed and dated thus:—*Juan de la Cosa la hizo en el Puerto de Santa Maria en año de 1500.* Original in the Naval Museum, Madrid. (19)  
Facsimiles in Jomard's *Mémoires de la Géographie* (Map XVI.) of portions on Humboldt's *Examen Critique*; Lelewel's *Gég. du Moyen Age*; Stevens' *Historical Notes*. Full-sized facsimile by Vallejo and Traynor, Madrid, 1893. See also p. 106 *supra*, fig. 2.
1502. **Cantino, Alberto.** Carta da Navegar per le Isole novamen<sup>te</sup> tr: &c. Original in Biblio. Estense, Modena. (20)  
Facsimile in Harisse's *Les Cartes*, 1883.
1502. [Anon.] The "King" Map. Original in the possession of Dr. E. T. Hamy. (21)  
Described with reduced facsimiles in *Notice sur une Mappemonde Portugaise Anonyme de 1502 récemment découverte à Londres*, par le Dr. E. T. Hamy, in the *Bulletin de Géographie historique et descriptive*, No. 4, Paris, 1887, and in Harisse's *Discovery of North America*, 1892.
- [1505, c.] [Anon.] Map of the Atlantic, from Kunstmann's *Entdeckung Amerika's*, Berlin, 1859 [Brit. Mus. Tab. 1850. A.], Atlas. Blatt. II. (22)
- 1505 (?). **Vespucci, Amerigo.** Lettera di Amerigo Vespucci delle isole nuouamente trovate in quattro suoi viaggi. Florence, 1505 (?). [Brit. Mus. G. 6535.] (23)  
Facsimile and translation, Quaritch, 1893, 4to. See *infra*, No. 375.
1507. **Montalboddo, Fracanzio da.** Paesi novamente ritrovati et Novo Mondo da Alberico Vesputio Fiorentino intitulato. Vicenza, m.cccc.vii. (24)
- 1507 (?). **Sabellico, Marcantonio.** Storia della Repubblica di Venezia. (25)  
Haym (*Biblioteca Italiana*, vol. I. p. 93, n. 6 and 7) mentions editions of (?) 1507, 1544, 1550, 1558, and 1568.
1507. **Ruysch, Johan.** Universalior Cogniti Orbis Tabula, Map in the *Ptolemy* (Beneventanus), Rome, 1508. (26)
1508. [Anon.] Italian Portolano of the Genoese School, in the British Museum [MS. Egerton 2803]. (27)  
Contains two maps showing Finland. See page 110, *supra*.
1508. **Madriagnano, Archangelo.** Itinerarium Portugallensium e Lusitania in Indiam & inde in occidentem & demum ad Aquilonem. Milan, m.cccc.viii. (28)  
An incorrect translation of No. 34.
1511. **Sylvanus, Bernardus.** C. Ptolemaei Liber Geographiae cum Tabulis &c. Venice, m.d.xi. Folio. (29)  
The version of Jacobus Angelus, edited by Bernardus Sylvanus of Ebo. Twenty-eight double-page maps, including the modern cordiform map of the world.
1511. **Martyr, Peter.** P. Martyris angli Mediolanensis opera Legatio babylonica Oceani decas Poemata Epigrammata. 1511. (30)
1513. **Eszler, Jac. and Ubelin, Geo.** Ptolemy *Geographia* (with Supplement). Strasburg, 1513. Folio. (31)  
Twenty-seven ancient and twenty modern maps. The modern maps were prepared by Walteemüller (Hylacomylus), and most of them engraved as early as 1507.
1515. **Schöner, Johann.** Luculentissima quaedam terrae totius descriptio: cum multis utilissimis Cosmographiae iniciis &c. Nuremberg, Stuchsen, 1515. 4to. (32)
1516. **Giustiniano, Agostino.** Palterium Hebraeum Graecum Arabicum et Chaldeum cum tribus latinis interpretationibus et glossis (by Agostino Giustiniano, Bishop of Nebbio). Milan, 1516. (33)  
Contains a short life of Christopher Columbus, introduced as a note to Psalm xix. 4.
1517. **Montalboddo, Frac. da.** Paesi novamente ritrovati. Venezia, m.cccc.xvii. (34)
1521. **Martyr, Peter.** De nuper sub D. Carolo Repertis Insulis simulatq incolarum moribus R. Petri Martyris Enchiridion, &c. Basle, m.d.xxi. (35)
- 1525, c. **Oliva, Ferdinand Perez de.** Manuscript. Ferdinandi Perez de Oliva tractatus manu et hispano sermone scriptus de vita et gestis D. Christophori Colon primi Indiarum Almirantis et maris oceanis dominatoris. Dividitur in 9 Enarrationes sive capitula quorum prim. Inc. Cristoval Colon ginovés. nonum et ultimum D. los otros destos las oyan. Deo gratias. Esta en 4°. (36)  
See Harisse, *Fernand Colomb*, 1872, p. 152.
- 1527-1561. **Casas, Bartolomé de las.** Historia de las Indias. By Bartolomé de las Casas, Bishop of Chiapa. (37)  
Written between the above dates, but known in manuscript only until it was printed in Madrid, 1875-6. See No. 321.
1526. **Boethius, Hector.** Scotorum Historiae a prima Gentis origine, &c. [Paris], 1526. [Brit. Mus. 600, m. 15.] (38)
1528. **Bordone, Benedetto.** Libro de Benedetto Bordone nel qual si ragiona de tutte l'Isole del Mondo, &c. Venice, m.d.xviii. (39)
1530. **Martyr, Peter.** De Orbe Novo Petri Martyris ab Angleria Mediolanensis Protonotarii Caesaris senatoris decades. Alcala, m.d.xxx. (40)
1533. **Martyr, Peter.** De rebus Oceanicis & de Orbe novo decades tres &c. Basle, m.d.xxxiii. (41)
1534. **Martyr, Peter.** Libro Primo della Historia del' Indie occidentale summario de la generale Historie de l'Indie Occidentale cavato de Libri scritti del Signor Don Pietro Martyr. 1534. (42)  
An Italian summary of the first three decades.
1535. **Oviedo, Gonzalo Hernandez de.** La Historia general de las Indias. 1 vol., fol. Seville, 1535. (43)  
The first part only. A second edition, 1547, contained an additional chapter. The whole work was first printed in Madrid, 1853-55. 4 vols., fol.
1535. **Villanovanus, M. (Servetus).** Ptolemy's Geographia. Lyons, m.d.xxxv. Folio. (44)  
Edited by Michael Villanovanus (Servetus).
- 1536 (?). **Barbaro, Marco.** Discendenze Patrizie. (Manuscript.) (45)  
Quoted by Zurita from a copy then (1808) in the possession of Lorenzo Antonio da Ponte. There is a copy in the British Museum (MS. Egerton 1155) dated 1679. See No. 175.
1536. **Ziegler, Jacob.** Terræ Sanctæ quam Palestinam nominant; Syriæ, Arabiæ, Ægypti et Schondiam doctissima descriptio &c. Authore Jacobo Zieglero. m.d.xxxvi. (46)
1537. **Grynæus, Simon.** Novus Orbis Regionum ac Insularum veteribus incognitarum &c. Basle, m.d.xxxvii. Folio. (47)

1537. **Giustiniano, Agostino.** Castigatissimi Annali della Eccelsa et illustrissima Republica di Genoa da fideli et approvati scrittori per el Reverendo Monsignore Giustiniano Genoese Vescovo di Nebio. Genoa, 1537. (48)
1538. **Mercator [Kaufmann], Gerard.** Terrestrial Globe of this date. (49)  
Facsimile in Nordenskjöld's *Facsimile Atlas*, 1889.
1539. **Magnus, Olaus.** Carta Marina et Descriptio Septentrionalium Terrarum ac Mirabilium rerum in eis contentarum diligentissime elaborata Anno Dñi 1539 Veneciis liberalitate R<sup>m</sup> D. Ieronimi Quirini Patriarch: Venetiæ. (50)  
A unique copy of the original is in the State Library, Munich. Reduced facsimile in Brenner's *Die Ächte Karte des Olaus Magnus*, 1886. Portion reproduced in Plate IV., *infra*.
1539. **Magnus, Olaus.** Opera breve, laquale dimostra, e dichiara overo da il mondo facile da intendere la charta over delle terre frigidissime di Settentione: oltre il mare Germanico, dove si contengono le cose mirabilissime di quelli paesi fin'a quest' hora non cognosciute, ne da Greci, ne da Latini. Stampata in Venetia per Giovan Thomaso, del Reame di Neapoli nel anno de Nostro Signore MDXXXIX. (51)  
4to. [Brit. Mus., C. 55. c. 2.]
1541. **Mercator [Kaufmann], Gerard.** Terrestrial Globe of this date. (52)  
Described and copied in Remondk's *Les Sphères Terrestres et Célestes*, 1541, 1551, & Gerard Mercator. St. Nicholas, 1875.
1542. **Münster, Sebastian.** Ptolemy's Geographia. Basle, M.D.XLII. Folio. (53)  
The second edition of Sebastian Münster's *Ptolemy*. (1st edition, 1540.)
1544. **[Zeno, Jacopo.]** La Vita del Magnifico M. Carlo Zeno, Egregio, & Valoroso Capitano della Illustrissima Republica Venetiana. Composta dal Reverendo Gianiacomo Feltrense, & tradotta in vulgare, Per Messer Francesco Quirino. In Venetia, M.D.XLIII. (54)  
The author was Jacopo Zeno, Bishop of Feltre and Belluno, a grandson of Carlo Zeno. The original was in Latin, and was first printed in that language in Muratori's *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vol. xia.
- [15—, c.] **Desceliers, Pierre.** Harleian (Desceliers) Mappemonde. (Manuscript.) (55)  
[British Museum Add. MSS. 5413.]
1546. **Desceliers, Pierre.** Map. "Faictes à Arques par Pierre Desceliers, presb<sup>re</sup> 1546." (56)  
Original belonging to the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres. Reproduced (imperfectly) by Jomard, and from his Atlas by Kretschmer; also (privately) by the owner.
1546. **[Anon.]** Britanniae Insulae quæ nunc Angliæ et Scotiæ Regna continent, cum Hibernia adjacentia nova descriptio. Romæ. 2 Tabs., 1546. Map from *Lafre's Atlas*. (57)  
[Brit. Mus., K. 5. 1.] See Plate V., *infra*.
1548. **Mattiolo, Pietro Andrea.** Ptolemy's Geographia. Venice, M.D.XLVIII. 8vo. (58)  
Maps by Gestaldi. This is the first edition of Ptolemy in Italian, and the last edition published before the appearance of the *Zeno Annals* and *Carta da Navegar*. Plate VI., *infra*, is a facsimile of "Schoolandia Nova," Map 21 in this edition.
1550. **Desceliers, Pierre.** Map in the British Museum. [MSS. Add. 24,065.] (59)
1553. **Prunes, Matteus.** Map. Original in Biblioteca Comunale, Siena. (60)  
Partly reproduced in Kretschmer's *Entdeckung Amerikas*, Atlas, Tab. IV., No. 5. See also Fig. 8, p. 112, *supra*.
1554. **Mercator. [Kaufmann.]** Map of Europa. Duisburg. (61)  
A facsimile from a copy in the Stadtbibliothek zu Breslau, published for the Berlin Geog. Society, by Kuhl. Berlin, 1891. See No. 363, also Plate VII., *infra*.
1554. **Tramezini, Michael.** Map of the World. Venice, MDLIII. (62)  
Reproduced in Müller's *Remarkable Maps of the XVIth, XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries*. Amsterdam, 1894. Part I. No. 1.
1554. **Agnese, Battista.** Carta Nautiche. (MS.) (63)  
Photograph published by Ongania, Venice. 1881. [Brit. Mus. S. 141. 47.]
1554. **Gomara, F. L. de.** Historia de Mexico, con el descubrimiento dela nueua España, conquistada por el muy illustre y valeroso Principe don Fernando Cortes, Marques de Salte, Escrita por Francisco Lopez de Gomara, clérigo. En Anvers. 1554. 8vo. (64)
1555. **Magnus, Olaus.** Historia de Gentibus septentrionalibus, earumque diversis statibus, conditionibus, moribus, ritibus, superstitionibus, disciplinis, exercitiis, regimine, victu, bellis, structuris, instrumentis, ac mineris metallicis & rebus mirabilibus &c. Auctore Olao Magno Gotho, Archiepiscopo Upsalensi, Suetiæ & Gothiæ Primate. Romæ. M.D.LV. 4to. (65)  
Small map and many plates. See p. 140, *supra*.
1555. **Eden, Richard.** The Decades of the newe worlde or West India. . . . Wrytten in the Latine tounge by Peter Martyr of Angleria, and translated into Englysshe by Rycharde Eden. London. 1555. 4to. (66)
1558. **Homem, Diego.** Manuscript Portolano. (67)  
[Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 5415. A.]
1558. **Tramezini, Michael.** Septentrionalium Regionum Suetiæ Gothiæ Norvegiæ, Daniæ et Terrarum adjacentium recens exactaque descriptio. MICHAELIS TRAMEZINI formis. Ex pont. Max. ac Veneti Senatus privilegio. MDLVIII. Jacob Bussius in æs incidebat. Map from *Lafre's Atlas*. (68)  
[Brit. Mus. S. 10. 1. 41.] See Plate VIII., *infra*.
1558. **Zeno, Nicolò.** De I Commentarii del Viaggio in Persia &c. . . . et dello Scopimento dell' Isole Frislanda, Eslanda, Engrovelanda, Estotiland & Icaria, fatto sotto il Polo Artico, da due fratelli Zeni, M. Nicolò il K. e M. Antonio. Venice. MDLVIII. (69)  
For facsimile of Title, etc., see Appendix I., end of the *Carta da Navegar*, Plate XI.

## (B) AUTHORITIES LATER THAN 1558.

1559. **Ramusio, Giovanni Battista.** *Navigazioni et Viaggi.* Venice, 1559. (70)  
The first edition of the first volume of this collection, published after Ramusio's death, which happened in 1557.
1560. **Patrizio, F.** *Della Historia dieci Dialoghi di M. Francesco Patrizio.* Venetia, 1560. 4to. (71)  
Zeni, p. 30, verso.
- 1561, c. [Anon.] Map of Frisland; from Lafreri's Atlas. (72)  
There are two copies of this map in the British Museum, both undated. The earlier is unsigned [S. 10. a. 70<sup>a</sup>]; the other is inscribed *Petro de Nobilibus formis.* [S. 10. 1. 156.] See Plate IX., *infra*, and p. 114, *supra*.
- 1561, c. [Anon.] Map of Estland; from Lafreri's Atlas. (73)  
(The Shetland Isles.) See Plate X., *infra*, and p. 115, *supra*.
- 1561, c. [Anon.] Map of Iceland; from Lafreri's Atlas. (74)
1561. **Ruscelli, Girolamo.** *Ptolemy's Geografia.* Venice. (75)  
Map "XXXV Mod. Nuova Tavola Settentrione" is the *Zeno Carta da Novogor*, with some slight alterations. The text prefixed to the map gives a short summary of the travels of the brothers Zeni, and some particulars as to the younger Nicolò Zeno's editing of the map. See Plate XII., *infra*.
1562. **Moletius, Josephus.** *Ptolemy's Geographia.* Venice. (76)  
"Tabula XVII Adituarum & XXVI secundum seriem numerorum" is apparently from the same plate as No. XXXV. in the Ruscelli, 1561, *Ptolemy*.
1562. **Camocius, J. F.** *Septentrionalium Regionum, Suetiae, Gothiae, Norvegiae, Prussiae, Pomeraniae, Ducatus Megapolensis, Frisiae, Geldriae, Altae Marchiae, Lusetae adjacentiumque regionum descriptio &c.* Venetiis. Anno. M.D.LXII. apud Joannem Franciscum Camocium. Map from Lafreri's Atlas. (77)  
A later edition of the Tramezini map of 1558. See No. 68 and Plate VIII., *infra*.
- 1564 (?). **Olives de Mallorca, Jaume.** Map. (78)  
Extra & in Kretschmer's *Entdeckung Amerika's*, Berlin, 1892, Atlas, Tab. IV., No. 3, where the date 1514 is assigned. Desimoni reads the figures 1504, Uzaelli-Amat. 1564. The last date is no doubt the correct one. See *supra*, p. 113, Note 2.
1564. **Mercator [Kaufmann], Gerard.** *Angliæ Scotiae & Hiberniae nova Descriptio.* Duisburg. Original in the Stadtbibliothek zu Breslau. Map. (79)  
Facsimile published by the Berlin Geographical Society. Berlin, 1891. See No. 63, *infra*.
1567. **Magnus, Olaus.** *Historia Olai Magni Gothi Archiepiscopi Upsalensis, De Gentium Septentrionalium variis conditionibus Statibusque &c.* Basileæ. M.D.LXVII. (80)  
This edition contains the map which was long thought to be identical with the Olaus Magnus map of 1539, which was lost, till a copy of it was rediscovered in 1886. The two maps are quite different. See No. 50, *supra*. The 1567 map is reproduced in *Nordenskjölla's Voyage of the Vega*, 1881, vol. i., plate 3.
1569. **Mercator [Kaufmann], G.** *Weltkarte. Nova et aucta Orbis Terræ descriptio ad usum navigantium emendate accommodata.* Duisburg. (81)  
A facsimile from a copy in the Stadtbibliothek zu Breslau, published by Kuhl, Berlin, 1891. Also reproduced by Jomard. See Nos. 288 and 363; also Plate XIII., *infra*.
1570. **Ortelius, Abraham.** *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum.* Antwerp, 1570. Folio. (82)  
There are two editions of this place and year. The first has the date "22 Martii. M.D.LXXI"; the other, which bears the date "M.D.LXXI" without the month, is the second, because the text contains passages which are not in the other. The British Museum copy to which I have referred, and from which Plate XIV. is taken, is the *editio princeps*. [B. M. S. 221 (50).]
1570. **Stephanus, Sigurdus.** Map. *Sigurdi Stephani terrarum hyperborearum delineatio A.D. 1570.* (83)  
Reproduced in *Tortæus's Greenlandia Antiqua*, 1706 and 1715, and in *Justin Winsor's Columbus*, 1892. See p. 142, *supra*.
1571. **Columbus, Ferdinand (?).** *Historie del Signor D. Fernando Colombo nell quale s'ha particolare, & vera relatione della vita, e de' fatti dell' Ammiraglio. D. Christoforo Colombo suo Padre &c.* Nuovamente di lingua Spagnuola tradotta nell' Italiana dall Signor Alfonso Ulloa. In Venetia. M.D.LXXI. (84)  
The authorship and authenticity of this book are doubtful. [Brit. Mus. 615. d. 7.]
1573. **Ortelius, A.** *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum.* Antwerp, 1573. Folio. (85)  
Map 60 in this edition is the same as map 45 in the first 1570 edition.
1574. **Ramusio, Gio. Battista.** *Delle Navigazioni et Viaggi Raccolto già da M. Gio. Battista Ramusio.* Venice, MDLXXIII. (86)  
In this second edition of the second volume first appears the reprint of *Zeno's Commentarii* of 1558, with some few interpolations. Though the collection still goes under the name of Ramusio, he died in 1557, before the appearance of the first edition of the first volume in 1559.
1577. **Eden, Richard.** *The History of Travayle in the East and West Indies and other countries lying either way &c.* . . . with a discourse of the North West Passage. Gathered in parte and done into Englyshe by Richard Eden. Newly set in order, augmented and finished by Richard Willes. Imprinted at London by Richard Jugge. 1577. 8vo. (87)
1576. **Porcacchi, T.** *L'Isola piu famosa del Mondo descritte da Thomaso Porcacchi da Castiglione Arretino e intagliate da Girolamo Porro Padovano.* &c. . . . in Venetia. Appresso Simon Galigani & Girolamo Porro. MDLXXVI. (88)  
On the map of Islandia (fol. 1), Porcacchi shows Zeno's two islands off the east coast, and Greenland. There is no other trace of Zenian influence in the book.
1576. **Borough, W.** Showing Frobisher's discoveries in the North Atlantic, made by W. Borough. Preserved in the Library of the Marquess of Salisbury at Hatfield. Dated 1st June, 1576. (Manuscript Map.) (89)
1578. **Best, George.** *A True discourse of the late Voyages of Discoverie for finding of a Passage to Cathaya by the North-West, under the Conduct of Martin Frobisher, General.* [By George Best.] London. 4to. 1578. (90)
1578. **Lesley, Bishop.** *De Origine Moribus et Rebus gestis Scotorum Libri Decem.* &c. . . . Authore Ioanne Lesleyo, Scoto, Episcopo Rossensi Romæ, in ædibus populi Romani. M.D.LXXVIII. (91)  
[Brit. Mus. O. R. Lib. 18. D. III.]



1578. Mercator. [Kaufmann, G.] Ptolemy's Geographia. Cologne, 1578. (92)  
The first edition of Ptolemy in which Mercator's (Kaufmann) maps were used.
1580. Dee, Dr. John. Map. Original in Brit. Mus. [Cottonian MS. Aug. I. i. art. i. Roll.] (93)
1582. Buchanan, George. Rerum Scotticarum Historiæ. [Brit. Mus. 600. K. 2.] (94)
1582. Anania, G. L. D'. L'Universale Fabrica del Mondo, overo Cosmografia, Dell' Ecc. Gio. Lorenzo d'Anania, divisa in quattro Trattati, &c. In Venetia, Presso il Muschio. M.D.LXXXII. (95)  
This is the second edition; the first does not contain the separate maps of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. See p. 139, *infra*.
1582. Hakluyt, Richard. Divers Voyages touching the discoverie of America and the islands adjacent unto the same, made first by an Englishman and afterwards by the Frenchmen, and Britons &c. . . . Imprinted at London for Thomas Woodcock, dwelling in Pauls Churchyard, at the signe of the Black Beare 1582. (96)  
See Appendix II, and Plate XV, *infra*. The other map in the volume, Robert Thorne's, is reproduced in Nordenskiöld's *Facsimile Atlas*.
1583. Rascicotti. Map. Americæ et Provinciarum regionum oræ descriptio. Venice, 1583. (97)  
Reproduced in Müller's *Remarkable Maps*, etc. Amsterdam, 1894. Part I., No. 12.
1588. Münster, Sebastian. Cosmographie oder Beschreibung aller Lander herzschaftung und furnemesten Stellen des gantzen Erbodens sarup &c. (98)  
Earlier editions were published at Basle in 1541, 1550, in the author's lifetime. This is a posthumous edition, and the maps contain Zenian material. Münster died in 1552.
1588. Sanuto, Livio. Geografia di M. Livio Sanuto, distinta in XII Libri &c. . . . con XII Tavole di essa Africa in disegna di rame. Appresso Damiano Zenaro, i Vinegia. M.D.LXXXVIII. Folio. (99)  
Only this first part was published. References to the Zeni will be found on folios 14 and 17.
1589. Hakluyt, Richard. The Principall Navigations Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation made by Sea or overland to the most remote and farthest distant Quarters of the Earth &c. By Richard Hakluyt, Master of Artes, and Student sometime of Christchurch in Oxford. London, 1589. (100)  
Relates only English voyages, and contains no reference to the Zeni. It is given in error in Anderson's Bibliography of Zeno in No. 517, *infra*.
1590. Myritius, Ioannes. Opusculum Geographicum rarum &c. . . . per Ioannem Myritium Melitenum, Ordinis Hospitalis Sancti Ioannis Hierosolymitani, Commendatorem Alemanni Monasterii ac domus Ratisponensis. Ingoldstadii Anno MDLXXXX. (101)  
Reference to the Zeni, Part II., chap. xiv.
1592. Ortelius, Abraham. Theatrum Orbis Terrarum. (102)  
This is the first edition in which the passage quoted by Hakluyt (ed. 1600, vol. III., p. 127) as to the authenticity of Zeno's narrative appears. It is in the text prefixed to a new map of "Mar del Zur," Map 6.
1592. Molineux, Emmerie. Globe. (103)  
The only example of this globe at present known to exist is preserved in the library of the Middle Temple, in London. See p. 84.
1594. Plancius, Peter. Orbis Terrarum typus de Integro multis in locis emendatus, auctore Petro Plancio. 1594. (104)  
Given as the map of the world in the first Latin edition of Linschoten, 1599. A map of the world by Plancius, dated 1592, is fully described by Blundeville (*Exercitius*, 6th ed., 1627, pp. 521-592), but no copy of it is now extant.
1595. Map. Europa Ost Kerstenrijck, in the *Caart Thezoor* (p. 21). Amsterdam, 1595. (105)
1596. Linschoten, J. H. van. Itinerario oue Schipvaert van Jan Huygen van Linschoten naer Oost oste Portugaels Indien &c. (*long title*). Amsterdam, 1596. Folio, 3 vols. (106)
1597. Magini, Giov. Ant. Geographia tum veteris, tum novæ. Cologne, 1597. (107)
1597. Wytfliet, Cornelius. Descriptionis Ptolemaicæ Augmentum sive Occidentis notitia Brevi Commentario illustrata. Louvain, MDCVII. (108)  
Ed. Douai, 1603, p. 188 and map 19, "Estutlandis et Laboratoris Terra."
1598. Veer, Gerrit De. Waerachtige Beschryvinghe van drie Scylagien (*long title*). Gedæen deur Gerrit de Veer van Amstelredam . . . A° 1598 (obl. 4to). (109)
1598. Veer, Gerrit De. Vraye Description de trois Voyages de mer &c. (*long title*), par Girard Le Ver. Amsterdam, 1598. Folio. (110)
1598. Veer, Gerrit De. Diarivm Navticvm, seu vera descriptio Trium Navigationum &c. (*long title*). Auctore Gerardo de Vera Amstelrodamense. Amsterdam, 1598. Folio. (111)
1598. Linschoten, John Huighen. J. H. Linschoten his Discours of Voyages into y<sup>e</sup> East & West Indies. Devided into Four Bookes. Printed at London by Iohn Wolfe Printer to y<sup>e</sup> Honorable Cittie of London, 1598. (112)
1598. Barents, Willem. Map. Delinatio cartæ Trium Navigationum per Batavos, ad Septentrionalem plagam, Norvegia, Moscovia, et Nova Sembla, et perq. fretum Weygatiss Nassovicum dictum, ac iuxta Groenlandiam, sub altitudine 80 graduum necnon adiacentium partium Tartariae promontorii Tabia, frete Anian atq. regionis Bargi et Partis Americæ versus Orientem. Auctore Wilhelmo Bernardo Amstelredamo. Expertissimo Pilota. A° 1598. See No. 115. (113)
1599. Veer, G. de. Tre Navigazioni fatti dagli Olandesi al Settentrione &c. (*long title*). Descritto in Latino da Gerardo di Vera . . . Tradotte nella lingua Italiana. Venice, 1599. (114)
1599. Linschoten, J. H. Navigatio ac Itinerarium Johannis Hugonis Linscotani in Orientalem sive Lvsitanorum Indiam &c. Hagae-Comitis. Ex officina Alberti Henrici. Impensis Authoris et Cornelii Nicolai, prostantque apud Ægidium Elsevirum Anno 1599. (115)  
Contains *Historia Trium Navigationum Batavum in Septentrionem*, and Willem Barents' map *Delinatio cartæ trium Navigationum &c.*
1599. Molineux, Emmerie [or Wright, Edward]. New Map. Issued with the 1599-1600 edition of Richard Hakluyt's *Principall Voyages, Navigations and Discoveries*, etc. Original copies of both first and second states exceedingly rare. Full-sized

- facsimiles of first state to illustrate Markham's *Voyages and Works of John Davis*, Hakluyt Society, 1880; and, of second state, in Nordenskjöld's *Facsimile Atlas*, Stockholm, 1889. (116)
1600. **Hakluyt, Richard.** The Third and Last Volume of the Voyages, Navigations, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the *English Nation*, and in some few places, where they haue not been, of Strangers, performed within and before the time of these hundred yeeres, to all parts of the *Newfound world of America*, or the *West Indies*, from 73. degrees of Northerly to 57. of Southerly Latitude: As namely to *Engrenland, Meta Incognita, Estotiland, Tierra de Labrador*, vp The *grand bay &c. &c.* . . . Collected by Richard Hakluyt, Preacher and sometimes Student of Christ Church in Oxford. Imprinted at London by George Bishop, Ralfe Newberie and Robert Barker, Anno Dom. 1600. (117)
- Voyages of the Zeni, pp. 121-128.
1600. **Quad, Matthew.** Geographisch Handt-Buch &c. . . . Zugericht durch Matthis Quaden, Kupfferschneider. Coln am Rein. Bey Johan Buxemacher &c. M.D.C. Folio. (118)
- (Eighty-two maps.) Map. 1, Typus Orbis Terrarum (reproduced in Nordenskjöld's *Facsimile Atlas*, Plate XLIX.); Map 77, Polus Arcticus; and Map 78, Novi Orbis pars borealis, show Zealan names, but the Zeni are not mentioned in the text.
1600. **Quad, Matthew.** Compendium Universi complectens Geographicarum enarrationes libros sex &c. . . . Ex optimis ut plurimum tam veterum quam huius ævi scriptoribus excerpta &c. per Matthiam Quadum sculptorem. Coloniz Agrippinae. Anno MDCC. Sm. 8vo. (119)
- Zeni, Liber VI., capp. 4-7.
1601. **Bry, Theodore De.** Petits Voyages. Part III. (120)
- In this part Barents' map (see No. 113) is reproduced to illustrate *Tres navigations Hollandarum*, etc. See page 35, supra.
1601. **Herrera, Antonio de.** Historia General de los Hechos de los Castellanos &c. (121)
- Refers to Estotiland in discussing the origin of the population of America, Decade I., lib. i., cap. vi.
1603. **Botero, Giovanni.** Relaciones universales del Mundo. Valladolid, 1603. (122)
- References to the Zeni, fol. 183, rev. 184.
1604. **Rosaccio.** Mondo elementare et celeste si tratta de' moti et ordine delle spere, della grandezza della terra, dell' Europa, Africa, Asia et America. Trevizi, 1604. 8vo. Woodcut maps. (123)
1606. **Thorlacius, Gudbrand.** Delinatio Gronlandiæ Gudbrandi Thorlacii Episcopi Hollensis. Anno 1606. (Map.) (124)
- Shows Friesland and Estotelandia. Reproduced in Torfæus, *Gronlandia Antiqua*, 1713, p. 21, and, to illustrate *Om qværbegden*, by K. J. V. Stenstrup in *Middelalter om Grønland*, part 12., pp. 1-51, plate 2.
- 1605 (?). [Anon.] The Stockholm Cnart (illustrating James Hall's voyages). Original manuscript on paper in the Royal Library, Stockholm. (125)
- Reproduced with article by K. J. V. Stenstrup, in *ser.*, 1886, pp. 83-86, Stockholm [Swedish Anthropological and Geographical Society]; Gusch, *The Danish Expeditions to Greenland* [Hakluyt Society, 1897, App. C.]; Miller Christy, *An Early Chart of the North Atlantic* [Privately printed, London, 1897]; and (part) in *Middelalter om Grønland*, part 12. [Copenhagen, 1889], p. 10.
1605. **Resen, H. P.** Indicatio Gronlandiæ et vicinarum Regionum versus Septentrionem & Occidentem et antiqua quadam Mappa rudi modo delineata, ante aliquot centenos annos ab Islandis quibus tunc erat ista terra notissima et nauticis nostri temporis observationibus. (Map.) (126)
- Shows Friesland and Estotiland. Reproduced in *Middelalter om Grønland*, part 12., 1889, Plate I.
1607. **Blefken, Dittmar.** Islandia sive populorum & mirabilium quæ in ea Insula reperiuntur accuratior descriptio: cui de Gronlandia sub finem quædam adjecta. Lugduni Batavorum, ex typographeio Henrico ab Hæstens. MDCLVII. [B. M. 794. d. 5.] (127)
1610. **Arngrim Jonas [Jonsson].** Crymogæa sive Rerum Islandicarum Libri III. Hamburg, 1610. [B. M. 590. c. 9/1.] (128)
1610. **Camden, William.** Britannia (Philemon Holland's translation). (129)
1612. **Gatonbe's Chart.** (130)
- Shows "Friesland" and "Bus ins." Partly reproduced in *Middelalter om Grønland*, part 12., 1889, p. 48.
1613. **Arngrim Jonas [Jonsson].** Anatome Blefkeniana, qua Dittmari Blefkenii viscera, magis præcipua in Libello de Islandia, anno 1607 edito, convulsa, per manifestam exentationem reteruntur. Typis Holensibus in Islandia boreali. Anno 1612. 12mo. [Brit. Mus. 153. s. 23.] (131)
1613. **Megisser, Jerome.** Septentrio Novantiquus, oder Die neue Nort Welt . . . durch Hieronym Megiserum . . . Leipzig. Anno 1613. Twelve maps. (132)
- Gives a translation of the Zeno narrative, with remarks thereon, pp. 121-178.
1613. **Gerritz, Hessel.** Descriptio ac delineatio Geographica Detectionis Freti, sive transitus ad Occasum suprâ terras Americanas in Chinam atq. Japonem ducturi. Recens investigati ab M. Henrico Hudson Anglo, &c. . . . Amsterodami ex officina Hesselii Gerardi. Anno 1613. Four maps and three plates. (133)
1614. **Hulsius, Levinus.** Zwolffte Schifffahrt. Oppenheim, 1614. (134)
1618. **Bertius, Petrus.** P. Bertii Tabularum Geographicarum contractarum. Libri septem. Amsterodami, 1618. (135)
- Refers to Nicolò Zeno (Nicolaus Zenetus), lib. 2, p. 65, and in the following pages to Greenland, Iceland and Friesland.
1621. **Goos, Abraham.** Globe published by Joh. Janssonius, at Antwerp, 1621. (136)
- Reproduced in Müller's *Remarkable Maps*, etc., 1894, Part I., Plate IX. Shows Drogeo, Friesland, Greenland, with St. Thomas Monast. and Bus Island.
1622. [Davity.] Les Estats, Empires, et Principavtez du Monde, &c. Par le Sr D. T. V. Y. Gentilhomme ordie de la ch'ambre du Roy. Imprime, a Paris. M.D.CXXII. (137)
- Refers to the Zeni, p. 264.
1625. **Lok, Michael.** The Historie of the West Indies, Containing the Aftes and Adventures of the Spaniards, which have conquered and peopled those Countries, enriched with varietie of pleasant relation of the Manners, Ceremonies, Laws, Governments, and Warres of the Indians. Published in Latin by Mr. Hakluyt and translated into English by M. Lok, gent. London [1625]. (138)
- A translation of Hakluyt's edition (1587) of the Eight Decades of Peter Martyr.

- 1625. Purchas, Rev. Samuel.** Haklvytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes, containing a History of the World, in Sea Voyages and lande Trauels by Englishmen & others, &c. . . in fower Parts each containing five Bookes. By Samuel Purchas, B.D. London, 1625. (139)  
*Abstract of Zeno voyages, vol. iii., pp. 610-615; Ditmar Blesken, p. 643; Arngrim Jonas, p. 554; Ivar Boty, p. 518; James Hall's Voyages, pp. 814, 821, 831.*
- 1625. Lok, Michael.** Note on De Fuca in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, vol. iii., p. 849. (140)
- 1626. Purchas, Rev. S.** Purchas his Pilgrimage or Relations of the World and the Religions Observed in all Ages and places, from the Creation unto this Present, &c. . . The fourth Edition. . . By Samuel Purchas, Parson of St Martine by Ludgate, London, 1626. (141)  
*Abstract of Zeno voyages, p. 807.*
- 1627. Speed, John.** A Prospect of the most Famous Parts of the World, viz. Asia, Affrica, Europe, America. London, printed by John Dawson for George Humble and are to be sold at his shop in Popes-head Pallace, 1627. Folio. (142)
- 1631. Pontanus, J. I.** Rerum Danicarum Historia. Libris X. Unoque Tomo ad Domum Oldenburgicam deducta. Authore Joh. Isacio Pontano, Regio Historiographo, &c. Amstelodami, sumptibus Joannis Janssonii, anno 1631. (143)  
*Three maps. Contains many references to Henry Sinclair (identified by J. R. Forster with Zeno's Zichmni); quotes Arngrim Jonas, Blesken, and Wyttfiel; and gives a Latin translation of Zeno's narrative, pp. 755-763.*
- 1633. James, Capt. Thomas.** The Strange and Dangerous Voyage of Captaine Thomas James in his intended Discovery of the North West Passage into the South Sea, &c. London, printed by John Leggett, for John Warrtridge, 1633. *One map.* (144)  
*Friesland shown on map. No other reference to the Zeni.*
- 1634. Bergeron, Pierre.** Relation des Voyages en Tartarie de Fr. Guill. de Rubruquis, Fr. J. du Plan Carpin, Fr. Ascelin et autres Religieux, plus un traite des Tartares: avec un abrégé de l'Histoire des Sarasins et Mahometans. Paris, chez M. Solys, 1634. 3 vols. 12mo. (145)
- 1635. Foxe, Capt. Luke.** North West Foxe, or Fox from the North West Passage, beginning with King Arthur, Malga, Oëlhur, the two Zenis of Iseland, Estotiland and Dorgia. . . With the Author his own Voyage, being the XVI<sup>th</sup>. . . by Capt. Luke Foxe, of Kingstone upon Hull. London, 1635. (146)  
*One map. Abstract of Zeno Voyages, pp. 5-12; James Hall's, 50-61; Bleskens (Plißkens), 61-64; Arngrim Jonas, pp. 4, 5. Refers to Dorgio (Drogeo of the Zeni), p. 181.*
- 1635. Hondius, Jodocus.** Historia Mundi or Mercators Atlas, containing his Cosmographicall Descriptions of the Fabricke and Figure of the World, &c. . . Englished by W. S. generous et Coll. Regin. Oxon. London, 1635. (147)  
*First English edition of Mercator's Atlas. On Mercator's death, in 1594, Hondius bought the plates of his maps and used them in this and other works.*
- 1638. Roberts, Lewes.** The Marchants Mapp of Commerce. London, 1638. (148)
- 1640. c. Hoieus.** (Allardt.) Nova Orbis Terrarum Geographica ac Hydrographica Descriptio, ex optimis quibusque, optimorum in hoc opere Auctorum, Tabula desumpta a Franciscus Hoieus. "Ghedruet t' Amsterdam Bij Hugo ALLAARDT." (149)  
*Reproduced in Miller's Remarkable Maps of the XV<sup>th</sup>, XVI<sup>th</sup> and XVII<sup>th</sup> Centuries, Amsterdam, 1894, Part I., Plates VII. and VIII. Shows Greenland, with some Zenian names, and Friesland.*
- 1640. Gudmundus, J.** [Gudmundsen]. Delinectio Gronlandiæ Jonæ Gudmundi Islandi. (150)  
*Shows Friesland. Reproduced in Tottens' Gronlandia Antiqua, 1715, Plate III.*
- 1642. Grotius, Hugo.** Dissertatio de Origine Gentium Americanarum. Amsterdam, 1642. 8vo. (151)
- 1643. Morisot, Claude Barth.** Orbis Maritimi sive rerum in Mari et litoribus Gestarum Generalis Historia. Authore Claudio Barthol. Morisoto. Divione (Dijon), MDCXLIII. Folio. (152)  
*Refers to the Zeni, p. 593, and to Friesland, with some other Zenian localities, p. 615.*
- 1643. Laet, Ioannes De.** Notæ ad dissertationem Hugonis Grotii De Origine Gentium Americanarum: et observationes aliquot ad meliorem indaginem difficillimæ illius Questionis. Amstelodami apud Ludovicum Elzevirium c1643. (153)  
*Pp. 20, 22, etc.*
- 1643. Jonas [Jonsson], Arngrim.** Specimen Islandiæ Historicum et magna ex parte Chorographicum; Anno Jesu Christi 874, primum habitari coeptæ: quo simul sententia contraria, D. JOH. ISACI PONTANI, Regis Daniæ Historiographi, in placidam considerationem venit: Per Arngrium Ionam W. Islandum. Amstelodami. Anno Christi c1643. [B. M. 590, c. 9/4.] (154)
- 1644. Laet, Ioannes De.** Ioannis de Laet Antwerpiani Responsio ad Dissertationem Secundam Hugonis Grotii, De Origine Gentium Americanarum. Cum indice ad utrumque libellum. Amstelodami, apud Ludovicum Elzevirium. c1643. (155)
- 1646. Zabarella, Giacomo.** Trasea Peto, ovvero origine della serenissima famiglia Zeno. Padova, 1646. (156)
- 1647. Peyrère, J. de la.** Relation du Groenland. A Paris, chez Avgustin Covaez, dans le petite Salle du Palais, à la Palme. M.DC.XLVII. *One map.* (157)
- 1649. Gotofredus, J. L.** Archontologia Cosmica sive Imperiorum Regnorum &c. per totum Terrarum Orbem Commentarii luculentissimi . . . ad nostra usque tempora deducuntur Primo operâ et studio Jo. Ludovici Gotofredi ex Gallico per Nobilis D. T. V. Y. &c. Francofurti, M.DC.XLIX. (158)  
*The maps show Friesland, and Greenland with Zenian names upon it.*
- 1651. Vayer, François de la Mothe le.** La Géographie du Prince. Paris, 1651. (In his *Œuvres*, 3rd edition, Paris, 1662, p. 819.) (159)
- 1652. Hornius, G.** De Originibus Americanis. Hagæ Comitum, 1652. Pp. 155-156. (160)
- 1653. Boullaye-le-Gouz, De La.** Les Voyages et Observations du Sievr de La Boullaye-le-Gouz, Gentil-homme Angevin &c. &c. a Paris. M.DC.LIII. 4to. Plate. See No. 276. (161)

1660. c. **Seller, John.** *Atlas Terrestris, or A Book of Maps of all Empires, Monarchies, Kingdoms, Regions, Dominions, Principalities and Countreys in the Whole World &c.* By John Seller, Hydrographer to the Kings most Excellent Majesty. London, n.d. Folio. (162)
1661. **Dudley, Sir Robert.** *Arcano del Mare.* Firenze, 1661. (163)
1661. **Riccioli, Giovanni Battista.** *Geographiæ et hydrographiæ Reformatæ Libri XII. Quorum argumentum sequens magice explicabat chronicon navigat antiq circa totum orbem, Indiani linea Alexandri VI. de situ Moluccarum &c.* Bononiæ, 1661. Folio. [Ed. Venice, 1672, p. 89.] (164)
1663. **Peyrère, J. de la.** *Relation de l'Islande.* Paris. M.DC.LXIII. *Two maps.* (165)
- 1668-9. **Thorlacius, Theodorus.** *Delineatio Gronlandiæ Theodori Thorlacii. Anno 1668.* (166)  
Shows Frisland. Reproduced in *Torfæus' Gronlandia Antiqua*, 1715, Plate IV., and in *Meddelelser om Grønland*, part ix., 1889, Plate VII.
1671. **Montanus, Arnoldus.** *De Nieuwe en Onbekende Weereld of Beschrijving van America en't Zuidland . . . Verciert met Afbeeldfels na't leven in America gemækt en beschreeven door Arnoldus Montanus.* 't Amsterdam. 1671. (167)  
The *Zeno* voyages are referred to on p. 28 et seq.
1671. **Ogilby, John.** *America being the latest and most accurate description of the New World &c. . . . Collected from the most authentick authors . . . by John Ogilby Esq: His Majesty's Cosmographer Geographick Printer and Master of the Revels in the Kingdom of Ireland.* London. Printed for the Author and are to be had at his house in Whitefryers M.DC.LXXI. (168)  
An English edition of Montanus with the same plates and maps. The *Zeno* voyages referred to on p. 30.
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Zeni, p. 335.
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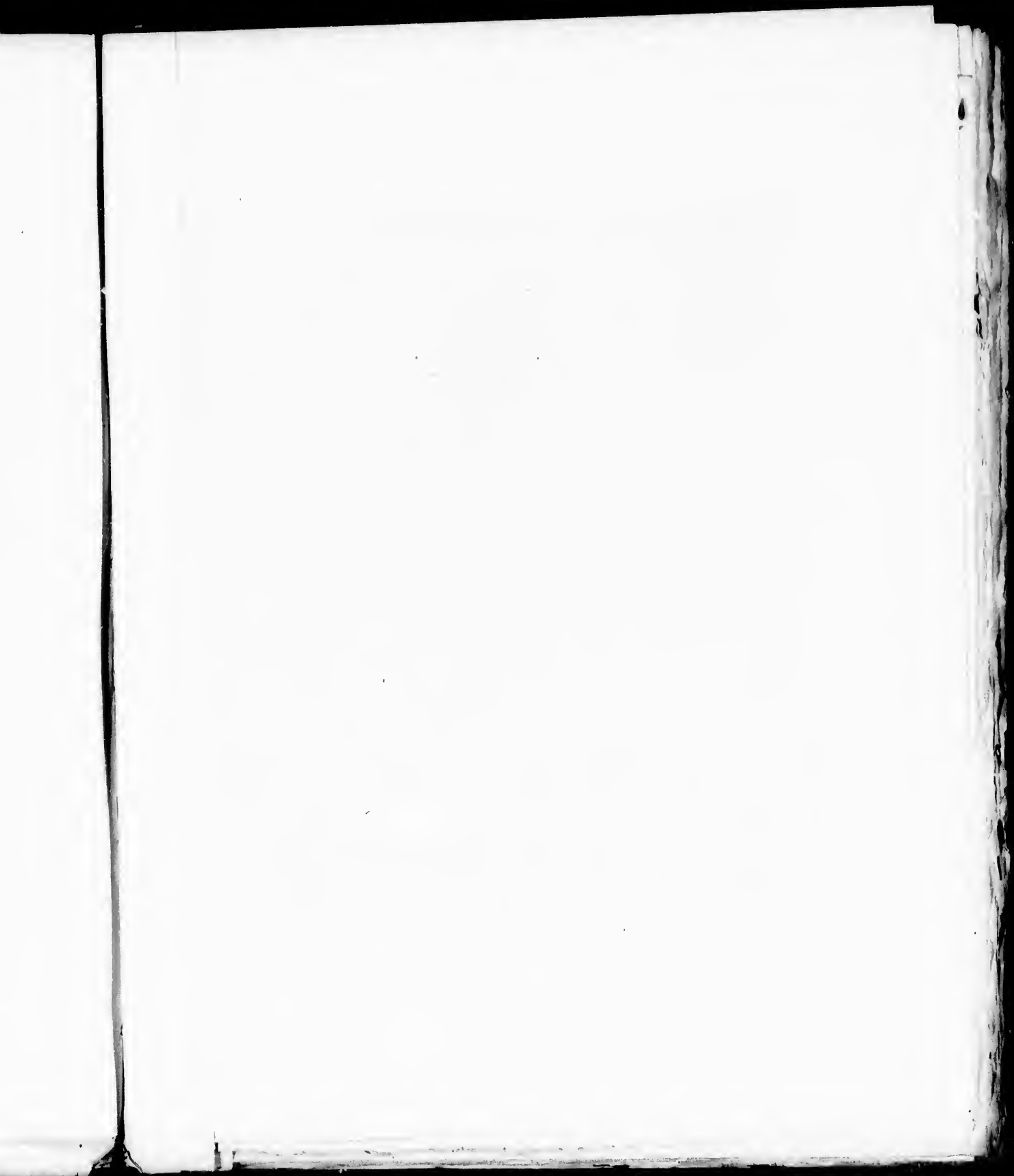
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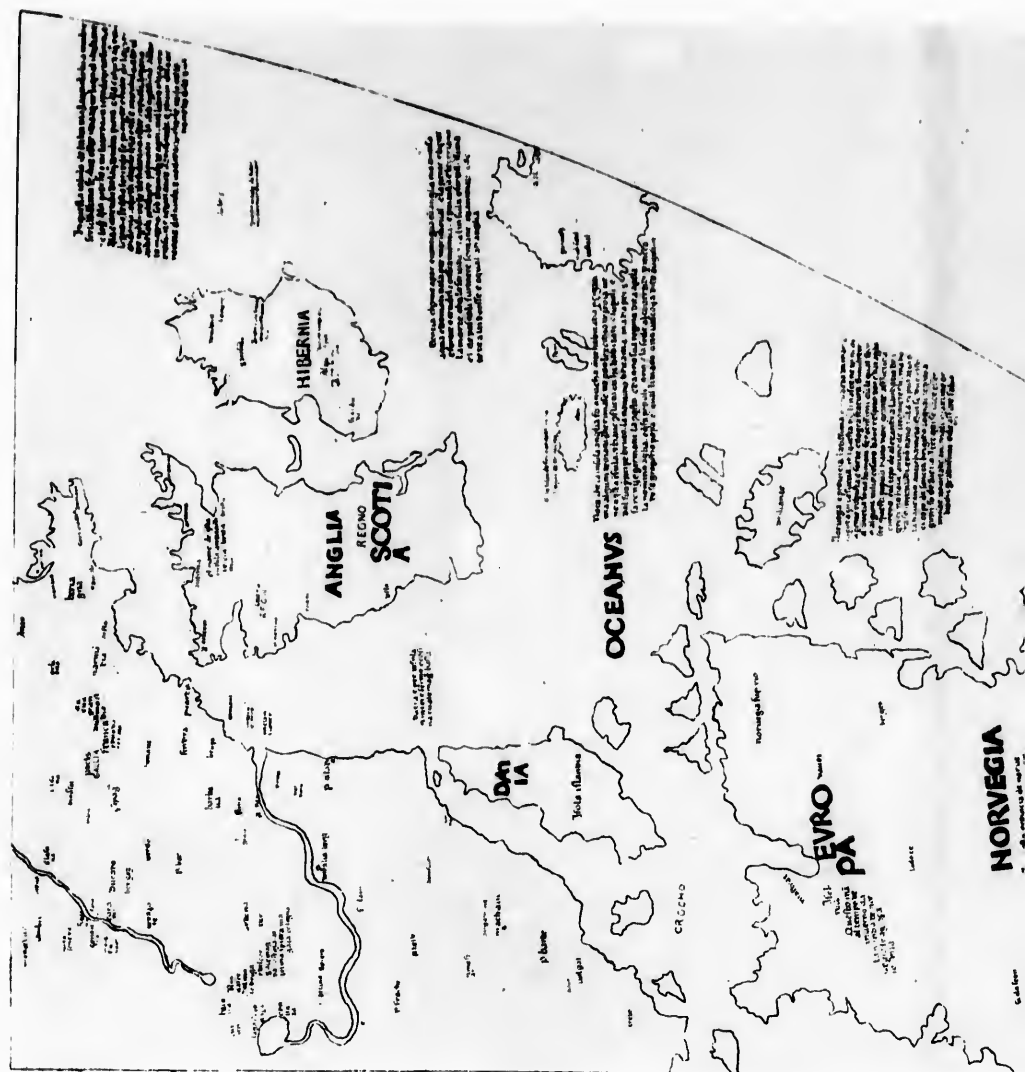
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- Zurla, D. Placido**, his work on the Zeni, 24 n.; proves the date, 1380, given in the *Annals*, to be wrong, 46; upholds the veracity of the narrative, 47; his investigations of the Zeno family history, 59, 63; rejects Forster's identification of Zichmni with Sinclair, 94; thinks Fra Mauro's *Ixilandis* is Zeno's *Frisland*, 106; misreads *Stilanda* on Andrea Bianco's map of 1436 as Frislanda, 105, 106. See also App. V. and VI.

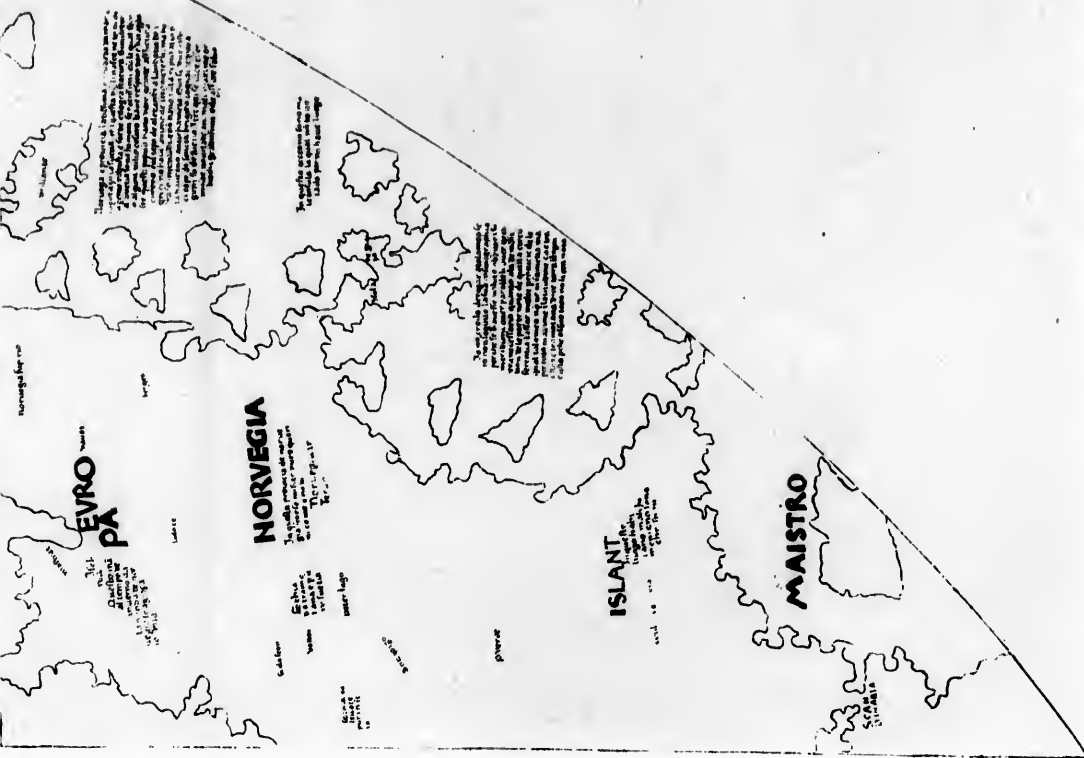


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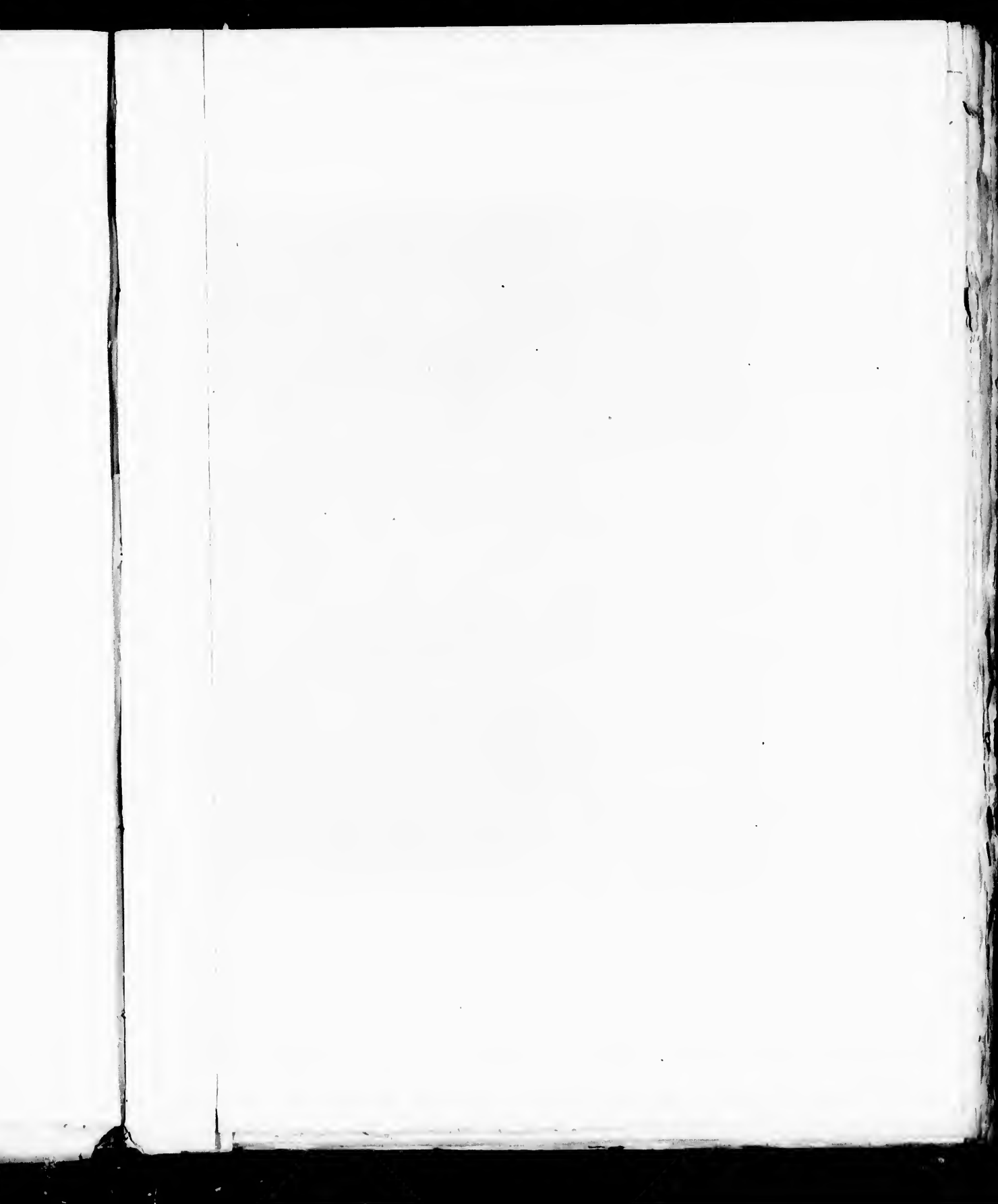


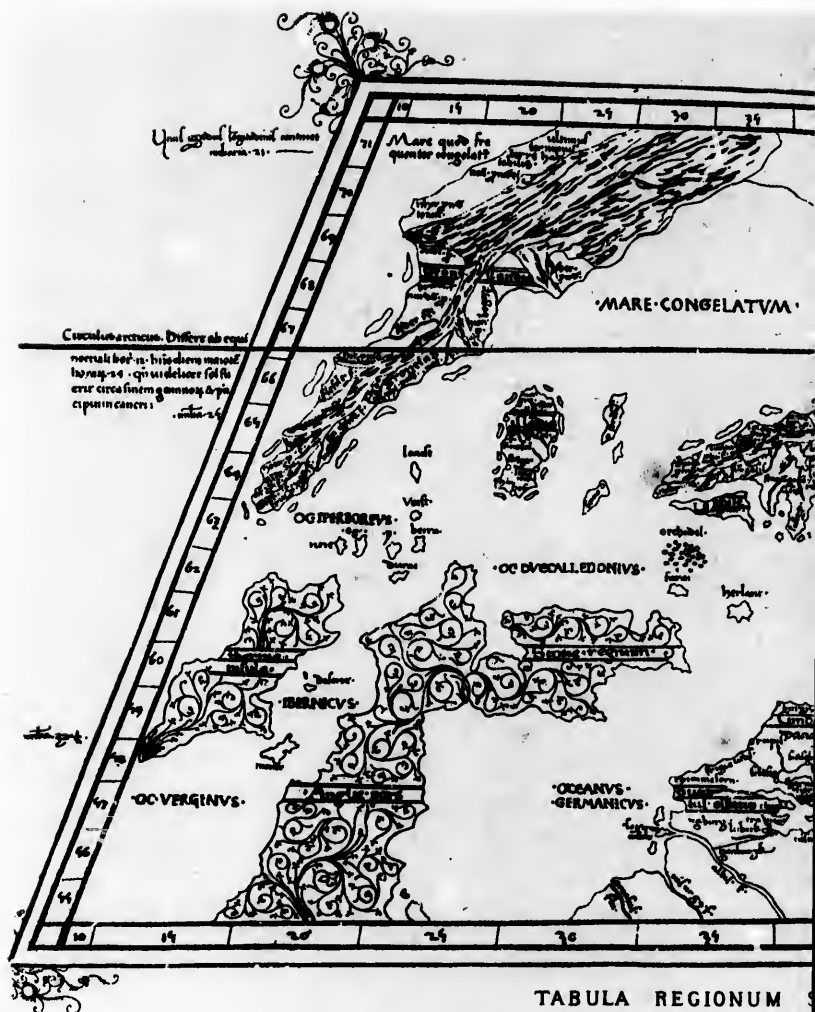




*North Western portion of the Mappa Mundi of Fra Mauro 1-657-9*







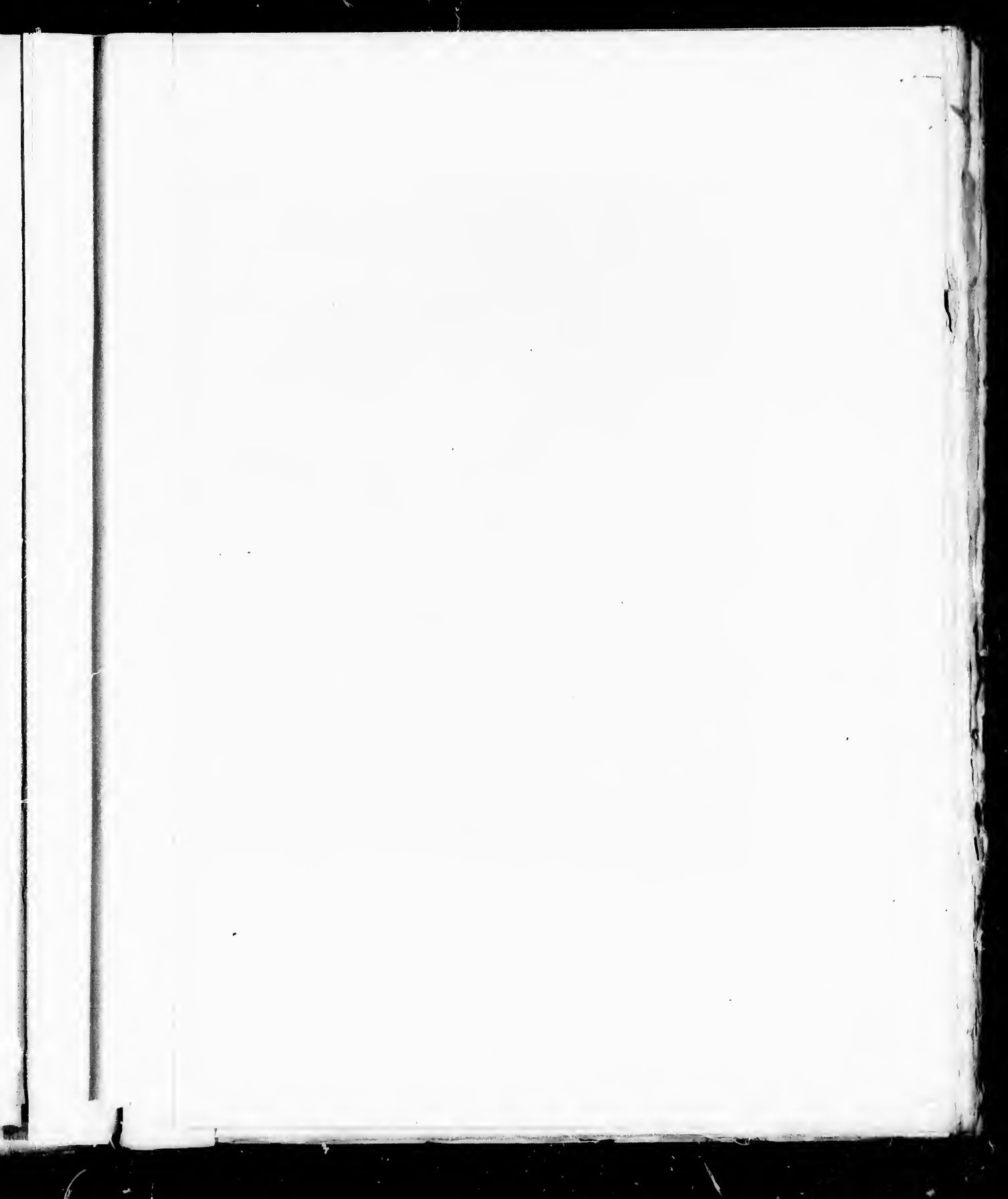
TABULA REGIONUM  
E CODICE PTOLEMÆI SECVLI XV. (C. 1467) IN BIBL

San. Antonii. 1467. 1467.



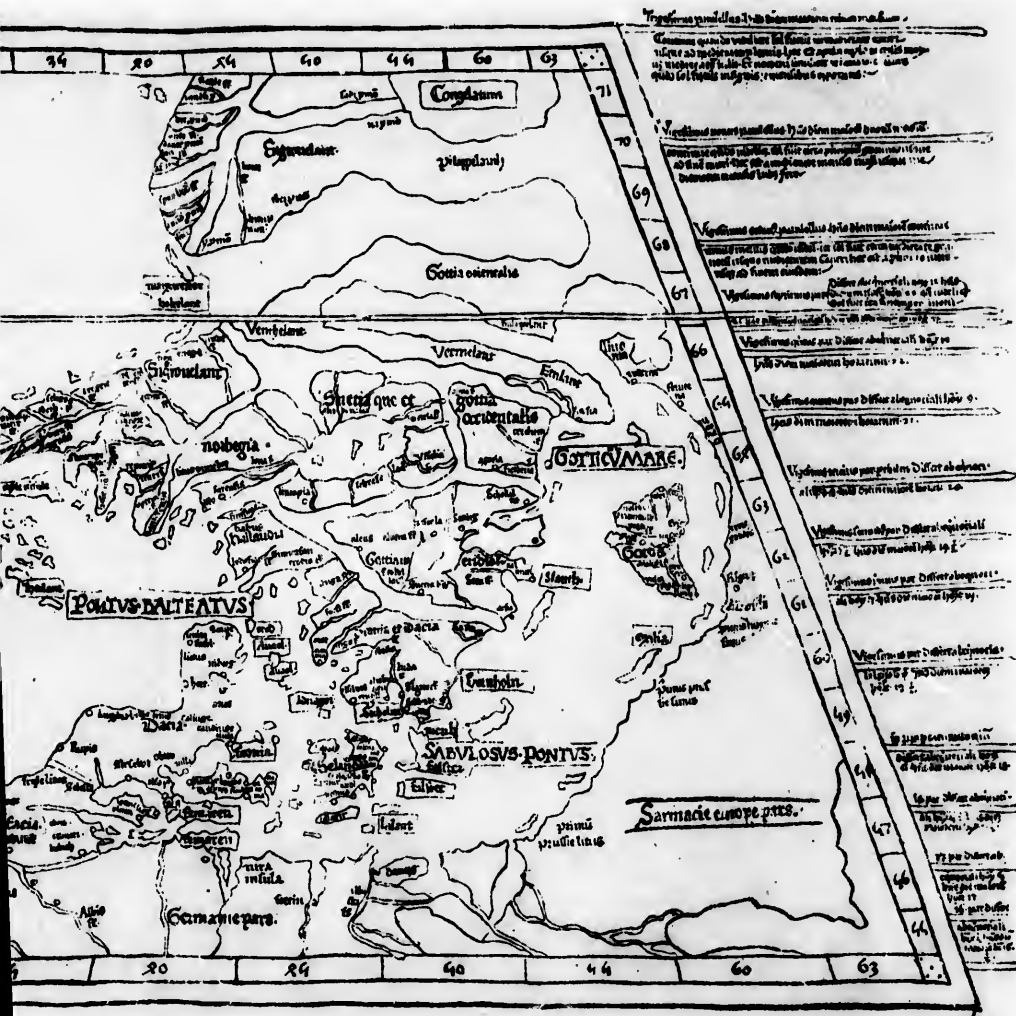
*En l'absence de la Revue de l'Éducation, Stockholm 1889*











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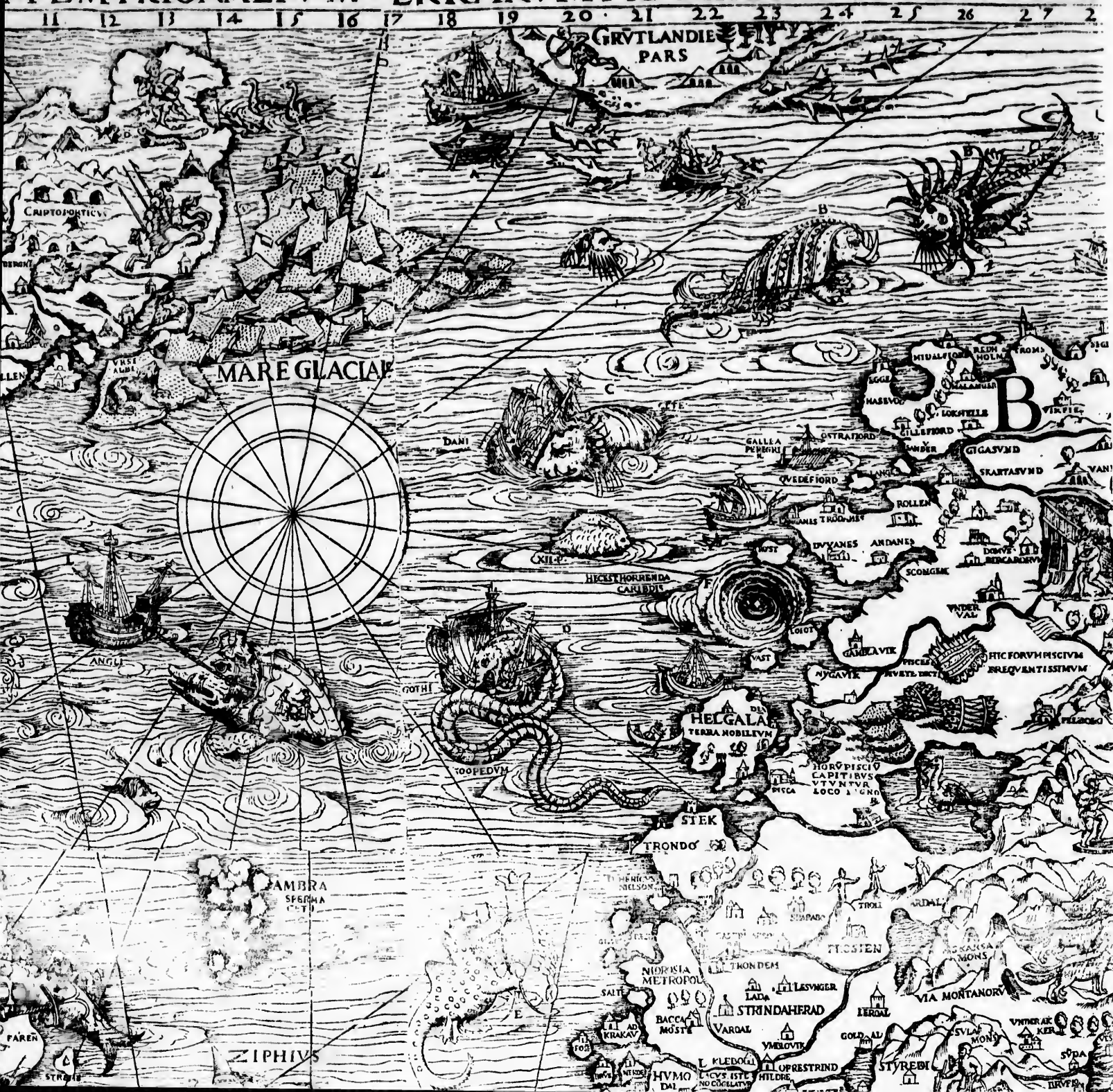




# CARTA MARINA ET DESCRIPTIO SEPTENTRIONIS



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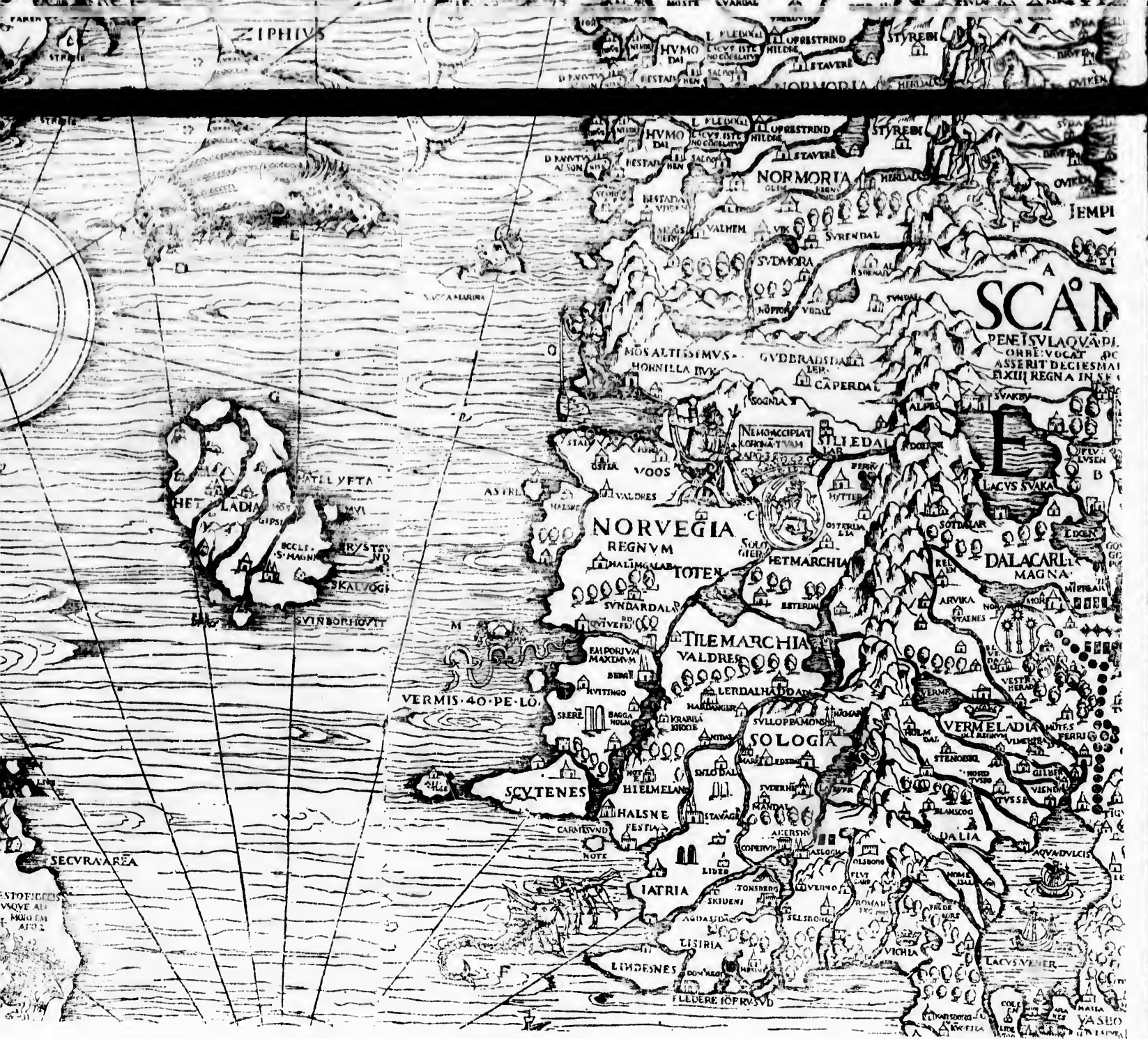
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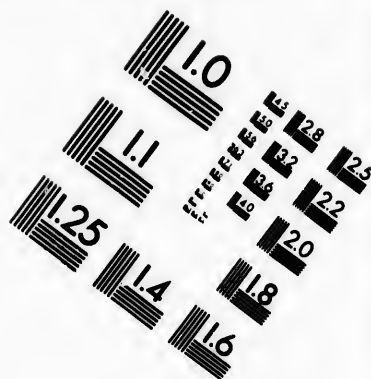
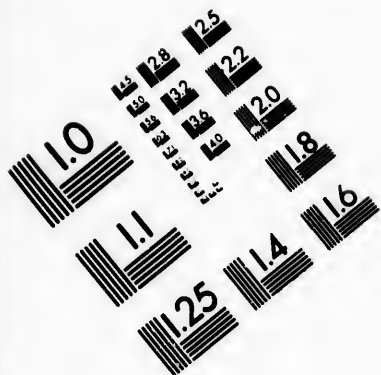
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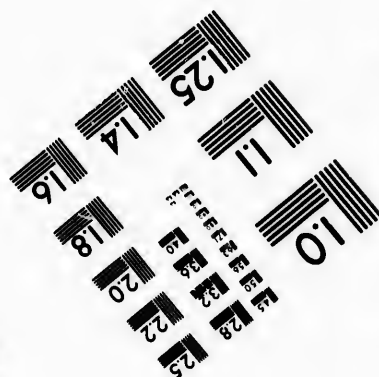
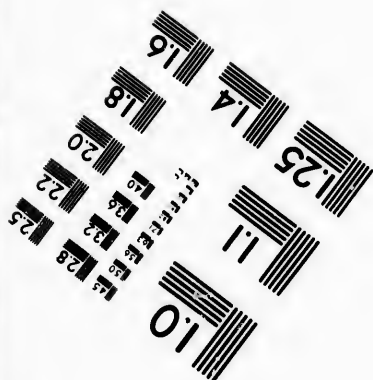
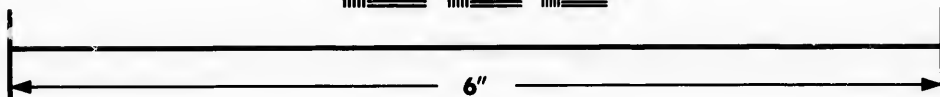
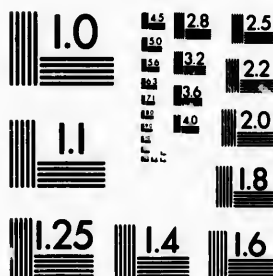
Paulus Mercator, Carta Scandinaviae, Venetiae 1539







# IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)



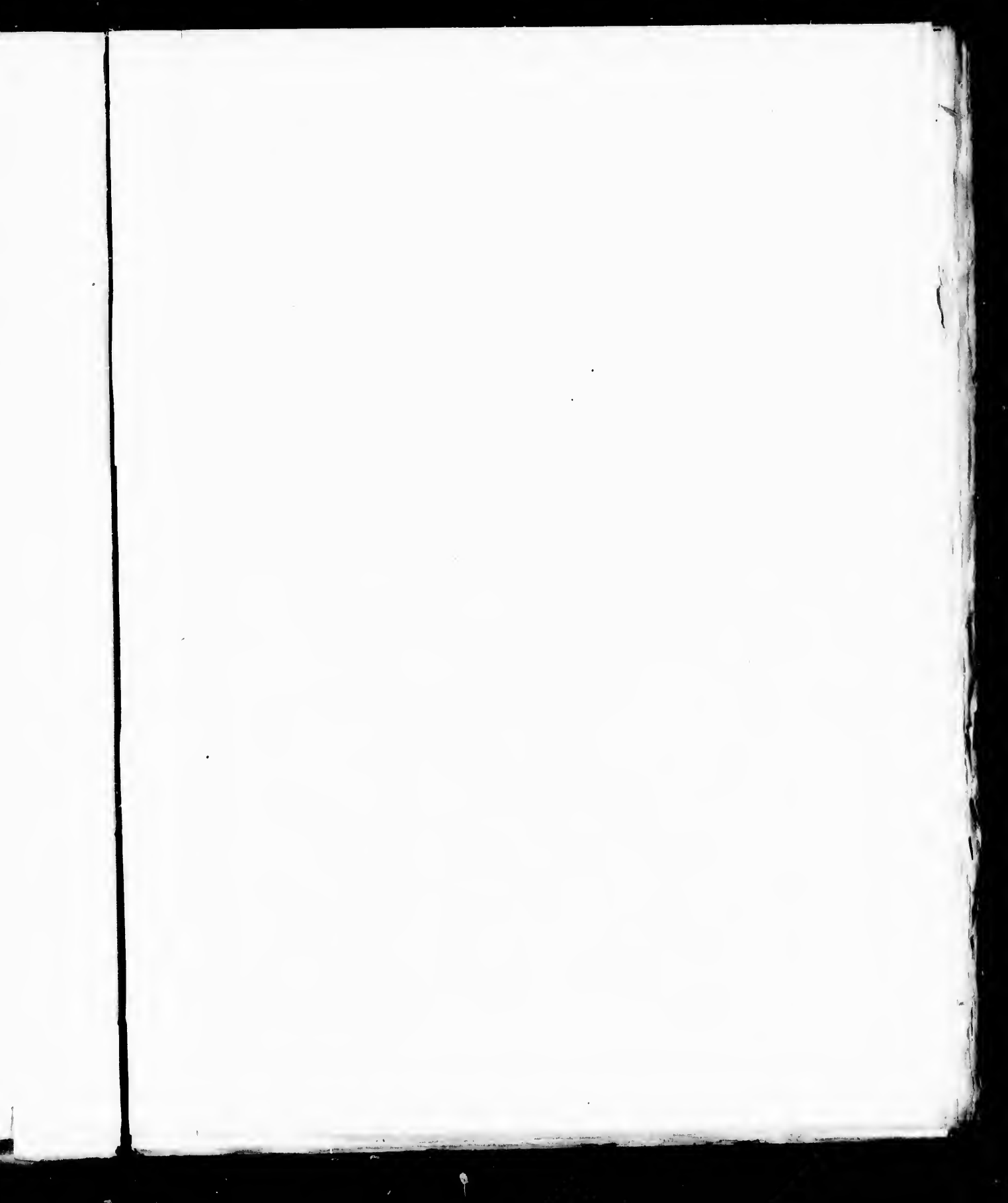
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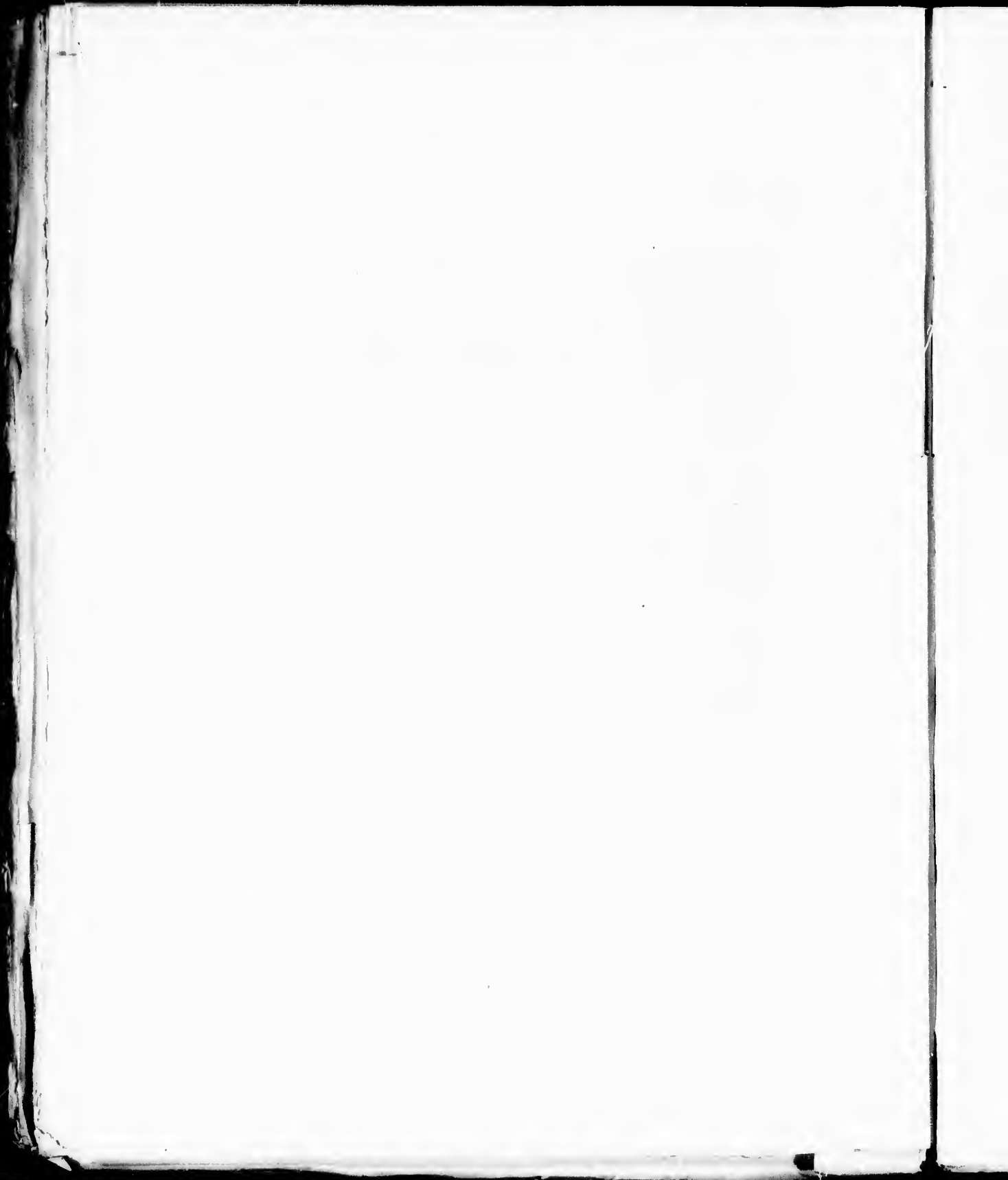
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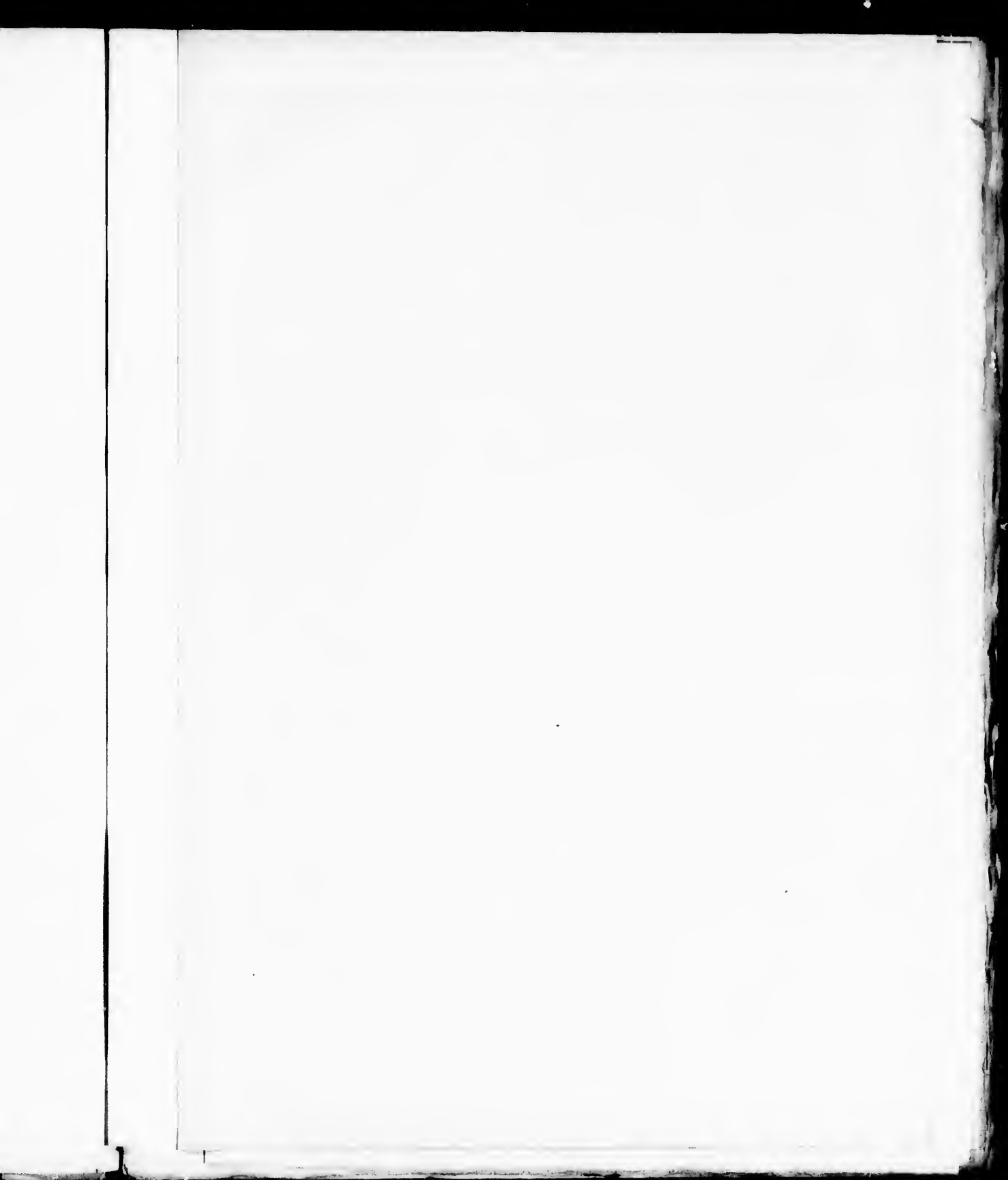




*Trin. Cinctoides, Zeleny June 1848*







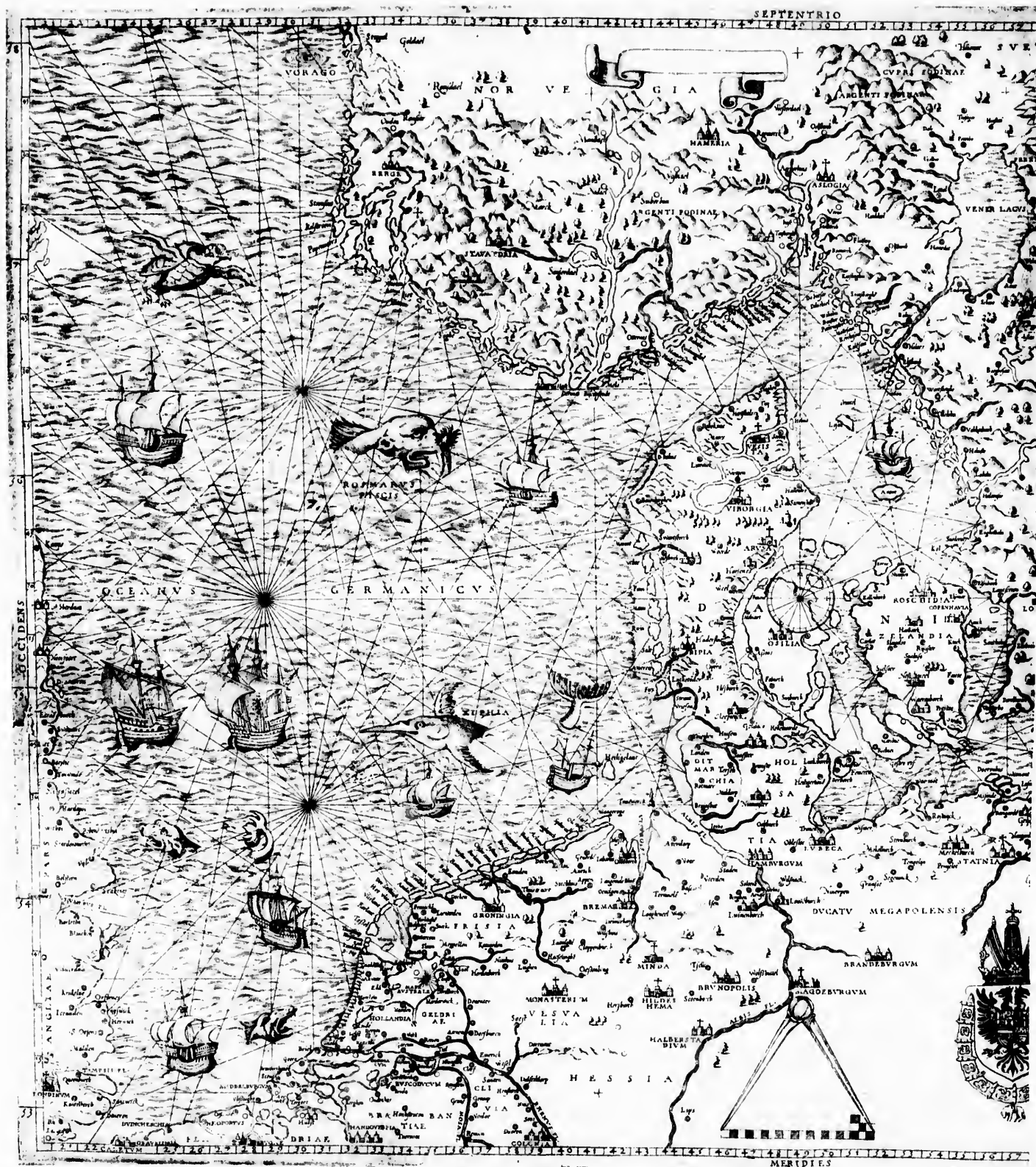




From Mercator's Europa, Dreyburg 1554







*Septentrionalium Regnorum Suetiae, Gothiae, Norvegiae, Danicae et Terrarum  
adiacentium recens exaequoque descriptio,  
Michaelis Tramezini Rectoris  
et Pont. Max. ac Veneti Senat. privilegio MDCLVIII  
Jacob Blesius in us. incubat.*





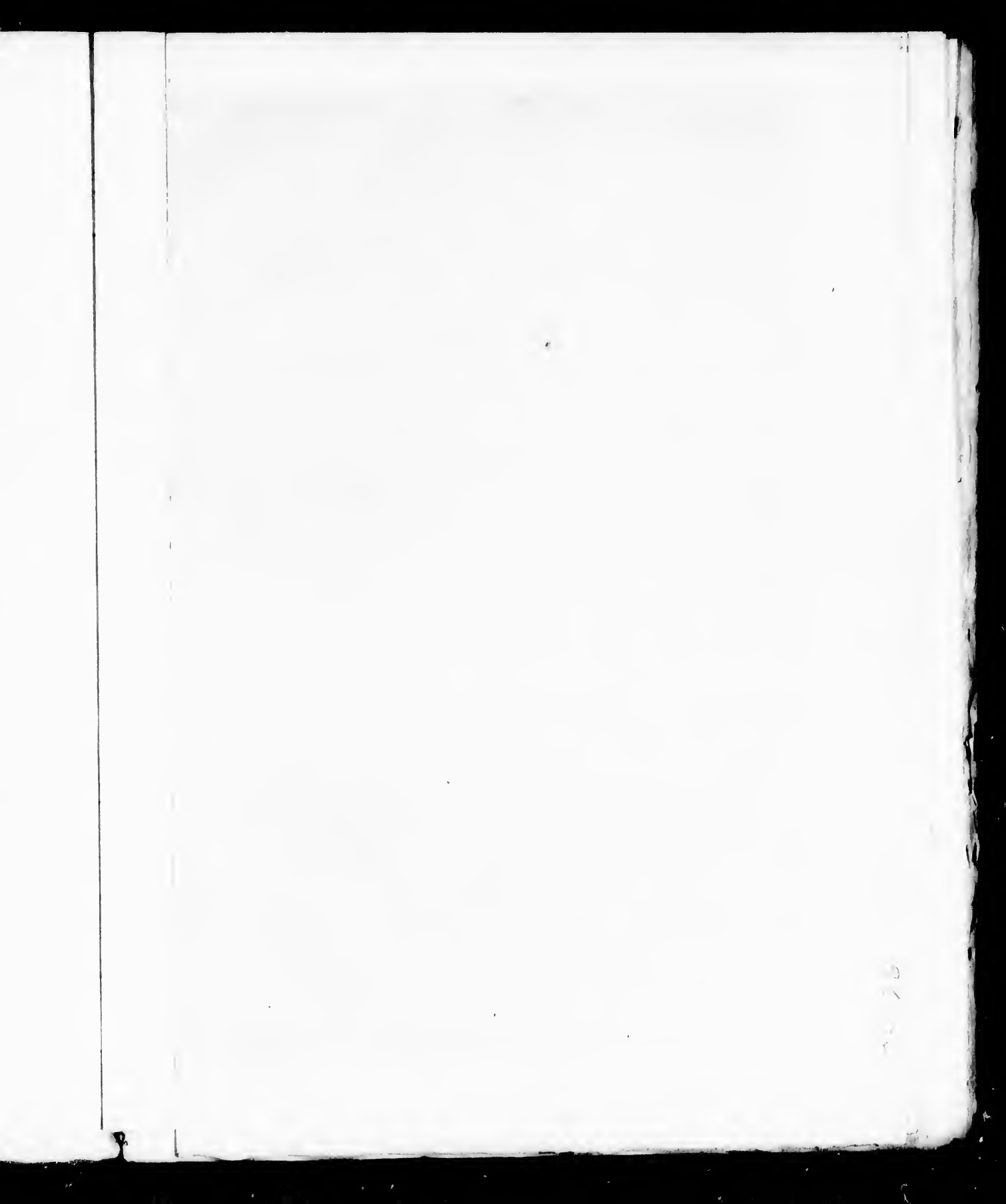












CARTA DA NAVEGAR DE NICOLO ET ANTONIO ZENI FV

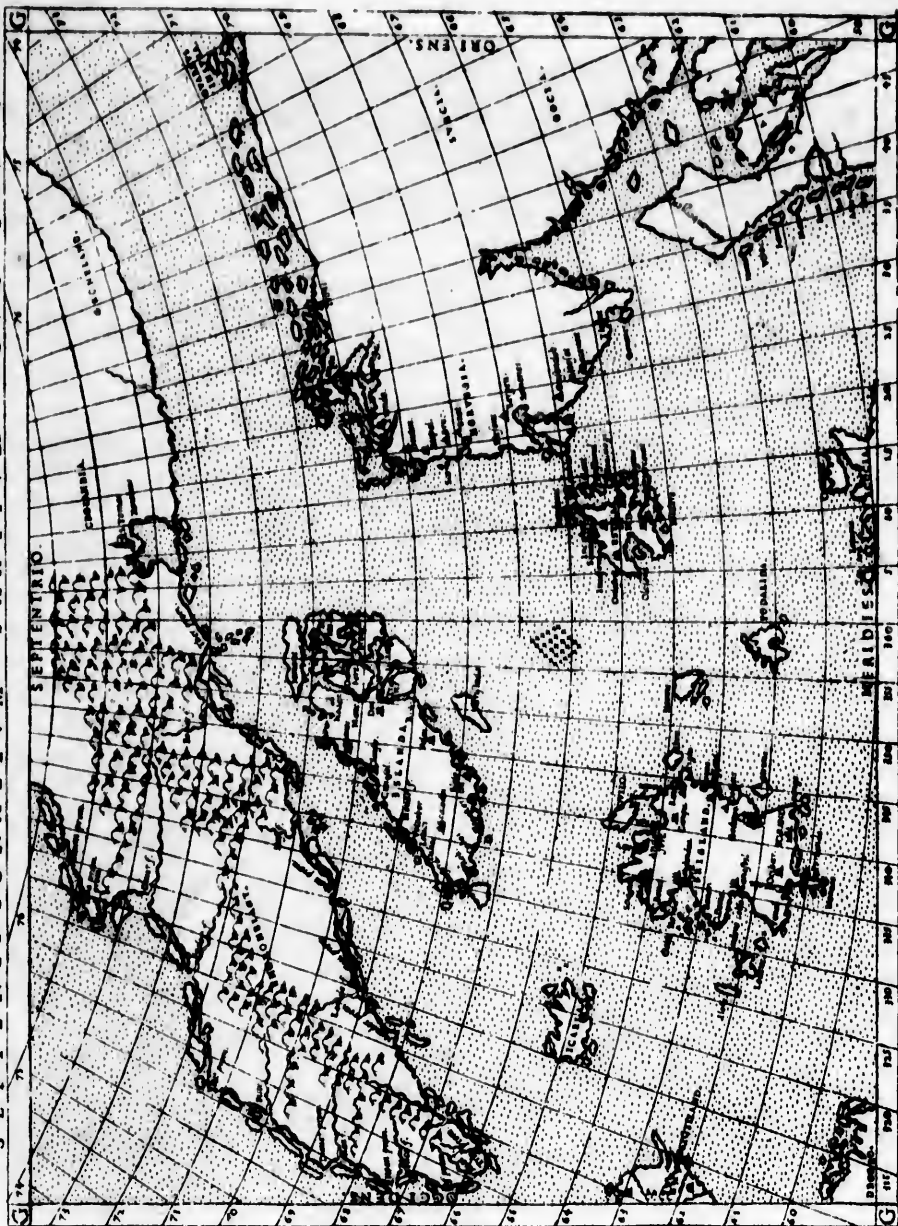


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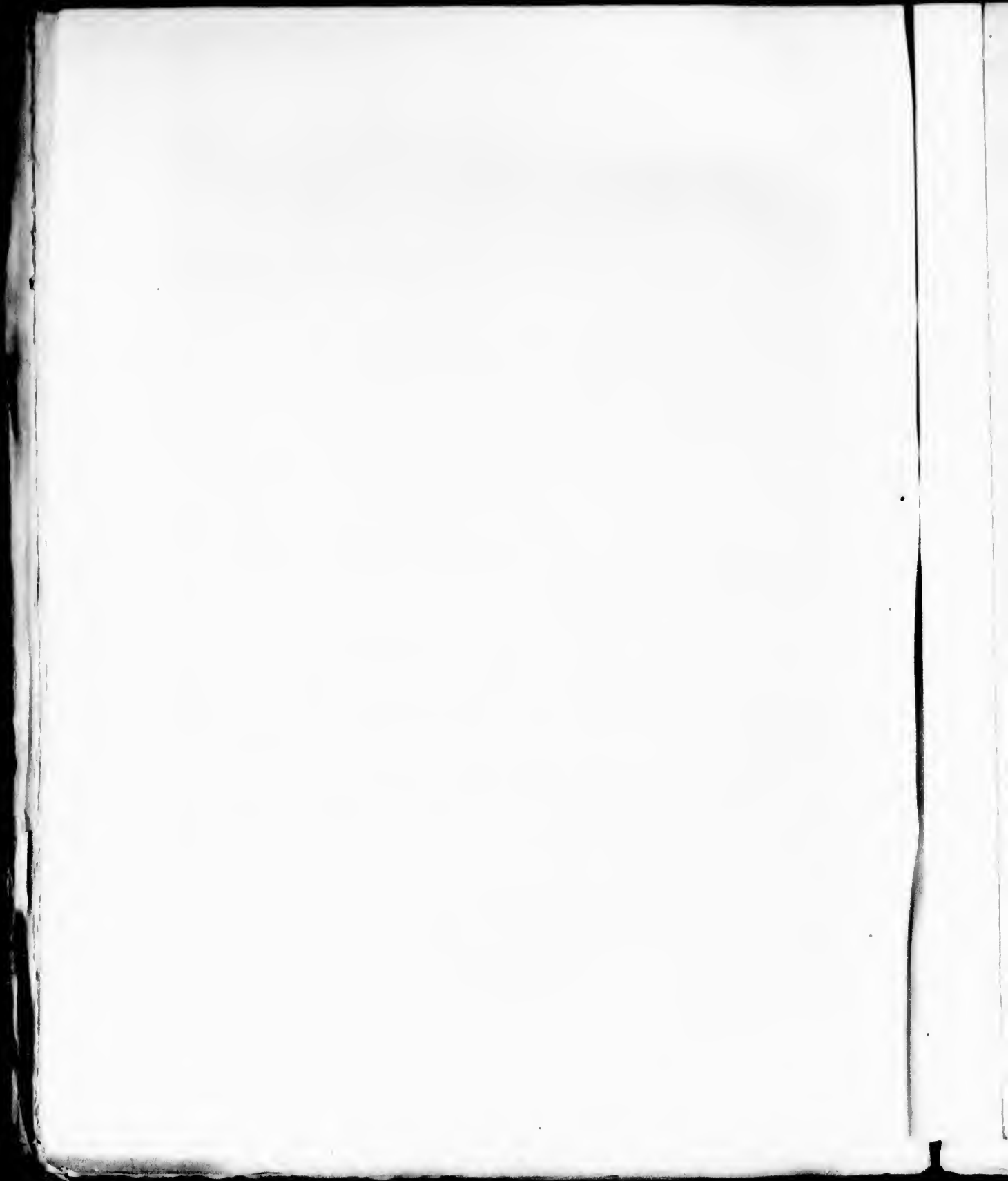




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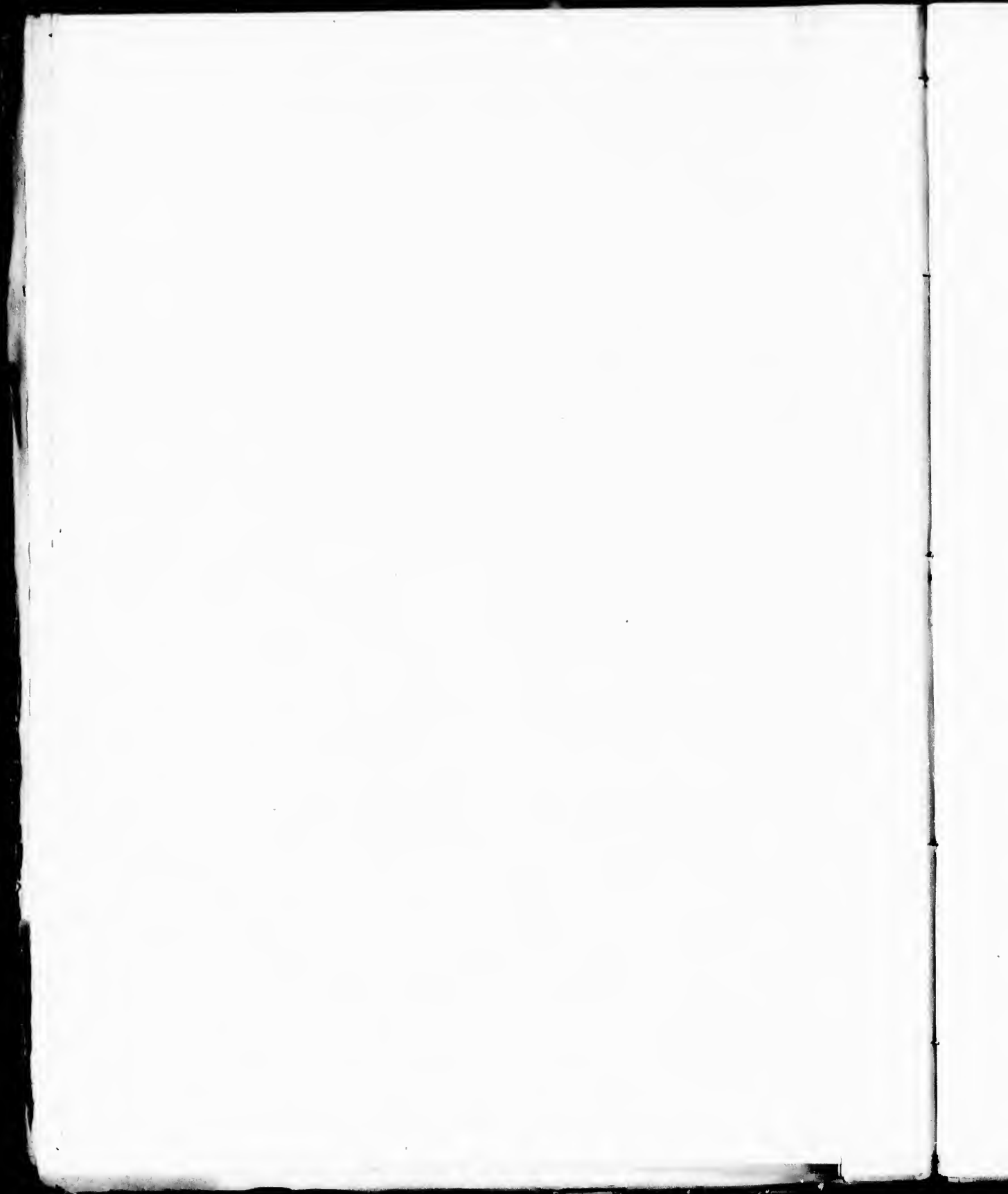




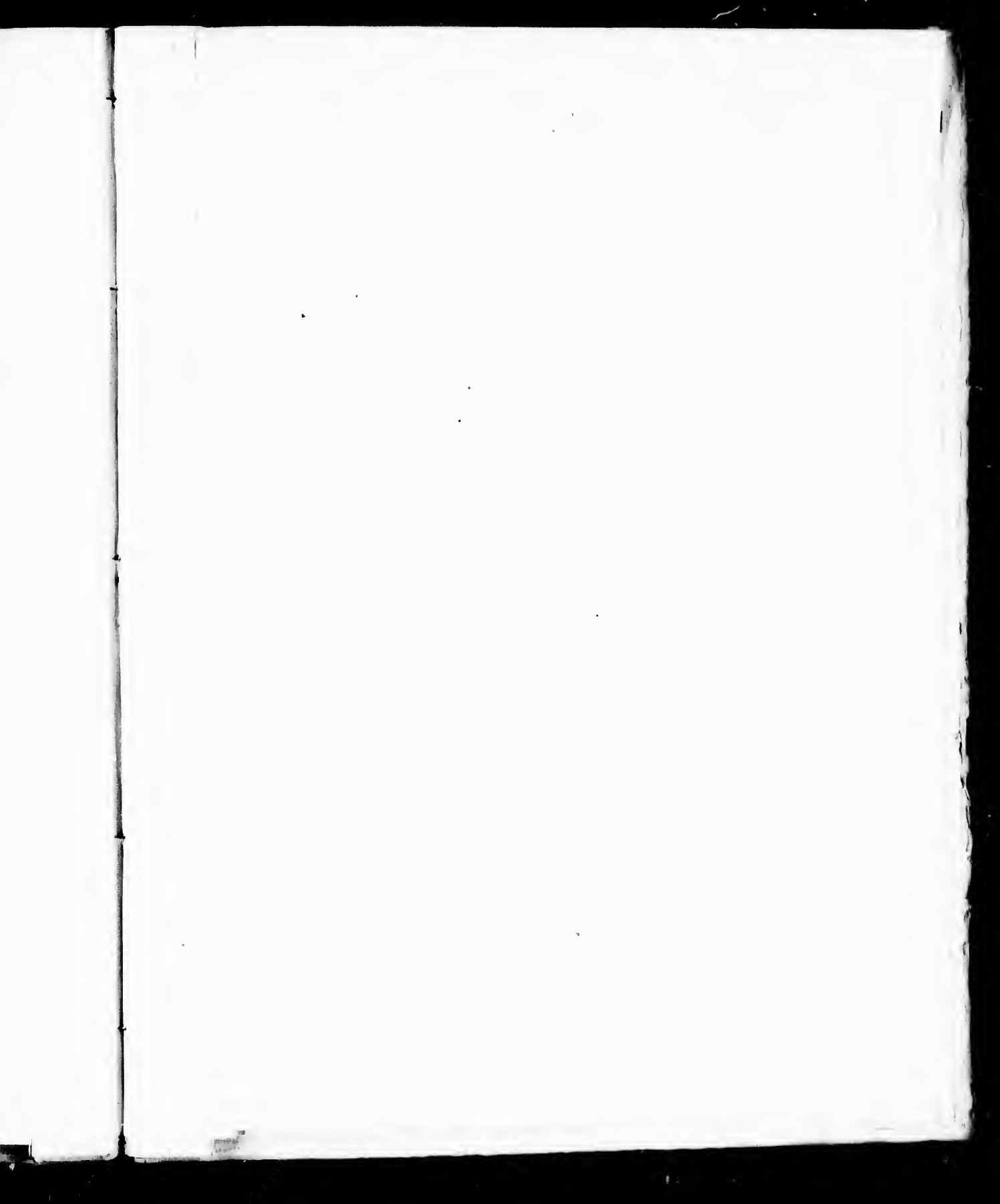




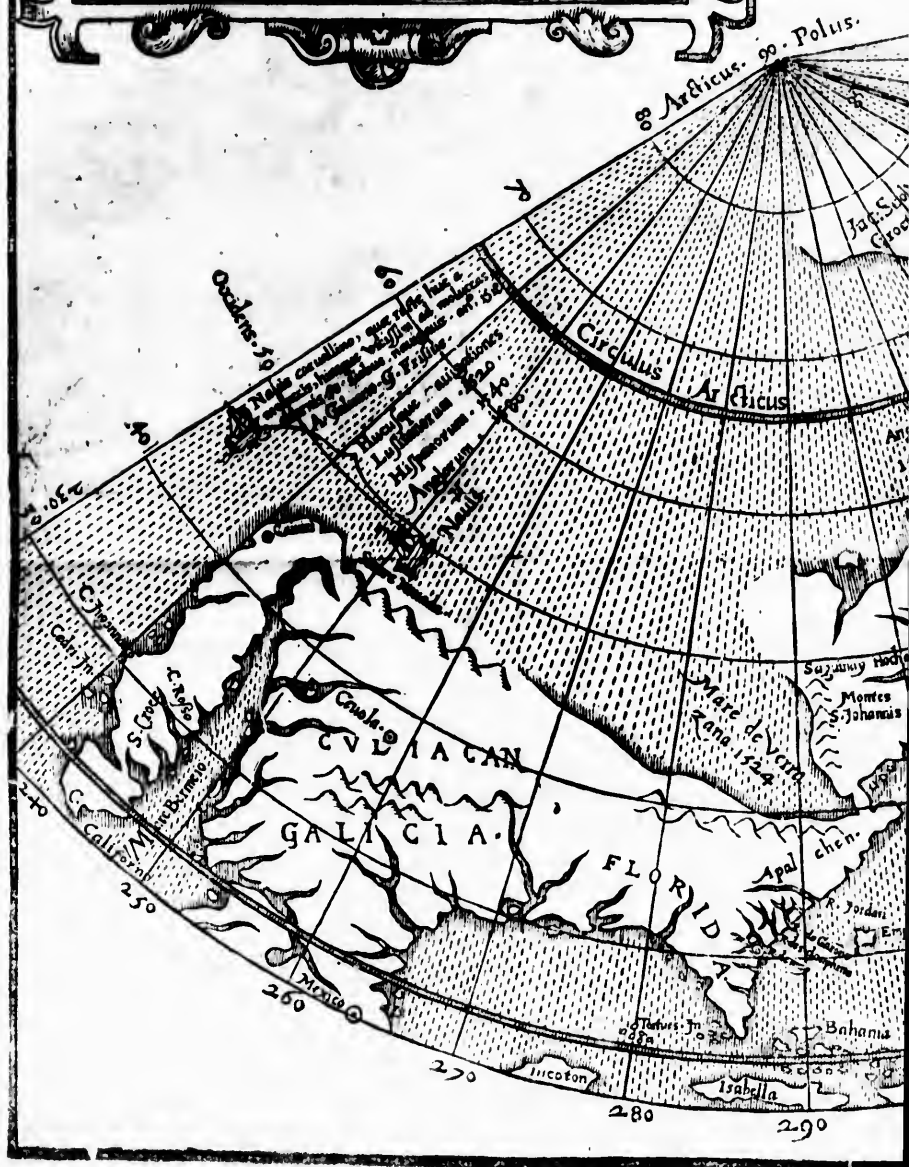


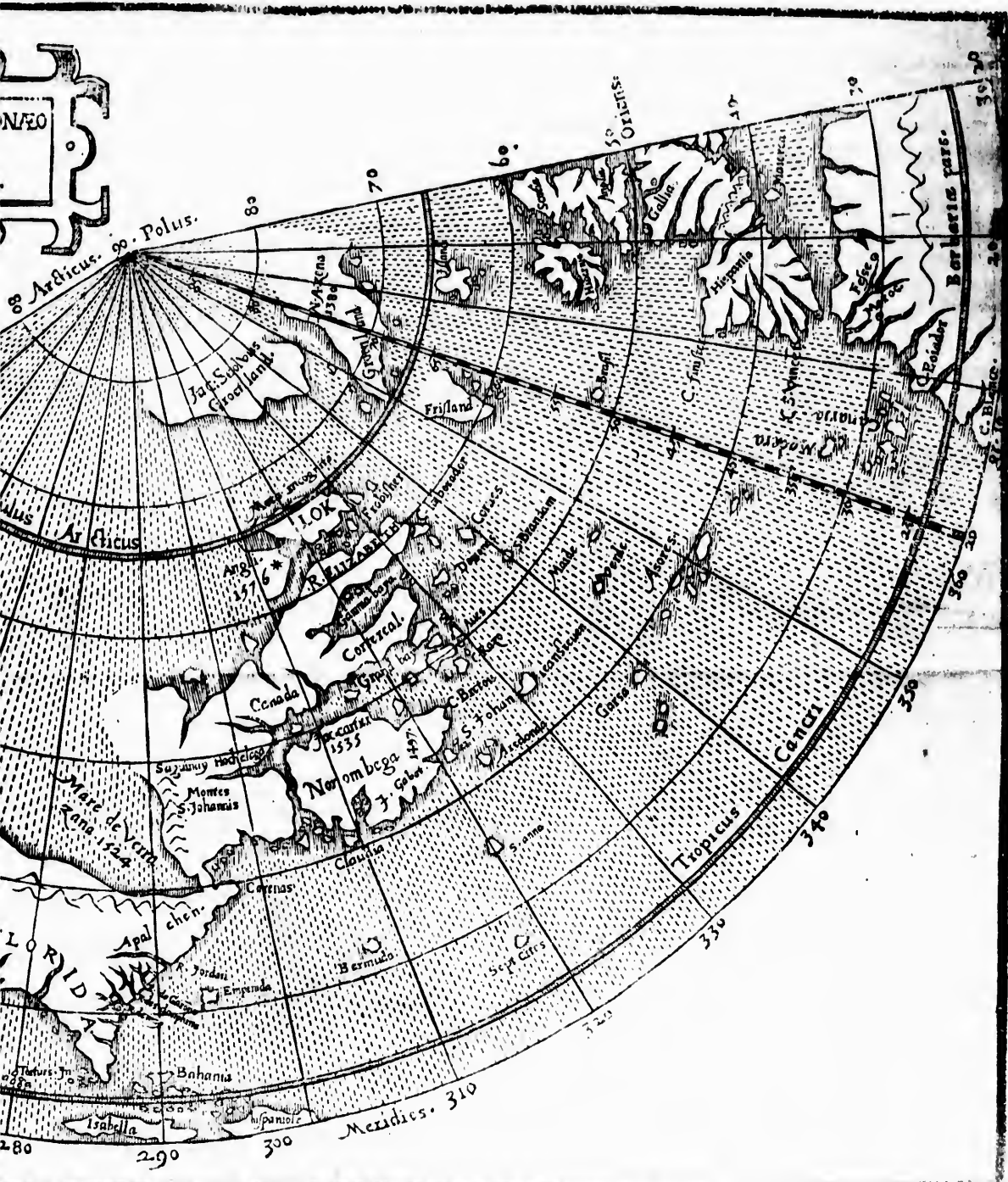


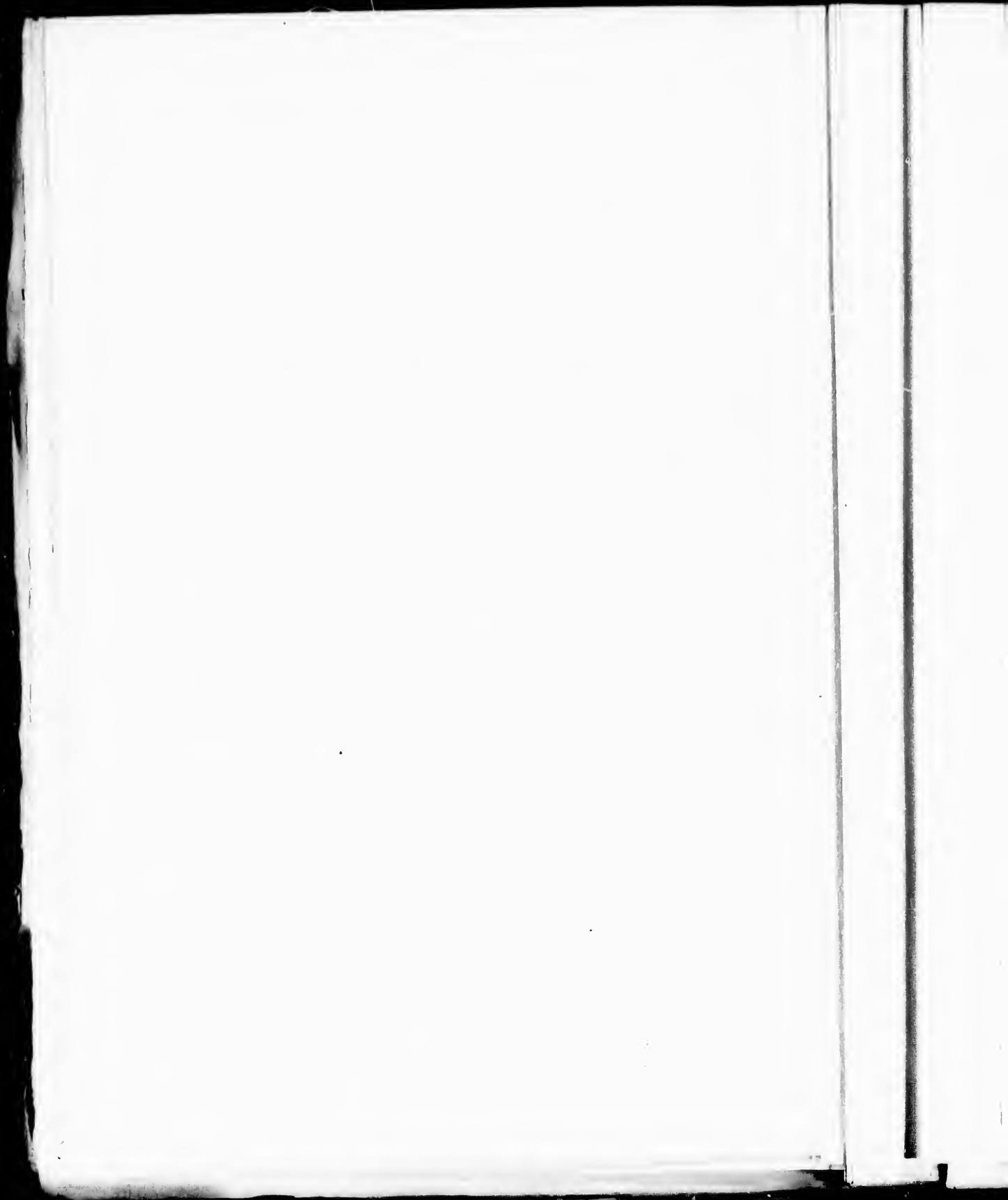


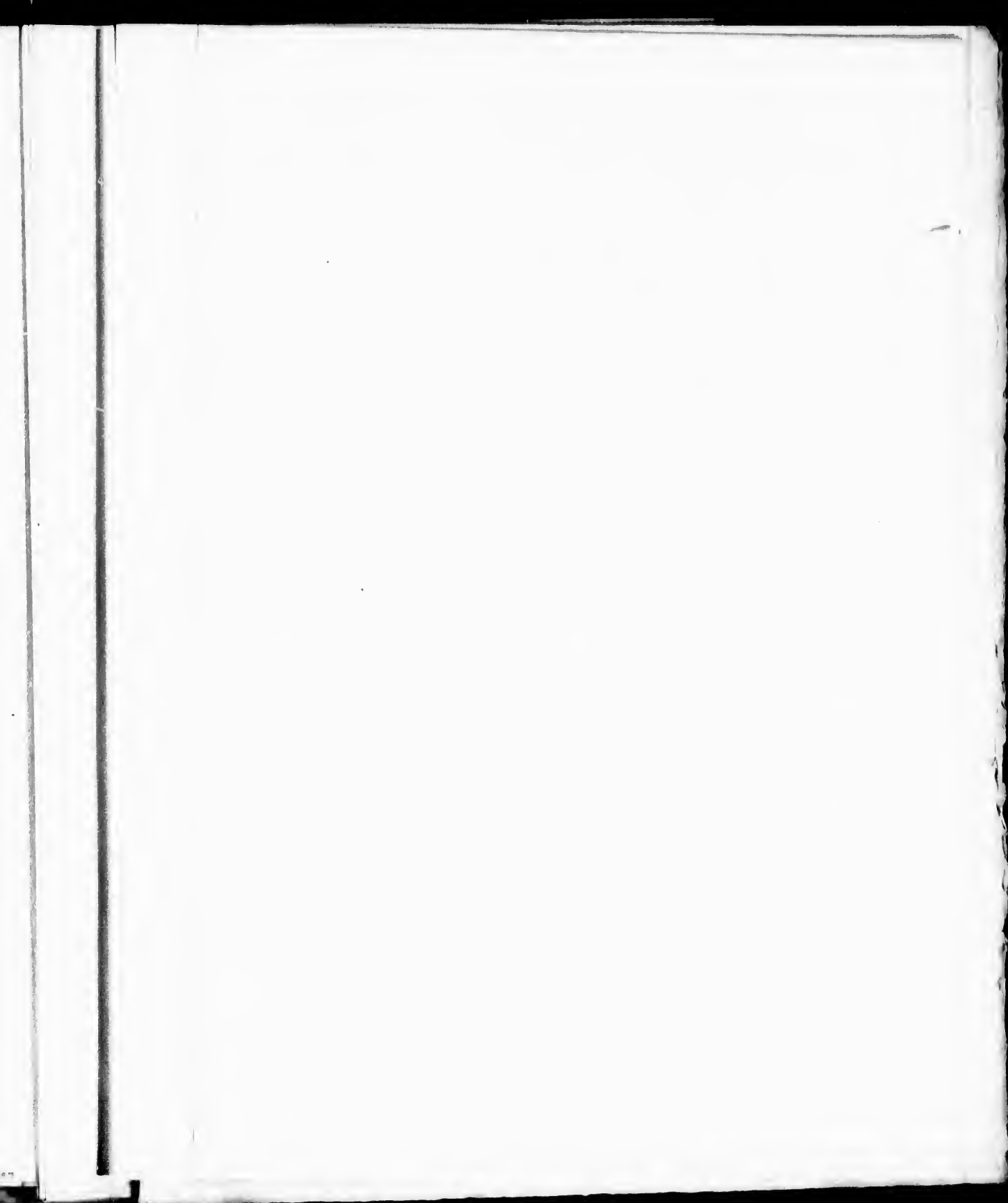


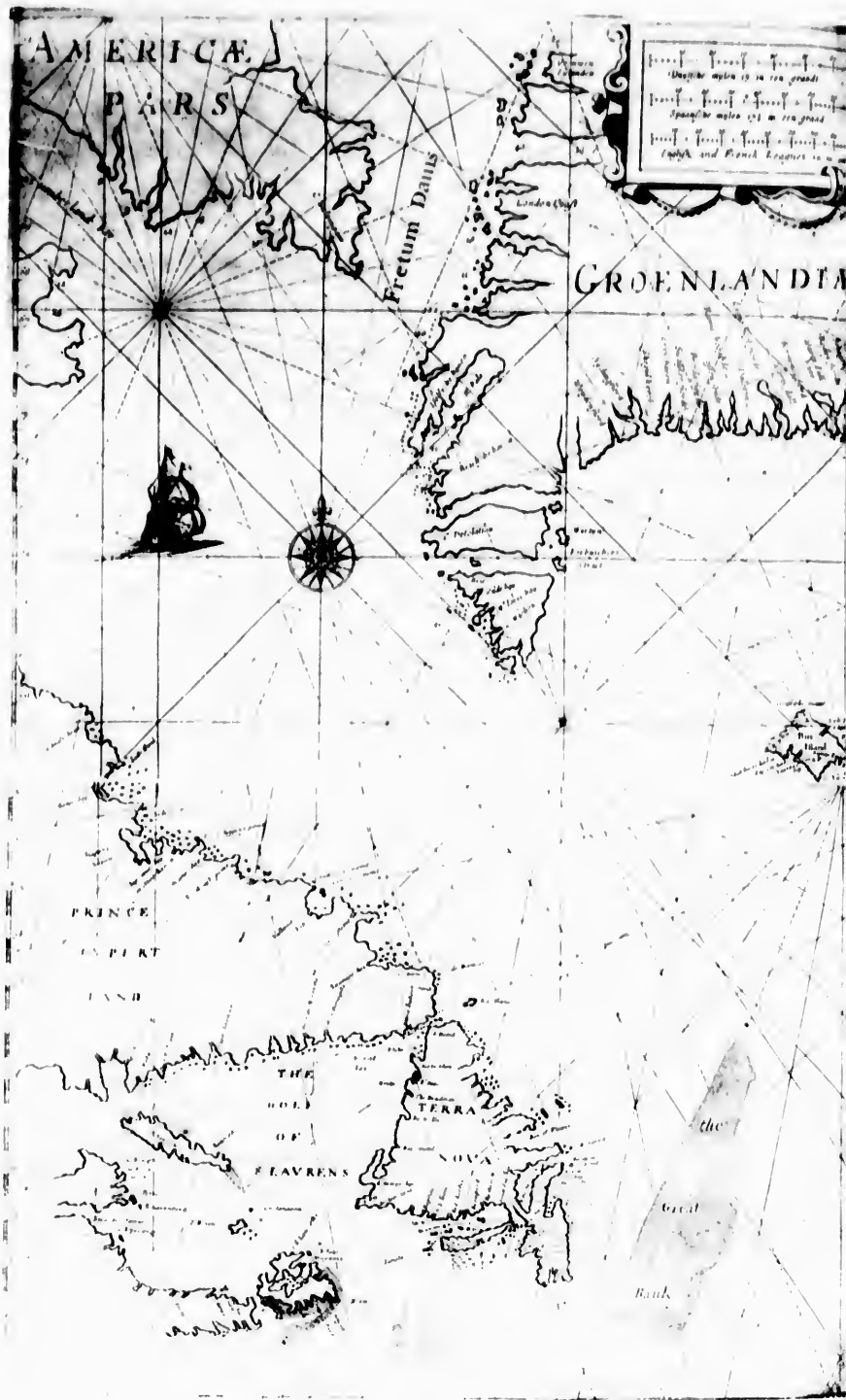
ILLVSTRI VIRO, DOMINO PHILIPPO SIDNEO  
MICHAEL LOK CIVIS LONDINENSIS  
HANC CHARTAM DEDICABAT : 1582.











A CHART OF THE  
FROTHS OF THE NORTH



A CHART OF THE NORTHERN SEA  
From Seller's English Print 1673





