

The Annals of the Voyages of
the Brothers
Niccolò 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
the Indies"



Illustrated by Facsimiles



LONDON

HENRY STEVENS SON AND STILES 39 GREAT RUSSELL STREET
OVER AGAINST THE BRITISH MUSEUM

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Geography



THE VOYAGES OF THE BROTHERS ZENI



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CHISWICK PRESS:—CHARLES WHITTINGHAM AND CO.
TOOKS COURT, CHANCERY LANE, LONDON.

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





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 Zeno 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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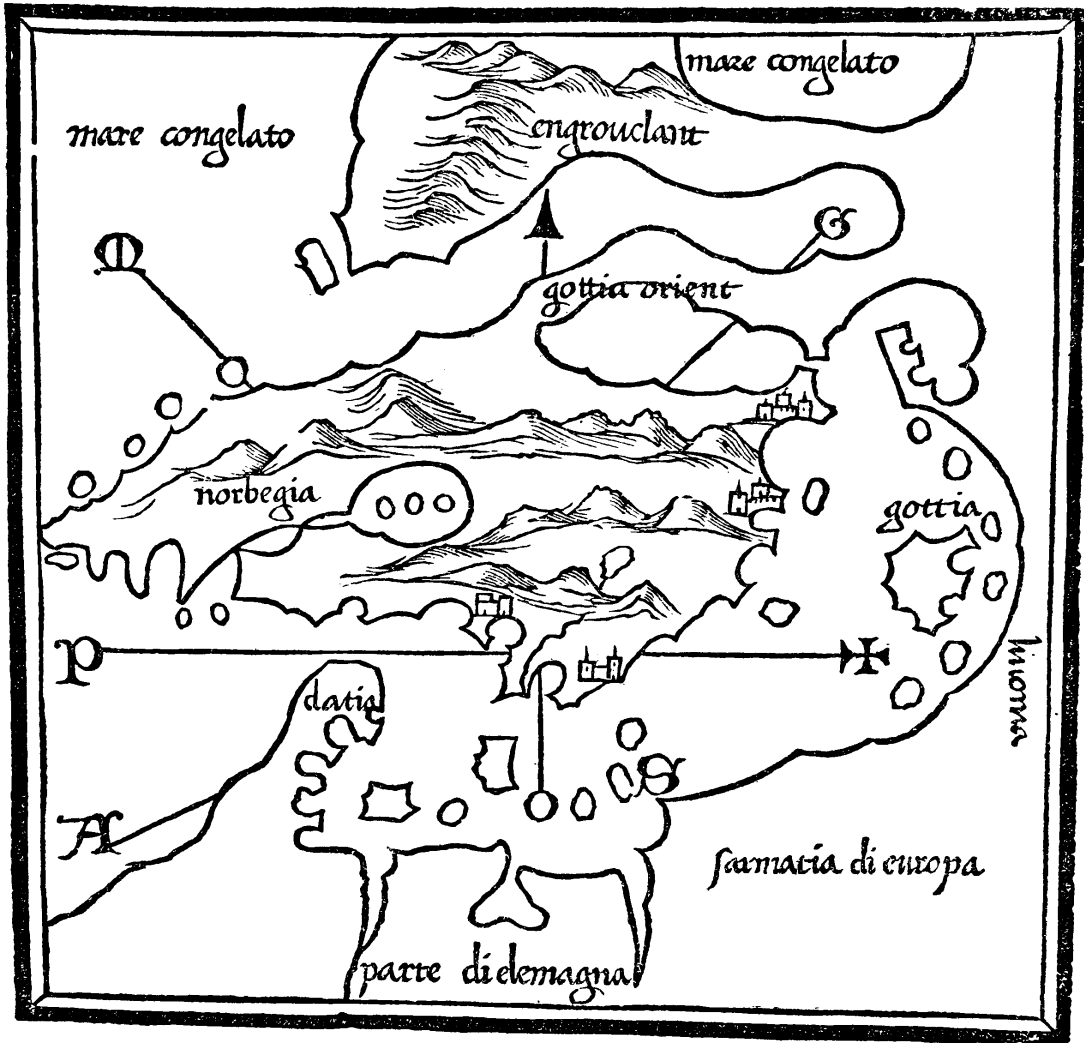


THE VOYAGES OF THE BROTHERS ZENI.

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.



IN 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 privilegio./ [Device] In Venetia/ Per Francesco Marcolini. MDLVIII./¹

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

¹ “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, Estotilanda, 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 aforesaid 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.¹ The recto of

¹ 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 del/ 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.*¹

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.²

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 NICOLO ET ANTONIO ZENI FVRONO IN TRAMONTANA LANO.M.CCC.LXXX."³ The degrees of latitude from 60° to 76° North are marked and numbered; the degrees of longitude are marked but not numbered.⁴ 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. 1, 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.

¹ For translation of this sub-title, see next page.

² 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.

³ Translation: "Chart of the Navigation of Nicolo and Antonio Zeni who were in the North in the year 1380."

⁴ 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,¹ 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,² 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,

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

² 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 Islande¹ 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, Damberc, 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 Engroueland² [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,

¹ 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, Damberc, 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.

² 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 scoriæ, 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;¹ but they have not much appre-

¹ *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, *Diët. 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,¹ 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.

¹ “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 Islande¹; 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 shuttles² 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 vessels³ 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

¹ See Note 1 on p. 11.

² *Navicelli*, literally, “little ships,” so named from their resemblance in shape to boats.

³ *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 Estotiland, 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,¹ 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

¹ 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.¹ 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*² [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

¹ 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.

² 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 Icelander; 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 June¹ 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 Capò 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,

¹ 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 Grolanda¹ [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

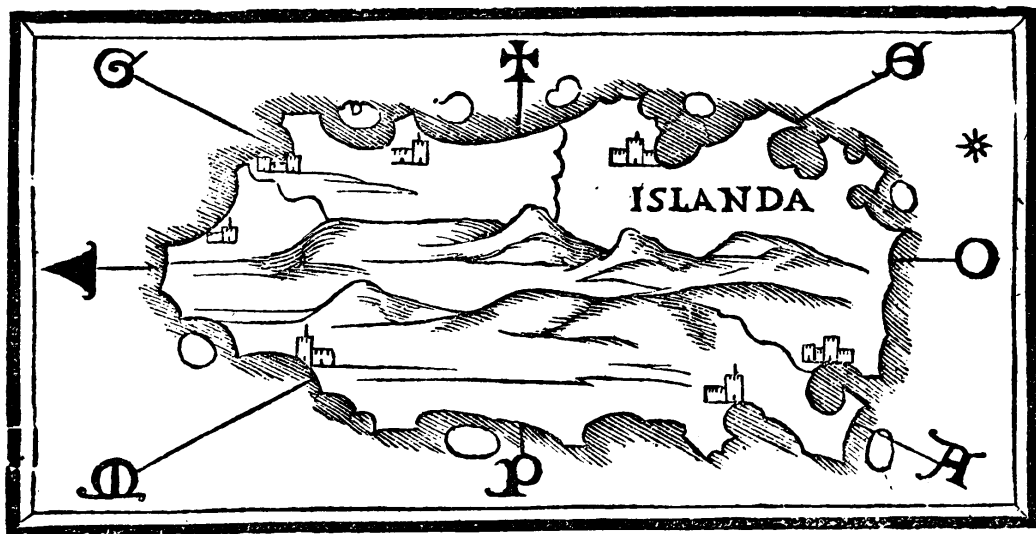
¹ That is, that part of Greenland alleged to have been visited by Nicolò Zeno, the traveller, in the neighbourhood of the monastery. This is called “Engroueland,” or “Engrouiland,” throughout the narrative, except in this place; in the map Grolanda is rendered “Crolandia.”

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 *vivá 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,¹ 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.² 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.³ 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.

¹ 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.

² See Appendix III.

³ 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.¹

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,² 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

¹ Zaccaria, *Catalogo ragionato di opere stampate per Francesco Marcolini*, Fermo, 1850.

² 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.¹

In another place, the compiler says² 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,³ or to America, or to both,⁴ or whether it was part of Asia,⁵ or an island. The latter question was, indeed, still open until Peary's recent explorations settled the fact that it is an island.

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

⁴ 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.)

⁵ 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 MCCCLXXX., was copied in Ruscelli's Italian edition of "Ptolemy," published in Venice in 1561¹ (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 Nicolò 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 1562.² 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

¹ "Nvova Tavola Settentrionale," No. XXXV. of the new maps.

² "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 1574.¹

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.²

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

¹ 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 (*Dict. 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.

² Ex. gr. *Gerardi Mercatoris Atlas*, folio, Amsterdam, 1605. *Atlas Minor, Gerardi Mercatoris*, oblong 4to, Amsterdam, 1610. *P. Bertii Tabularum Geographicarum contraſtarum 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.¹ 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 Stephanius,² the head of the school at Skalholt. 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.³ 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

¹ 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.

² Torfaeus, *Gronlandia Antiqua*, Havnæ, 1715.

³ 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.”¹

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*.”²

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*.”³

Porcacchi di Castiglione (1576) gives⁴ 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,⁵ 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*,⁶ 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

¹ 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.

² Hakluyt, 1599-1600, vol. iii., p. 76.

³ Hakluyt, vol. iii., pp. 76, 77.

⁴ *L’Isole piu Famosi del Mondo*, fol. Venice, 1576, p. 1.

⁵ *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.

⁶ 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,¹ 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 Iles 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 Rasciotti² at Venice in 1583, are shown "Islant," with "Icaria" due west of it, "Drogeo de Francesi," and "Estotiland," which latter is placed on the continent of America.

Lorenzo D'Anania accepts³ 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*, 1582,⁴ and

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

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

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

⁴ *Divers Voyages touching the discoverie of America and the ilands 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 Woodcocke . . . 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 Zeni* (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."¹ 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.²

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*."³ 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

¹ *Op. cit.*, vol. iii., 1600, p. 127.

² *Op. cit.*, vol. iii., 1600, p. 77.

³ Hakluyt, 1589, "To the Reader."

original source. Buss Island,¹ 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 1599,² 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."³

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 1588.⁴ 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 Zurla 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,

¹ 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.

² There are two states of the Molineux Map. The first impression was reproduced with Admiral Markham's *Voyages and Works of 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."

³ Hakluyt, 1589, p. 786, and 1599-1600, vol. iii., p. 108.

⁴ 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 credits¹ 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.

Myritius² 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,³ 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, 1599,⁴ 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.

¹ *Geografia*, Vinegia, 1588, ff. 14 and 17.

² *Opusculum Geographicum*, Ingoldstadt, 1590, Part II., chapter xix.

³ *Descriptionis Ptolemaicæ Augmentum*, Louvani, 1597. Eighteen out of the nineteen maps in this work are reproduced in Nordenskjöld’s *Facsimile Atlas*.

⁴ *Navigatio ac Itinerarium Johannis Hugonis Linscotani*. 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,¹ 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,² 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,³ Linschoten himself.

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

In a map dated 1605, by H. P. Resen,⁶ 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,⁷ 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 1606⁸ 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.

¹ *Tres Navigationes Hollandorum in modo dictam Indiam.* Francofurti, 1601. Part III. of De Bry's *Petits Voyages*.

² *Waerachtighe Beschryvinghe van drie seylagien, etc.* Amsterdam, 1598.

³ *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.

⁴ *Compendium Universi, complectens Geographicarum Enarrationum Libros sex.* Colonia Agrippinæ, 1600. Book 6.

⁵ "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.

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

⁷ *Descriptio ac delineatio Geographica Detentionis Freti, etc.*, Amsterdam, 1612.

⁸ *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, 1625, vol. iii., p. 822.

Frisland and Estotilandia are shown on the map, dated 1606, by Gudbrand Thorlacius, Bishop of Holen.¹

Mention of Ditmar Blefken's mendacious and libellous booklet² 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 Arngrim Jonas,³ 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,⁴ 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;⁵ also, by a map of Iceland, reduced from Bishop Gudbrand Thorlaksen's large map of that island,⁶ 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*.⁷

Sieur Pierre D'Avity⁸ 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-*

¹ Torfæus, *Gronlandia Antiqua*, Havnix, 1715.

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

³ *Anatomie Blefkeniana*. Holen, 1612.

⁴ *Septentrio Novantiquus oder Die Neue Nort Welt*. Leipsic, 1613.

⁵ *Historia Mundi*, Amsterdam, 1606; London, 1635. Map 6, p. 29.

⁶ Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. Antwerp, 1595. Map 103.

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

⁸ *Les Etats, Empires, et Principautez du Monde*. Paris, 1622, p. 264.

grimes, 1625.¹ A second and fuller notice, in *Purchas his Pilgrimage*,² 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:³ “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 fifteene miles or leagues from *Freesland*.”

“*Item. Freesland* lyeth South and *Island* East from *Gronland*.”

Pontanus, in his Danish history, 1631,⁴ 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.⁵

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 grieued 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 likelyhood of vntruths, howsoever I doe beleeve, the first Copies were true, though this is subiect to mistakings.”⁶

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

¹ *Op. cit.*, vol. iii., p. 610.

² *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.

³ *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, vol. iii., p. 520.

⁴ *Rerum Danicarum Historia, libri x.* Amsterdam, 1631, pp. 755-763.

⁵ *Specimen Islandiæ.* Amsterdam, 1643, p. 161.

⁶ *North West Fox.* London, 1635, pp. 12 and 181.

voyage, is the following wild conjecture : “ nor will I be perswaded, 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.”¹

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,² *Frezeland* 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 (Blæu) and Herman Allertsz (Coster’s) “ *Grote Werelts Caerte*,” revised by Franciscus Hoieus, and published by Hugo Allardt, about 1640,³ *St. Thomas*, and some other Zenian names, appear on Greenland, and *Frisland* is shown, but *Icaria*, *Estotiland*, and *Drogeo* are absent.

Hugo Grotius⁴ 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.⁵ 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.⁶

Mothe le Vayer is quoted by Terra Rossa⁷ and Zurla,⁸ 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

¹ *North West Fox*. London, 1635, p. 181.

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

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

⁴ *Dissertatio de Origine Gentium Americanarum*. Amsterdam, 1642.

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

⁶ *Responsio ad Diss. Secundam Hugonis Grotii*, etc. Amsterdam, 1644, p. 11.

⁷ *Riflessioni Geografiche*. Padova, 1686, folio 5.

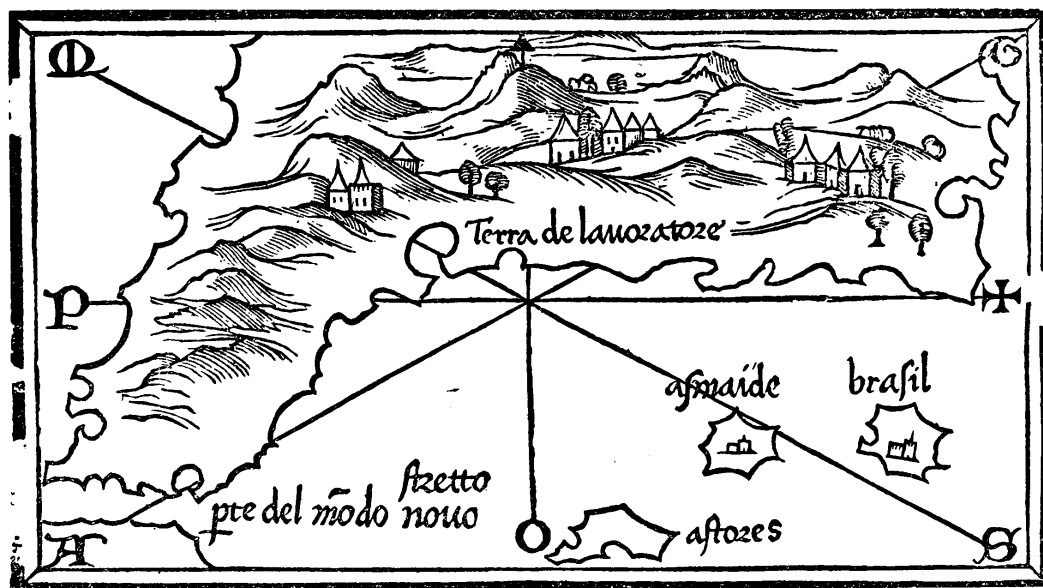
⁸ *Dissertazione*, 1808, p. 120. *Marco Polo*, vol. ii., pp. 78, 79.

le Vayer, mentions the Monastery in Greenland dedicated to St. Thomas,¹ on the authority of the versified chronicle of the Danish priest, Claude Christophersen (Lyscander), who died about 1635.² 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.

¹ *Relation du Groenland*. Paris, 1647, p. 29.

² *Ibid.*, p. 10.



LABRADOR [Greenland] from Bordone's *Isolario*, 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.¹ But the Island of Frislanda, "much larger than Ireland,"² and having a large and lucrative trade with "Flanders, Brittany, England, Scotland, Norway, and Denmark,"³ 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 refers⁴ 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

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

² *Annals*, folio 47.

³ *Ibid.*, folio 48.

⁴ *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 Holen as “an honest and learned young man,”¹ was the author of “The Commentary of Iceland,”² printed by Hakluyt, and of other works on that island,³ 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, say⁴ 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*,⁵ 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 makes⁶ some very pertinent criticisms and awkward queries as to the

¹ Hakl., 1599, vol. i., p. 552.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Crymogæa, or History of Iceland*, 1609. *Anatomie Blefkeniana*, Holen, 1612. *Specimen Islandiæ Historicum*, Amsterdam, 1643, p. 142 *et seq.*

⁴ *De Nieuwe en onbekende Weereld*, Amsterdam, 1671; and *America*, London, 1671.

⁵ *English Atlas*, Oxford, 1680, folio, vol. i., pp. 10 and 13.

⁶ *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*,¹ 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,² but feels only called upon to refute three out of "the arbitrary catalogue of lies,"³ 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, 1627,⁴ and in a map of Visscher's published in 1652,⁵ 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

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

² *Ibid.*, p. 85.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

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

⁵ 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*¹ 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, rejects² 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*³ he identifies "Bus Island" with "Frisland," but in later editions of the same map, omits both altogether.

Moreri⁴ 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

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

² *Historia Vinlandiæ Antiquæ*, Havniæ, 1715. Prefatio ad Lectorem.

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

⁴ *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.¹

Morisotti refers to the voyages of the Zeni, and mentions *Frislandia*, *Estotilant* and some other Zenian localities.²

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."³ 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.⁴

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.⁵

¹ *A Description of Greenland*, 1745, p. 19 et seq.

² *Orbis Maritimi Historia*, Dijon, 1743, pp. 593 and 615.

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

⁴ *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.

⁵ *History of Greenland*, London, 1767, vol. i., p. 273.

Martinière, in his Geographical Dictionary, expresses his disbelief in the Zeno story.¹ 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 1752,² treats the account of the voyage of the Zeni as true. On the other hand, in referring to the story, Tiraboschi,³ 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.⁴ 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.⁵ 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,⁶ 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,

¹ *Le Grand Dictionnaire Geographique Historique et Critique*, 1768, Under v. Estotiland.

² *Letteratura Veneziana*, Venice, 1752, p. 406.

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

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

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

⁶ *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 suggests¹ 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*,² 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,³ 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.⁴

Passing by Filiasi,⁵ D. J. Morelli,⁶ and others, with the remark that the Italian, and especially the Venetian writers, have with few

¹ *Northern Voyages*, 1786, pp. 181 n, and 208, 209.

² *L'Histoire de l'Académie des Sciences*, 1784.

³ *Mémoire sur l'ancien Greenland*, 1792.

⁴ *Arctic Zoology*, London, 1792, vol. i., p. 331.

⁵ *Recerche storico-critiche sull' opportunità della Laguna Veneta pel commercio*, 1803.

⁶ *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 Zurla. 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.¹ The same author also touches the subject in his monograph on the Fra Mauro Map.² Zurla 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.

Edmonston³ 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*,⁴ 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*,⁵ and in a somewhat garbled Latin version of the same book, known as *Itinerarium Portugallensium*⁶), 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.⁷ Dr. Lardner makes a similar statement. There is no warrant whatever for this conclusion. Cortereal himself never returned from this voyage, and

¹ *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 piu illustri*, Venice, 1818, vol. ii., pp. 5-94.

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

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

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

⁵ *Paesi Nouamenti ritrovati*, Vicentia, 1507; Second Edition, Milan, 1512; Third Edition, Venice, 1517, lib. vi., cap. cxxvi.

⁶ *Itinerarium Portugallensium*, Mediolani, 1508, cap. cxxvi.

⁷ *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 thence¹ “a piece of broken sword, gilded, which certainly came from Italy. A certain boy there wore in his ears two silver globes, which appeared without doubt to have been made in Venice, and this makes me believe that the land is a continent.”²

Bernard O'Reilly³ believed in the truth of the story of the voyage of the Zeni brothers, and thought that “Frisland,” or “West Friesland,” 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*,⁴ 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 Zeni⁵ with incredulity.

Malte Brun⁶ 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

¹ Cortereal is supposed to have reached Labrador.

² *Paesi nuovamente 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.

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

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

⁵ *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.

⁶ *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."¹ 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.² 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 mentions³ 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,⁴ 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.

¹ *Précis*, vol. i., p. 201.

² *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.*

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

⁴ *Bidrag till Nordens Äldsta Kartografi*, Stockholm, 1892.

Bredsdorff, writing in 1845,¹ 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 Zeni,"² 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 Erizzo³ 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 "Foulà," and "Icaria" with "The Sunken Land of Bus."

Professor Konrad Maurer⁴ 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.⁵ 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

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

² *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.

³ *Le Scoperti Artiche*, Venezia, 1855, pp. 106 et seq.

⁴ *Grønland 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.

⁵ *The Voyages of the Venetian Brothers Nicolò 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 type¹ 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,² 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 claims³ 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,⁴ he writes an able and interesting essay, expounding and supporting Major's views, and discussing those of Zarhtmann. In a third paper⁵ he re-discusses the story, and criticises the papers of Krarup (1878), of Admiral Irminger (1879), of Steenstrup (1882), of Nordenskjold (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 takes⁶ an entirely new view of the direction of the travels of the Brothers Zeni, 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.

¹ Reproduced in Nordenskjold's *Bidrag till Nordens Äldsta Kartografi*, Stockholm, 1892.

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

³ *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.]

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

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

⁶ *Om Zeniernes Reise til Norden*, Dansk Geogr. Selskab Tidsskrift, 1878; and *Zeniernes Rejse til Norden, et Tolknings Forsøg*, Copenhagen, 1878.

State Councillor J. Steenstrup,¹ 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 Zeni; 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,² 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.³ 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.

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

² *Studier och Forskningar föranledda af minor resor i boga Norden*, 1883.

³ *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.¹ The two have in common other features which are referred to below in the chapter on the "Carta da Navegar."

Professor Gustav Storm² 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

¹ *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.

² *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,¹ HARRISSE,² Charles Elton,³ Paul Gaffarel,⁴ and Kretschmer⁵; in America, Justin Winsor,⁶ and John Fiske.⁷

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,⁸ "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,⁹ 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

¹ *Life of Christopher Columbus*, by Clements Markham, C.B., London, 1892.

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

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

⁴ *Histoire de la Découverte de l'Amérique*, Paris, 1892.

⁵ *Entdeckung Amerika's*, Berlin, 1892.

⁷ Fiske's *Discovery of America*, 1892.

⁹ *Caitness Events*, Wick, 1894.

⁶ *Christopher Columbus*, London, 1892.

⁸ 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."¹

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*.² 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:³ "If the substantial truth of the narrative be accepted, there are many difficulties to be explained away. . . .⁴ 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. . . .⁵ 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,

¹ *Entdeckung Amerika's*, pp. 248-252.

² *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.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 328.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 336.

⁵ *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.

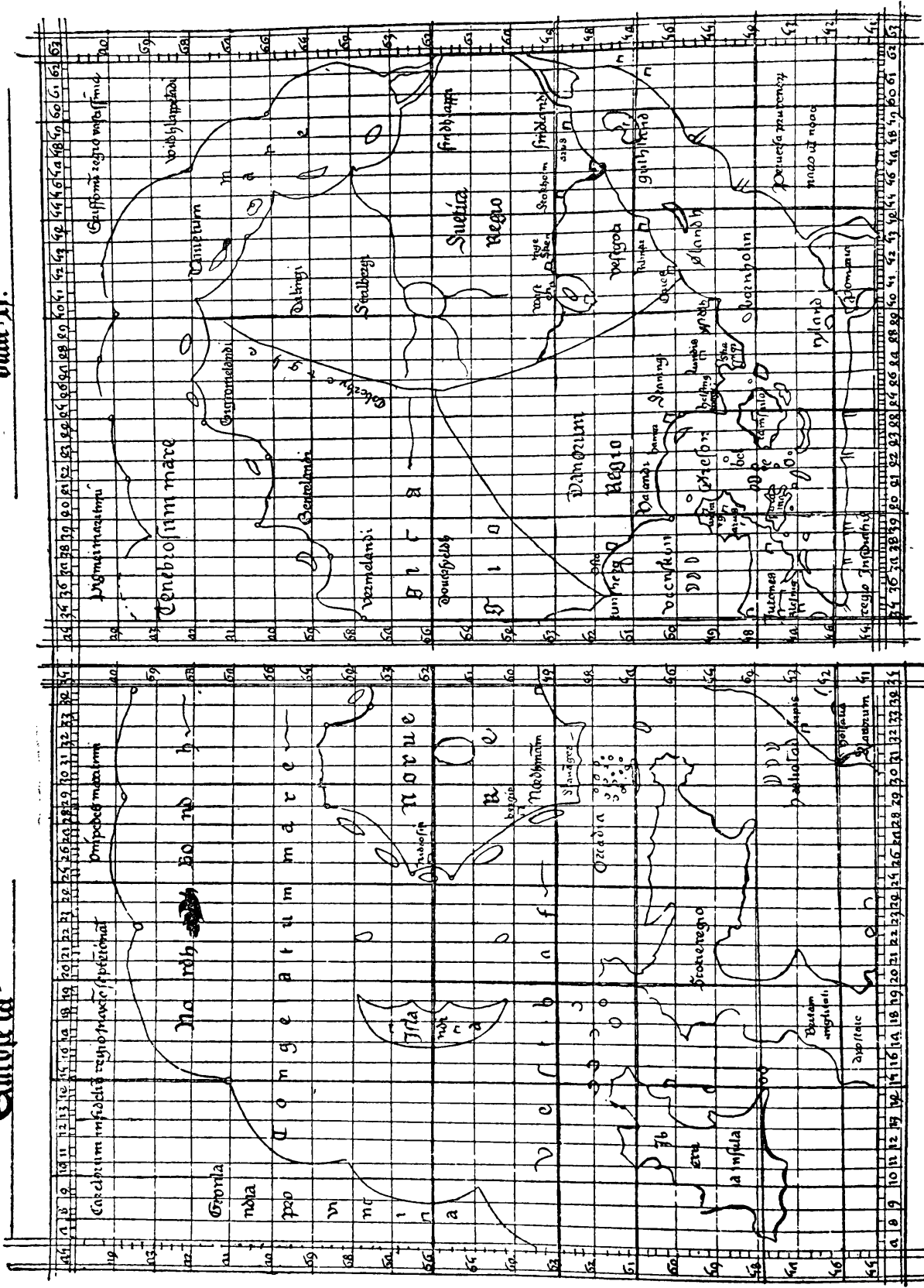
PART II.

THE STORY IN THE BOOK.



Europe

Asia



MAP BY CLAUDIUS CLAVUS, 1427. FROM NORDENSKJÖLD'S "FACSIMILE ATLAS," P. 49.



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 gives¹ 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

¹ *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 Patrizj Veneti Dissertazioni*, in *Di Marco Polo e degli altri Viaggiatori Veneziani più illustri*, Venezia, 1818, 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 1390.¹

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,² "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 says³ 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,⁴ "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

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

² *Voyages of the Venetian brothers N. and A. Zeno, etc.*, p. xlvi.

³ *Annals*, folio 48. See *ante*, p. 10.

⁴ *Voyages of the Zeni*, p. xlvi.

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 trecentessim 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,¹ 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 *Discendenze Patrizie*,² 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.

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

² 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 Noblii (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 shown¹ 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 Major² 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.³ 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

¹ *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.

² *Voyages of the Zeni*, p. 3.

³ 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.¹ 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.² (*Ante*, p. 24.)

¹ *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.*

² 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 Feltrense, 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^a-48^a*).



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.¹

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.² The passage, which is quoted in full further on, purports to be an extract from a note written by

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

² *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 Vlloa. 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,¹ in which he inserted, as a note to the fourth verse of the nineteenth Psalm, a short account of Columbus and his life. This note² 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,³ 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.⁴ He has shown conclusively,

¹ *Psalterium Hebraeum, Graecum, Arabicum et Chaldaicum, cum tribus Latinis interpretationibus et glossis.* Genoa, MDXVI.

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

³ *Castigatissimi Annali della eccelsa et illustrissima Republica di Genoa, da fideli et approvati Scrittori, per el Reverendo Monsignore Giustiniano, Genoese, Vescovo de Nebbio.* Stampata in detta citta, etc. MDXXXVII.

⁴ 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.¹

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 1525.² 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,³ 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*,⁴ 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

¹ *Fernand Colomb*, 1872, chap. xv.

² *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.

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

⁴ *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.¹

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 follows²: "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

¹ "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.

² "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 fuí no estaba congelado el mar, aunque habia grandísimas mareas, tanto que en algunas partes dos veces al dia subia 25 brazas y descendia 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 MCCCCLXXVII 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, spcialmente quelli di Bristol. Et al tempo, che io vi andai, non era congelato il mare, quantunque vi fossero si grosse maree, che in alcuni luoghi ascendeua ventisei braccia & discendeua altrettanti in altezza. È bene il vero, che Tile, quella, di 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,¹ and fell as much in height. *And it is very true that that Tile, of which Ptolemy makes mention,² lies where he says, and that the moderns call it Frislanda.*"

Sir Clements R. Markham suggests³ 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. Dee⁴ and followed by Cluverius⁵) gives Frisland to England, though,

¹ 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.

² *Ptolemy*, lib. ii., cap. iii., and "Tabula Prima Europa."

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

⁴ *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).

⁵ *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 identifies¹ "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.²

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 "Skuoe,"³ 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 "Skuoe," spoken by a Northerner! We suggest, as a simpler and more reasonable solution, that the supposed name "Ilofe" is only the word "Isole," *i.e.* islands, with the "l" and long "s" transposed by the copyist from some Italian map, and

¹ *Voyages of the Zeni*, p. xv.

² 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.

³ *Voyages of the Zeni*, p. xv. In the *Færeyinga Saga* "Skuoe" is called "Skufo." This would render Major's explanation more reasonable.

the long "s" read as an "f" by the compositor; giving "Ilofe" for "Isole"—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,¹ by his theory, makes it the Venetian version of "Norderdahl!"

It should be observed that Zeno describes Frislanda, the island, as much larger than Ireland² (*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.

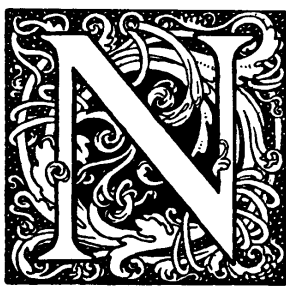
¹ *Voyages of the Zeni*, p. xvi.

² 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^a-51^b).



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 Pontanus¹) 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; ² 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 1539,³ which explains his map of that date, and in his larger work, *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus*, 1555,⁴ 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.⁵

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

¹ *Rerum Danicarum*, 1631, p. 755-763.

² *Specimen Islandiæ*, 1643, p. 143 et seqq.

³ "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.

⁴ "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.

⁵ "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.¹

Forster,² in 1784, recognizes these seven Zenian islands as the Shetlands; Eggers,³ in 1794, takes some trouble to distinguish the different parts of Iceland which each of them represented in his opinion;⁴ Zurla approves. Lelewel also⁵ treats them as parts of Iceland. Major, however, considers⁶ 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,⁷ 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

¹ *Om Zeniernes reiser*, pp. 9 and 14.

² *Northern Voyages*, p. 200.

³ *Ueber die wahre lage des Alten Ostgrönlands*. Kiel, 1794.

⁴ *Dissertazione, etc.*, 1808, p. 91. *Di Marco Polo*, vol. ii., p. 55.

⁵ *Géographie du Moyen Age*, vol. iv., p. 95.

⁶ *Voyages of the Zeni*, p. 11, n. 2.

⁷ 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;¹ 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.²

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:³ "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.

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

² *Vide infra*, p. 96.

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

In the same book¹ there are accounts of hot springs in Iceland 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, Bordone² describes the method of lighting the cave-dwellings from the top; while Olaus Magnus³ 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 us⁴ 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 1241.⁵

¹ *De Gentibus Sept.*, lib. 2, cap. i.

² *Isolario*, ed. 1528, folio v.

³ *De Gentibus Sept.*, lib. 12, cap. i., ii., iii.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 527. De Balneis, & ventosis, ac phlebotomia.

⁵ See Irminger, in *Four. 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,¹ 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 Ziegler² and Olaus Magnus³ 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;⁴ 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 place⁵ 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,⁶ 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.

¹ *Voyages of the Zeni*, p. lxxxix.

² *Schondia*, 1536, folio xcii. b.

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

⁴ Cf. *Annals*, folios 50, 51.

⁵ *Opera Breve*, under C.P.

⁶ "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"¹ (*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.²

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.³) 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.

¹ *Annals*, folio 51^a.

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

³ 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.



PART II. SECTION IV.

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



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 necessaries 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^a). 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 Zemis, 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.

Bordone¹ 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^a*).² *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.*³ Both authors tell of the learning and artistic skill of the people. Zeno says (*folio 52^b*), that they have a distinct language and letters: *Hanno lingua, e lettere separate.* Bordone says, referring to Mexico: ⁴ *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^b*) 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

¹ *Isolario*, 1528, *folios* vii., viii. and ix.

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

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

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

[the Venetians] do wine" (*folio 52^b*).¹ Bordone tells² 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 says³ [*folio 53^a*]: *Et dice il paese essere grandissimo & quasi un nuovo mondo*; the *Paesi Novamente* has,⁴ *I quali novo mondo chiamare ne sta licito*; and Bordone,⁵ *Terra di Sancta Cruce ouer mondo nouo . . . grandissima isola*.

Again, Zeno says⁶ [*folio 53^a*] of the inhabitants of Drogeo: *Ma genti rozza & priva di ogni bene, perche vanno nudi, tutti che patiscano freddi crudeli, ne sanno coprirsi delle pelli degli animali, che prendono in caccia*. Bordone says⁷ 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*.

¹ 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.

² 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.

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

⁴ "Which it might be permitted to call a New World." *Paesi Nov.*, cap. cxiiii.

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

⁶ "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."

⁷ "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^a.

Zeno says¹ [*folio 53^a*]: *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 has²: 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 has³: Le sue arme sono larco & le saette; and Bordone,⁴ le loro armi sono saette, maxe, et pietri.*

Zeno says⁵ [*folio 53^a*]: *Sono popoli di gran ferocita, combatteno insieme mortalmente, & si mangiano l'uno l'altro, and [*folio 52^b*] cibandosi essi di carne humana, che tengono per molto saporita vivanda; Vespucci has⁶: 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 pocha 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 thus⁷: *Alle bataglie li incendono: in lequale crudelissime insieme si amazano: e quelli iquale de la bataglia captivi menano: non de la vita: ma del suo victo percasiona da esser amazati 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.**

¹ "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."

² "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.

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

⁴ "Their arms are arrows, clubs and stones." *Isolario*, folio xi^a.

⁵ "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.

⁶ "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.

⁷ "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:¹ & gli vinti ad esser mangiati serbati sono, & tra tutte le carne, l'humana e alloro in comune uso.

Where Zeno has² [folio 53^a], hanno superiori, et certe leggi molto differenti tra di loro; Bordone has³ [folio x^b] li costumi de gl'isolani . . . sono molto dissimili in diverse parte de lisola; and [folio xi^a] Alcuni a tiranni sottoposto sono . . . et cosi di varii costumi e tutta ripiena.

Zeno tells us [folio 53^a] of "cities and temples dedicated to idols, in which they sacrificed men." Bordone gives⁴ a somewhat full account of temples, idols and human sacrifices. Peter Martyr does the same, and describes⁵ 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,⁶ 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.

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

² "They have chiefs and certain laws differing much amongst themselves."

³ "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^b and xi^a.

⁴ *Isolario*, folio viii^b.

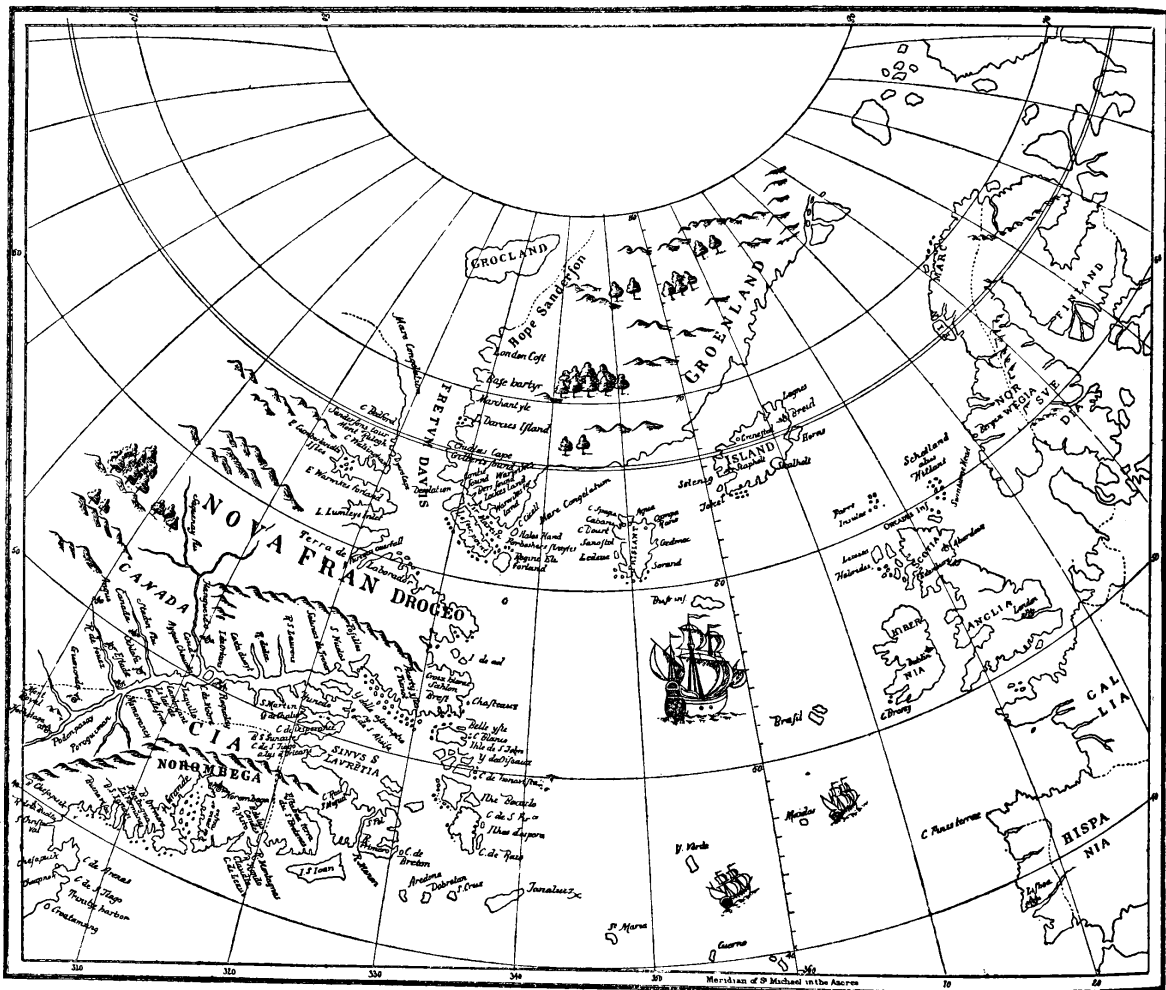
⁵ *De Insulis nuper inventis*, 1521, pp. 12, 13; ed. 1533, folio 70^a, and cap. iv. in Lok's translation.

⁶ 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^a-57^a).



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 :¹

“ 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 :² “ *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 gives³ the strange story as told by Zeno the younger, and identifies Icaria with Kerry (!),⁴ 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

¹ “ Tutte le altre quattro Isole [*Frislanda, Eslanda, Engrouelanda, and Estotilanda*] furono dal mio dottò Auuersario 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’authorita 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.

² “ *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.*”

³ *Northern Voyages*, p. 193.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 206.

island with Newfoundland, and so takes Antonio Zeno to North America.¹

Major (who follows Forster in his identification, though for different reasons²), driven to his wits' end to account for the introduction of the Dædalian myth, which he calls³ 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 out⁴ 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*.⁵

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

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

² 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 luogbi.*" "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.

³ *Voyages of the Zeni*, pp. xcix-c.

⁵ *Isolario*, ed. 1528, folio xlvi.

⁴ *Om Zeniernes Reiser*, p. 19, n.

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;¹ 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 Fordun² as *Irte* and *Hirth*; by Boethius³ as *Hirtha*; by G. Buchanan,⁴ as *Hirta*; by Bishop Lesley⁵ as *Hirtha*; and by Camden⁶ 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's⁷ British Islands, of 1564, from which the last-mentioned map in Ortelius is, apparently, principally derived.

Martin⁸ 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 Thomas⁹ says that Hirta is a contraction of the Gælic *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.

Macaulay¹⁰ derives the more modern form of the name from the

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

² *Scotichronicon*. Lib. I., cap. vi., and Lib. II., cap. x.

³ *Scotorum Historia*, 1527.

⁴ *Rerum Scoticarum Historiæ*. Lib. I., cap. xli.

⁵ *De Origine, Moribus, etc., Scotorum*, Rome, 1578, p. 36.

⁶ *Britannia*, 1610, p. 216.

⁷ *Angliæ, Scotiæ et Hiberniæ nova Descriptio*. Duisburg, 1564.

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

⁹ *Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1875, vol. x., p. 706.

¹⁰ *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.¹ "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.² 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 account³ 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.

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

² *Annals*, folio 55, and *supra*, p. 20.

³ *Isolario*, 1528, folio xi^b.

There the explorers "found a most excellent country and a still better harbour,"¹ and saw in the distance an active volcano, "which gave them hope that they would find some people in that island" (!) 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 claims² 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.³

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.

Bordone⁴ describes certain dwarfs, a cubit long, perfidious, iniquitous, pusillanimous and full of fear, who inhabited subterranean caves. Olaus Magnus⁵ 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 Magnus⁶ 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.

¹ Here even the superlative degree is not strong enough to satisfy Zeno.

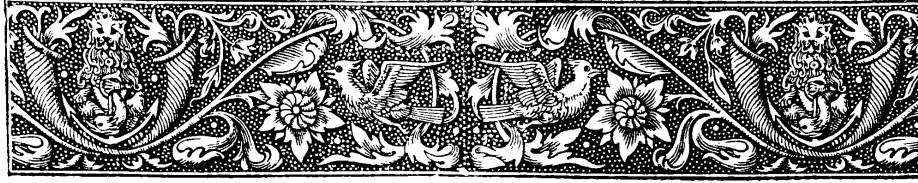
² Major, *Voyages of the Zeno*, p. lxxxvi.

³ 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.

⁴ *Isolario*, 1528, folio v^b.

⁵ *De Gent. Sept.*, lib. 2, cap. xi.

⁶ *Ibid.*, lib. 19, cap. xxxvii.



PART II.—SECTION VI.

ANTONIO'S THIRD LETTER, AND THE COMPILER'S REMARKS (*folios 57^a-58^a*).

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 Grolanda¹” [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.

¹ 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.



THE only personal name mentioned in Zeno's narrative (except those of the two travellers, 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 conjectured¹ 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.²

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,³ 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.⁴ 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.⁵ 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 convoying the son of Robert III. of Scotland to France in that year.⁶

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,⁷ "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

¹ *Northern Voyages*, p. 181.

² *Di Marco Polo*, etc., vol. ii., p. 49.

³ Torfœus, *Orcades*, p. 176.

⁴ Pontanus, *Rerum Danicarum Hist.*, p. 515.

⁵ *Chronicon Adæ de Usk* (1377—1404). Murray, London, 1876, pp. 61 and 184.

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

⁷ *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,"¹ without being able to approach nearer to the true form than "the fearful and wonderful bejugglement" (as Fiske calls it²), 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:³ "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

¹ Pontanus also writes it "Sincler" (p. 596) and "Senckler" (p. 521).

² Fiske, *Discovery of America*, vol. i., p. 238.

³ *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 (*propriæ*) 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.¹

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*,² until they were successfully attacked and slain in 1401. These Vitalian pirates began their depredations in the year 1388,³ 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."⁴

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.

¹ Pontanus, *Rerum Danicarum Hist.*, 1631, p. 521.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 520.

² *Ibid.*, p. 533.

⁴ *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;¹ 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."²

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 claim³ 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 Bredsdorff⁴ as Simon, or Sigmund, son of Bui, and nephew of the well-known Sigmund Bresterson, the hero of the Fœreyinga Saga; by Krarup,⁵ as Henry de Siggins, Marshall of the Duke of Holstein; while Beauvois thinks⁶ that the name Zicno, given by Marco Barbaro⁷ for Zichmni, was a misreading for the Scandinavian title "*Tbegn*"=lord.

¹ *Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, 1835, vol. v., p. 111.

² *Voyages of the Zeni*, p. xxi.

³ *Caithness Events*, by Thomas Sinclair, Wick, 1894.

⁴ *Grønlands Historiske Mindesmaerker*.

⁵ *Zeniernes Reiser til Norden et Tolknings Forsøg*.

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

⁷ *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"¹ 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,² 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,³ 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

¹ *The Mikado*, W. S. Gilbert.

² *Examen Critique*, Tom. II., p. 122.

³ *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,¹ 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 occasion² 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*,³ and, by his permission, is here given

¹ *Four. Roy. Geog. Soc. of London*, 1835, vol. v., p. 114.

² *Voyages of the Zeni*, p. lviii and lix.

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

on a smaller scale (Plate II.). Professor Storm¹ 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,² 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.³ 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., $\frac{1935}{249}$).

2. A Map of Scandinavia and Greenland. The original is in a manuscript of Christ Ensenius' *Descriptio Cicladum 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

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

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

³ *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 1541.¹

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 Zeni to Greenland are entirely fictitious. It has been suggested by several authors, and even by Maltebrun,² 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

¹ 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*.

² *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,¹ "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 (Hamna), 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 Eggers² and Lelewel have actually taken the trouble to identify these bogus islands with parts of modern Iceland. Lelewel, it is true, says of them:³ *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 refers⁴ 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"⁵ [*folio vi*], and on the style of letters forming the word "Islanda"⁶ on the map on folio 1 of the *Isolario*. Curiously enough, the style of the letters on

¹ *Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc. Lond.*, vol. v., 1835, p. 127, n.

² Zurla, *Dissertazione*, p. 91, and *Di Marco Polo*, vol. ii., p. 55.

³ *Géog. du Moyen Age*, 1852, suppl., p. 95.

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

⁵ See tailpiece on p. 39, *supra*.

⁶ 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,¹ 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 Brenner² 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 1567,³ with which Major confidently assumed it to have been identical. Baron Nordenskjöld, also, writing in 1881, said of the map of 1539:⁴ "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

¹ Zarhtmann in *Four. Roy. Geog. Soc. of London*, vol. v., 1835, pp. 143 and 144.

² *Die ächte Karte des Olaus Magnus vom Jahre 1539*. Christiania, 1886.

³ Major, *Voyages of the Brothers Zeni*, Hakluyt Society, 1873, p. lvii.

⁴ *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"¹ 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 refers² 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,³ 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.

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

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

³ *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,¹ is not introduced for the first time by Nicolò Zeno, the younger, as is stated by Bredsdorff.² 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"³), 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,"⁴ from the *Polycronycon*⁵ 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 considers⁶ that Resland and Wrisla[n]d are the "Frislanda" of later maps.

Zurla says⁷ 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

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

² *Grønland's Historiske mindesmærker*, 1845, vol. iii., p. 530.

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

⁴ *Géog. du Moyen Age*, atlas, Plate XXV.

⁵ 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.

⁶ *Géog. du Moyen Age*, vol. iv., p. 101, n.

⁷ *Dissertazione*, 1808, p. 36; *Di Marco Polo*, vol. ii., p. 13.

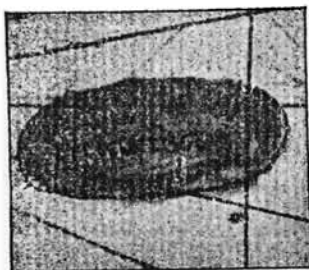


Fig. 1. PART OF ANDREA BIANCO'S MAP OF 1436. (From On-gania's photograph.)

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."

Zurla¹ 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,² Jomard,³ Lelewel,⁴ and Kretschmer⁵ 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,⁶ it will be seen (Fig. 2) that the first letter of the name "Stillanda" (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.)

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

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

⁴ Lelewel, *Géog. du Moyen Age*, atlas. ⁵ 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

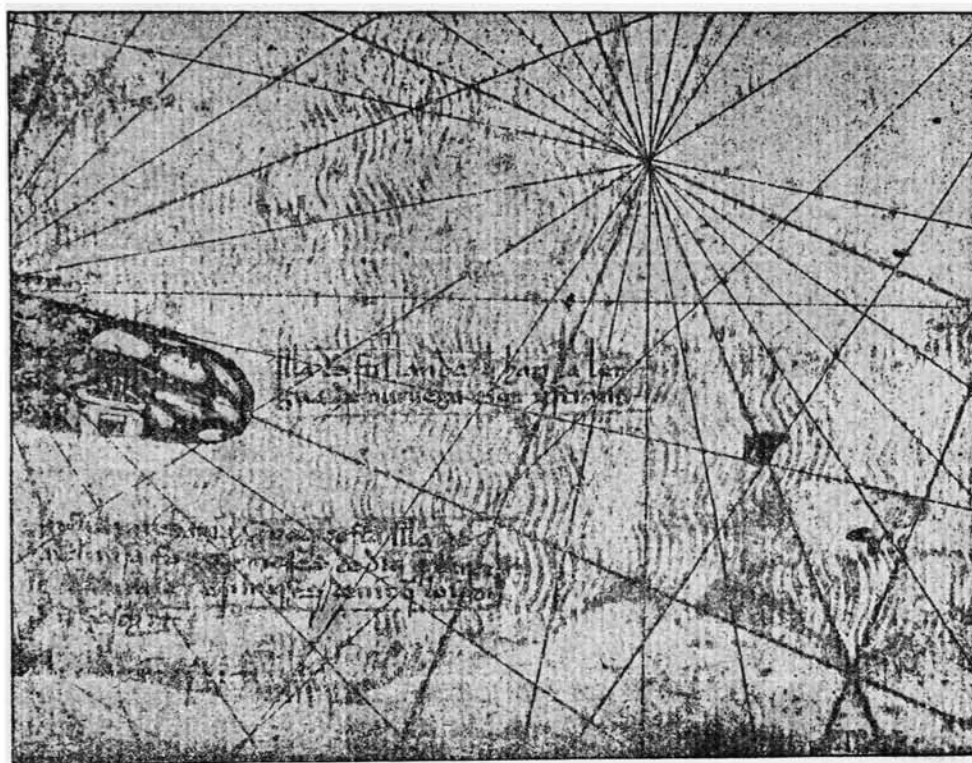


Fig. 3. PART OF THE ATLAS CATALAN DE CHARLES V., ROI DE FRANCE, 1375.
(From Delisle's reproduction in *Documents Géographiques*.)

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),¹ and on the Frederici d'Ancone map, 1497 (Fig. 4).²

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-

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

² Santarem, *Atlas*, Plate LXXIV.

boldt, Lelewel, and Kretschmer on their respective reproductions "Estelanda;" but on the original the name, which has been altered and partially erased, reads obscurely. It contains too many letters for "Estelanda." It might be "j lla de Sialelanda," in which case it would probably represent the island which appears as "Sialanda," in a nearly corresponding position, on the Pizigani map (1367).¹ Jomard reads the name "Isla de Estelanda," and, in his reproduction

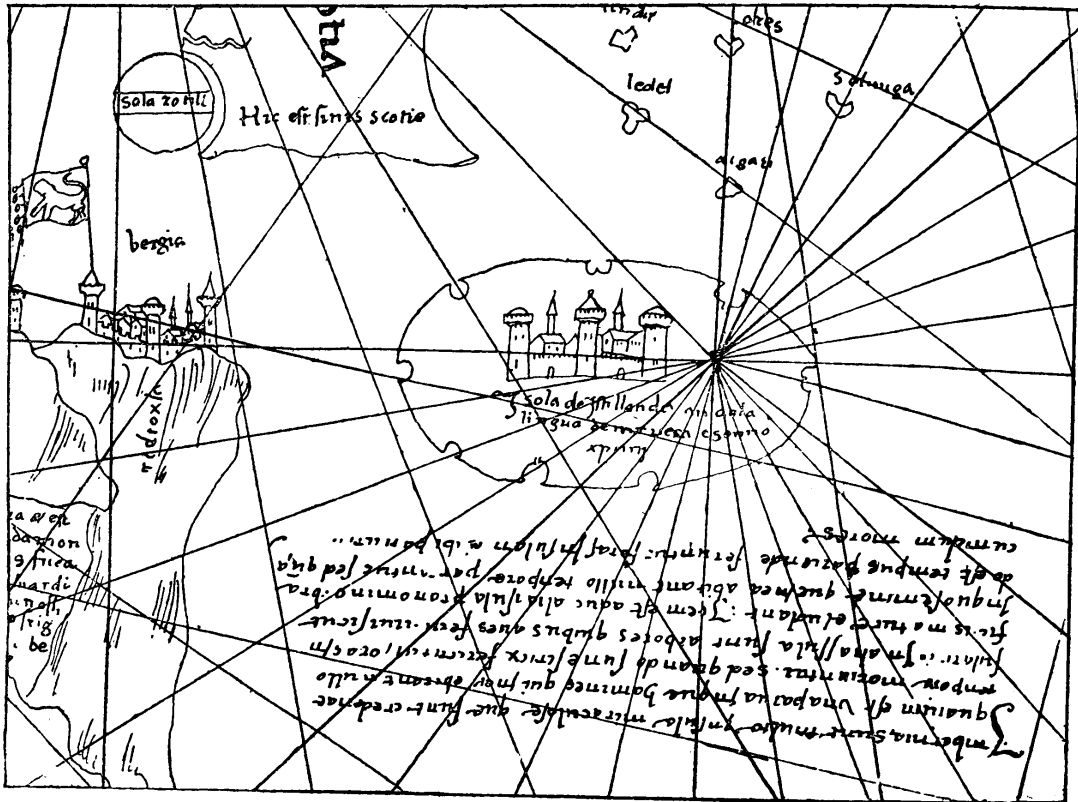


Fig. 4. PART OF THE FREDRICI D'ANCONE MAP, 1497.
(From Santarem's reproduction.)

of the map, endows the island with a firm outline and a distinct colour, neither of which does it possess on the original map.

The assumed fact that Christopher Columbus was actually acquainted with the name "Frislanda" as that of an island in the North Sea, has been made much of by Major² and other supporters of Zeno, as proof of the actual existence of an island known by that name, and as independent evidence in favour of the authenticity of the Zeno documents. One half of the evidence of this knowledge by Columbus rests upon

¹ Jomard, *Monuments de la Géographie*, Map X. Photograph (from the original map in the National Library, Parma) by F. Odorici, Parma, 1873 [B. M. S. 202 (3*)].

² Major's *Voyages of the Brothers Zeni*, p. xviii.

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,¹ 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:² "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.

¹ *Supra*, pp. 64-68.

² 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.

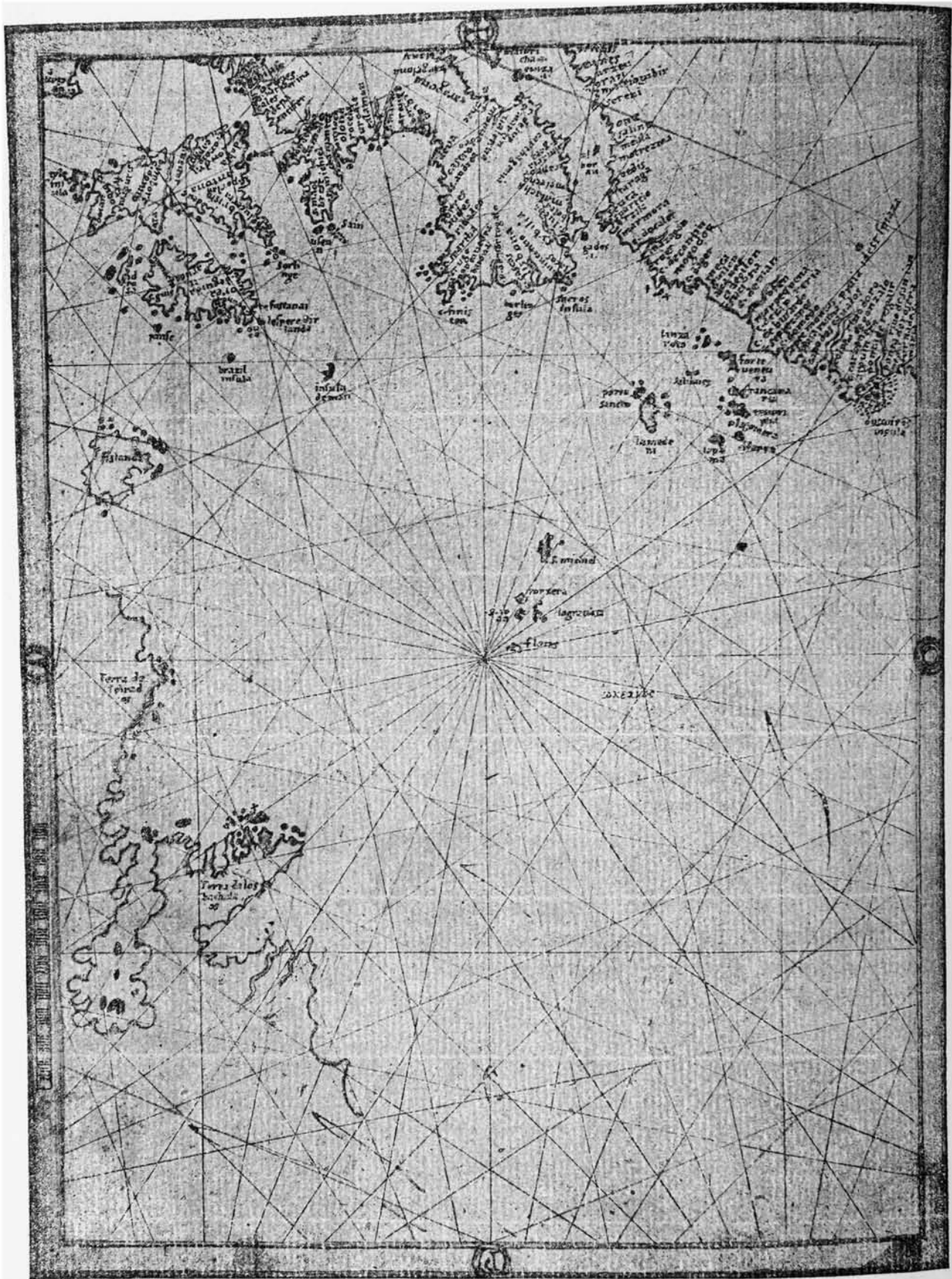


Fig. 5. FROM AN ITALIAN PORTOLANO, OF ABOUT 1508, IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM
[MS. Egerton 2803, fol. 8^b].

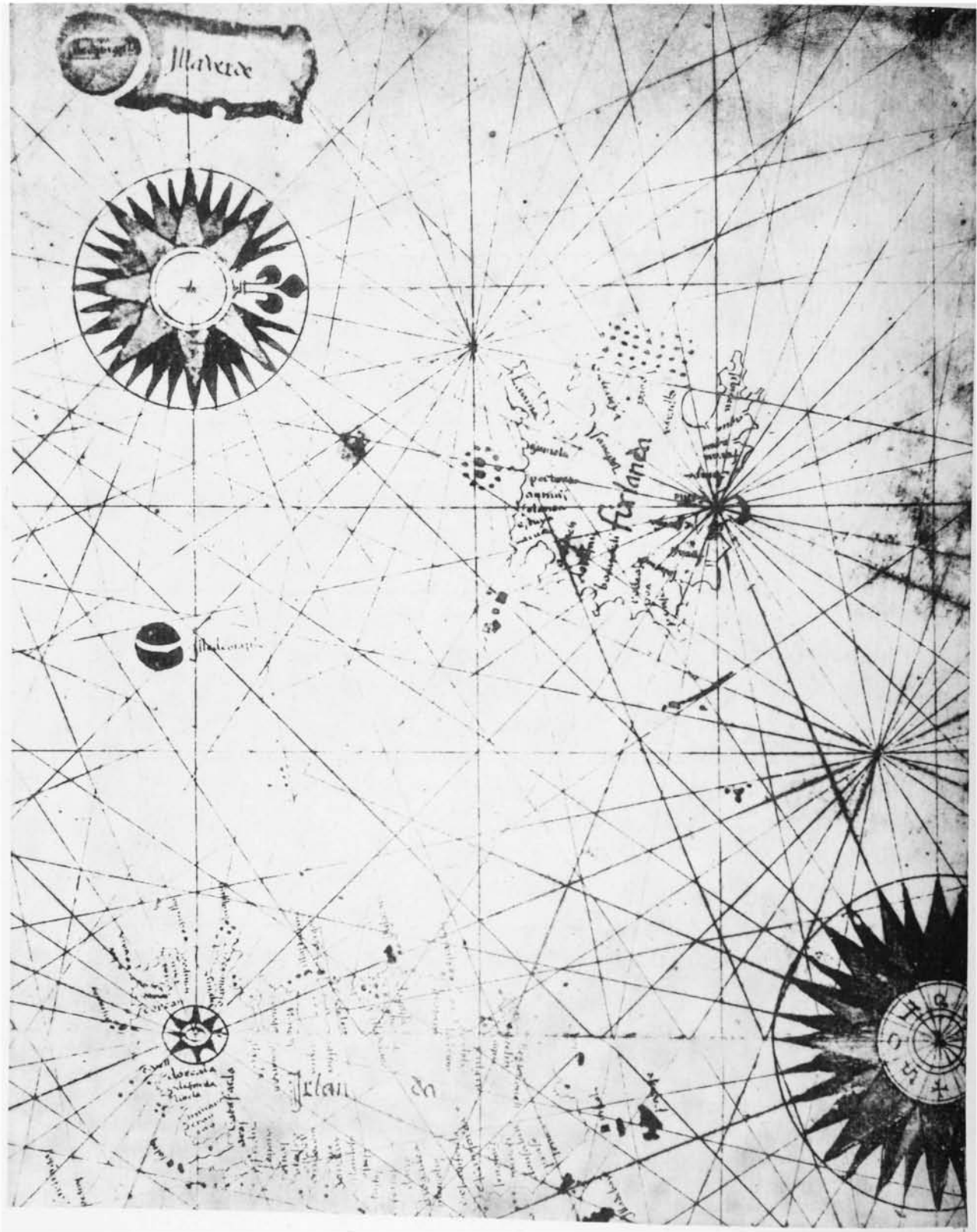


Fig. 7. PART OF A FIFTEENTH CENTURY (CATALAN) MAP. (From Nordenskjöld's *Bidrag till Nordens Äldsta Kartografi, Plate V.*)

The name "Insula de Uresland" occurs on a map of c. 1505, reproduced by Kunstmann.¹ 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 (1538, 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^b and 8^b*) showing an island called "Fis-

landa," which, no doubt, represents Iceland. Neither map shows any details upon the island. The map on *folio 8^b*² is reproduced, on page 110 (Fig. 5), for the first time. The map on *folio 1^b* is a map of the world, and shows Fislanda in a corresponding position. The Portolano cannot be later in

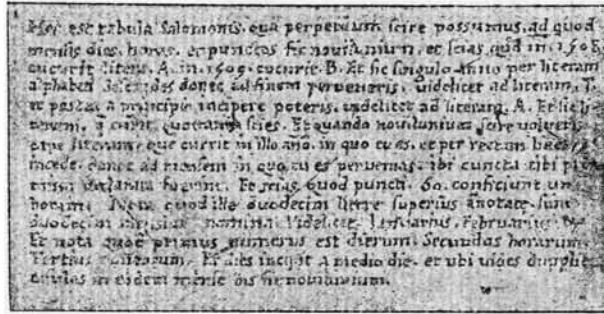


Fig. 6. FROM PORTOLANO IN BRITISH MUSEUM. [MS. Egerton 2803.]

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.

The first map which we find giving details of an island at all corresponding to those on Zeno'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.³ On this map the island is called "Fixlanda," and contains twenty-seven names, twenty-one of which can be identified with those

¹ *Entdeckung Amerika's*, Berlin, 1859, Blatt 2 (Brit. Mus. Tab. 1850 a).

² 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).

³ *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. Kretschmer¹ 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 1558.²

¹ *Die Entdeckung Amerika's*, Berlin, 1892, Atlas, Taf. IV., No. 5.

² 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*¹ (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 believed² 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,³ O'Reilly,⁴ Van Keulen,⁵ Pingré and Borda,⁶ Zurla,⁷ Maltebrun,⁸ 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.

Forster⁹ identified it partly with Fara, Fera, or Ferasland, a small

¹ There are two copies of this map in the Brit. Mus., one without signature (s.10.2.70^a), from which our Plate is taken, the other (s.10.1.156) inscribed, "Petro de Nobilibus formis."

² *Riflessioni Geografiche*, 1686, pp. 236, 251, etc.

³ *Hemisphere Occidental*, 1720, in *Atlas Nouveau*, etc. Amsterdam, c. 1733.

⁴ *Greenland and the Adjacent Seas*, etc., p. 11.

⁵ *Nieuwe Wassende Zee Caart van de Noord Oceaen*, etc. Amsterdam, 1745.

⁶ *Voyage fait par ordre du Roi en 1771 et 1772*, vol. ii., p. 360.

⁷ *Dissertazione*, pp. 79 et seq. *Di Marco Polo*, vol. ii., pp. 44, 48.

⁸ *Précis de la Géographie*, ed. 1832-35, vol. i., p. 200. ⁹ *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 Walckenaer¹ with North and West Ireland; Irminger² with Iceland.

Luigi Bossi believed³ 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. Steenstrup⁴ 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.

Buache⁵ 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,⁶ Maltebrun,⁷ Zarhtmann,⁸ Major,⁹ 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

¹ *Biographie Universelle*, vol. lii., Art. Zeno, Nicolas et Antoine.

² *Journal of Roy. Geogr. Soc.*, vol. xlix., 1879, p. 398.

³ *Vita di Cristoforo Colombo*, Milan, 1818, pp. 86-7, or the French translation of the same, Paris, 1824, pp. 108-9.

⁴ *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.]

⁵ *Mémoire sur l'isle Frislande*, in *L'Histoire de l'Académie des Sciences*, Paris, 1787.

⁶ *Ueber die Wahre Lage des alten Ostgrönlands*, Kiel, 1794.

⁷ *Précis de la Géogr.*, ed., 1832-35, vol. i., p. 200.

⁸ *Journ. Roy. Geogr. Soc.*, vol. v., 1835, p. 105.

⁹ *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° and 65° 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 Farenian 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° and 63° 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 Farenian 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 1546,¹ on Diego Homem's map of 1558,² 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;³ 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.

¹ Kretschmer's *Entdeckung Amerika's*, Tafel XVII. ² Brit. Mus. [Add. MSS. 5415, A.]

³ 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 Nordenskjöld¹; but, on a third map,² 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,³ 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"⁴; 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 Farensian 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 above⁵ 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

¹ *Bidrag till Nordens Äldsta Kartografi*, Plates VII. and VIII.

² *Ibid.*, Plate VI. The legend referring to Thile, on this map, is only partly reproduced by Nordenskjöld.

³ The form Frixlanda does not appear, as far as we know, in any map dated earlier than 1558.

⁴ "Islant in questo luogo habitano mali homeni e non sono Christiani."

⁵ 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 it¹), 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.² The paper which follows that of Irminger, in the same publication as that in which Irminger's note appears, is a reply by Major,³ 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

¹ *Voyages of the Zeni Brothers*, Hakluyt Society, 1873, p. 6, n.

² *Journal of Roy. Geog. Soc. of London*, 1879, vol. xlix., p. 398.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 412.

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 thought¹ that Icaria was the Isle of Skye, and of Count Miniscalchi Erizzo, who conjectured² 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 appears³ 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:⁴

"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

¹ *Biographie Universelle*, vol. lii., Art. Zeno, Nicolas et Antoine.

² *Le Scoperte Artiche*, 1855, p. 117.

³ Raemdonck, *Les Spheres Terrestre et caeleste de Gerard Mercator*, St. Nicholas, 1875.

⁴ *Opera Breve*, under D. F.

source of the passages in the Zeno text:¹ "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 1555,² 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,³ and the Portuguese map of 1505 reproduced by Kunstmann.⁴ 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

¹ *Folio 55 v*, and *supra*, p. 19.

² *De Gentibus Septen.*, p. 62.

³ *Notice sur une Mappemonde Portugaise Anonyme de 1502*. [The "King" Map.] Par le Dr. E. T. Hamy, Paris, 1887.

⁴ 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,¹ 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 believed² Estotiland to be the Estland of the Zeni, which he held to be the northern part of Scotland; Forster³ identified it with Newfoundland, or Winland of the Scandinavians; Zurla⁴ identified it with Labrador; Lelewel⁵ thought that it was Cape Breton or Anticosti; Maltebrun thought⁶ it was Newfoundland, and derived the name from *East-out-land*; Beauvois⁷ 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

¹ *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.*

² *Biographie Universelle*, vol. lii., Art. Zeno, Nicolas et Antoine.

³ *Northern Voyages*, p. 204.

⁴ *Dissertazione*, etc., p. 108. *Di Marco Polo*, vol. ii., p. 71.

⁵ *Géographie du Moyen Age*, vol. iv., p. 104.

⁶ *Précis de la Géographie*, ed. 1832-35, vol. i., p. 202.

⁷ *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. Forster¹ with Florida; by Zurla² with Canada, New England, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Florida; by Walckenaer³ with the southern part of Ireland, or alternatively with a district near Drogheda; by Lelewel⁴ and Maltebrun⁵ with Nova Scotia and New England; and by Mercator⁶ and Ortelius⁷ with the almost equally obscure "Dus Cirnes."⁸

¹ *Northern Voyages*, p. 205.

² *Dissertazione*, etc., p. 117. *Di Marco Polo*, vol. ii., p. 76.

³ *Biographie Universelle*, vol. lii., Art. Zeno, Nicolas et Antoine.

⁴ *Géog. du Moyen Age*, vol. iv., p. 105.

⁵ *Précis de la Géog.*, ed. 1832-35, vol. i., p. 202.

⁶ See our Plate XIII.

⁷ See our Plate XIV.

⁸ 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^e des arenes" (Descellier, 1550), "diacernnes" (?) (Le Testu, No. 2, 1553), "I dos Sirnīs" (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" (Devaux, 1613), "y des Syrnes" (Mathoniere or Postello, 1621), "dosserades" (?) (D. de Rotis, 1676). A map, dated 1553, in the French Ministry of Marine, Paris, gives "I. dos cirnis" 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^e 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, 1583,¹ 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,² 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*³ 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^a 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^e des arenas" or "Cirnes" with the Drogeo of Zeno.

¹ *Americæ et Proximarum regionum oræ descriptio*. Venice. Reproduced in Müller's *Remarkable Maps*, etc., Amsterdam, 1894, Part I., No. 12.

² See tailpiece on p. 84, *supra*.

³ 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.¹

¹ 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*¹ 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 Iames 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 *Metaincognita*, 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 accompted that *Frisland*, the Southeast poynt of it, was from him at that

¹ *A True Discourse of the late Voyage of Discoverie for finding of a Passage to Cathaya by the North-Weast under the conduēt 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 *Friseland*, 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*,¹ and Seller's *English Pilot*²), sometimes as identical with Frisland (as in Guillaume De l'Isle's "Hemisphere Occidental" 1720).

James Hall, in his second voyage in 1605,³ "looked to have seene

¹ *Beschryving van Ysland Groenland en de Straat Davis*. Johan Anderson. 4to. Amsterdam, 1750.

² *The English Pilot* . . . by John Seller, Hydrographer to the King, Fourth Book, London, 1673 (?), folio, p. 5. [Brit. Mus. 1804, b. 7.]

³ *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 says¹] I did suppose to be *Busse* Iland; it lying more to the westwards 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 *Freseland* 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

¹ *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, 1625, vol. iii., p. 822.

Captain *Shepherd* brought home the map of the Island that is here annexed¹; 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 stated² 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.

¹ See our Plate XVI.

² *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.	NAMES OF PATENTEES.
1. Griffith's Mount.	1. Sir John Griffith, Kt.
2. Kirke Point.	2. John Kirke.
3. Arlington Harbour.	3. Henry, Lord Arlington.
4. Point Cartret.	4. Sir Philip Carteret, Kt.
5. Albemarle Point.	5. Christopher, Duke of Albemarle.
6. Shepherd's Island.	6. Captain Thomas Shepherd,
7. Munden Island.	7.
8. Bence Point.	8. (?) John Fenn.
9. Warren Bay.	9.
10. Cape Hayes.	10. James Hayes.
11. Hanersford Bay. ¹	11. (?) Sir Edward Hungerford.
12. Craven Point.	12. William, Earl of Craven.
13. Rupert's Harbour.	13. Prince Rupert.
14. Shaftesbury Harbour.	14. Anthony, Lord Ashley (created Earl of Shaftesbury in April, 1672).
15. Point Carew.	15.
16. Kicks Bay.	16. (?) M. Kicquert, of Dunkirk.
17. Viner's Point.	17. Sir Robert Viner.
18. Robinson Bay.	18. Sir John Robinson.
19. Duke of Yorkes Sand.	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;"² 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.³ So sanguine was this gentleman that he wrote in an anonymous pamphlet⁴ which was not published until 1783, after his death: "If the situation of Friesland is determined,

¹ "Hungerford Bay" in a map in the *Atlas Maritimus*.

² 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.

³ Barrow, *Voyages into the Arctic Regions*, 1818, p. 321.

⁴ *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,¹ Parry,² and Graah,³ 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.⁴ 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.⁵ It is shown on Martin Behaim’s globe, of 1492, about 40° west of Ferro, and is also laid

¹ *Voyage of Discovery . . . for the Purpose of Exploring Baffin’s Bay.* London, 1819, pp. 25-26.

² *Journal of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage . . . in the years 1819-20.* London, 1821, pp. 4-5.

³ *Narrative of an Expedition to the East Coast of Greenland . . . translated from the Danish.* London, 1837, p. 20.

⁴ See page 114, *supra*, notes 4 to 11.

⁵ 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.¹ 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.²

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*,³ published in 1755, places it 5° west of Ferro, in 29° north latitude. Father Feyjoo⁴ 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.⁵

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."⁶ A similar belief in the reality of the island existed also in Ireland.

¹ See Washington Irving, *Columbus*, 1828, vol. iv., p. 323.

² See Irving, *Ibid.*, p. 329.

³ *Fide* Irving, *Ibid.*, p. 329.

⁴ *Theatro Critico Universale o discursos varios*. Madrid, 4to, vol. iv., p. 10.

⁵ See Irving, *Op. cit.*, p. 331.

⁶ *St. Brandan a Mediæval Legend of the Sea*. By Thomas Wright (Percy Society), 1844, p. vi.

James Hall, on his voyage in 1605, referred to above,¹ 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:² “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:³ “*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:⁴ 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

¹ *Ante*, p. 125.

² *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, 1625, vol. iii., p. 816.

³ *Histoire de la Découverte de l’Amérique*. Paris, 1892, vol. i., p. 222.

⁴ *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° 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" writes¹ 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

¹ *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, “and¹ 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:² “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:³ “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:⁴ “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.”

¹ *Journal of a Voyage to the Northern Whale Fishery.* By W. Scoresby, Jun. Edinburgh, 1823, pp. 106-108.

² *Ibid.*, p. 117.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 96, 97.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

In another work Dr. Scoresby writes:¹ "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:² "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:³ "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,

¹ *Account of the Arctic Regions.* By William Scoresby, Jun., F.R.S.E. Edinburgh, 1820, 8vo, vol. i., p. 419.

² *Old Whaling Days.* Hull, 1895, pp. 122, 123.

³ 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, Freedden Island, had no existence. Nansen writes:¹ "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° 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,² 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

¹ *Farthest North*. Westminster, 1897, vol. ii., pp. 474-476.

² *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,¹ 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.

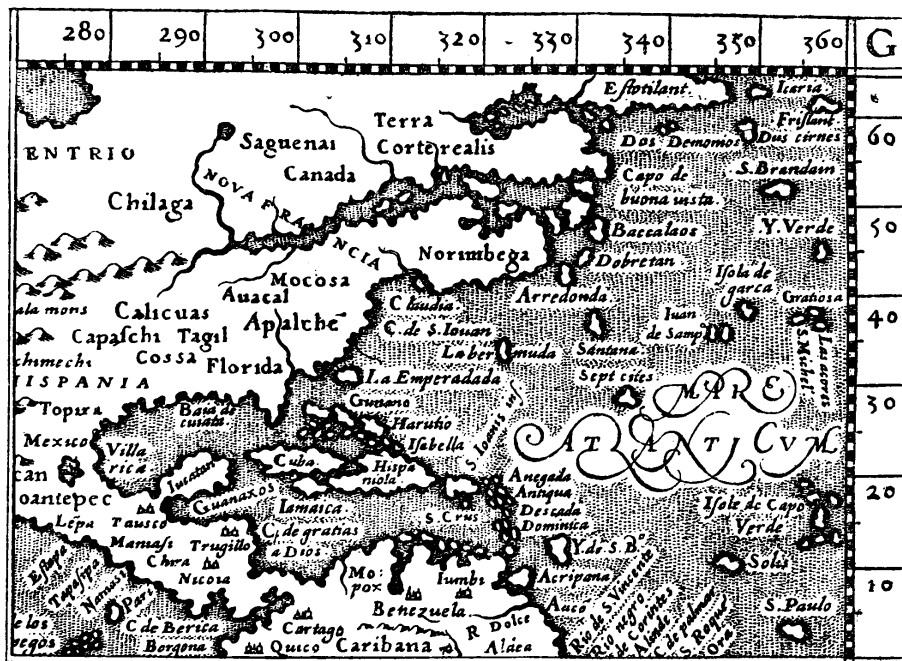
¹ In 1714, the British Government offered a reward for methods of determining longitude at sea. Harrison produced his first chronometer in 1735; his second, in 1739; his third, in 1749; and his fourth, which won him the reward, a few years later.

The Island of Buss and other Phantom Islands of the Atlantic. 139

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.





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, speaks¹ 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,

¹ *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,¹ “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.²

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, cites³ the well-known modesty and retiring nature of the Venetian nobility; while Major, again and again, strives⁴ 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.

¹ *Voyages of the Zeni*, p. iii.

² *Ibid.* Preface, p. ii.

³ *Dissertazione*, pp. 34 and 35, and *Di Marco Polo*, vol. ii., p. 12.

⁴ *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 1777, 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 allegations¹ were for a long time considered to be fictitious, but were afterwards proved to be true. For many years, some of James Bruce's statements² were generally disbelieved, and it was not until the expedition to Abyssinia, in 1868, that the strangest of them were confirmed. Du Chaillu suffered as Bruce did.³ 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, writes⁴: "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,⁵ Sir John Mandeville,⁶ Psalmanazaar,⁷ Maldonado,⁸ De Fuca,⁹

¹ *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.

² *Travels to discover the Source of the Nile, 1768-1773*, by James Bruce of Kinnaird, F.R.S. 5 vols. 4to. London, 1790.

³ *Adventures in Equatorial Africa*, by Paul B. du Chaillu. London, 1861. 8vo.

⁴ *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.

⁵ *Itinerarium*, published in many editions and various languages. His travels were alleged to have taken place between 1160 and 1173.

⁶ *The Book of John Maundevile, 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.

⁷ *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.

⁸ 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.

⁹ 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'Reilly¹ 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 Guinea² 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.³

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

¹ *Greenland, the Adjacent Seas, and the North-West Passage*. London, 1818.

² *Wanderings in New Guinea*, by Captain J. A. Lawson. London, 1875.

³ *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*¹ 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

¹ Major, *Voyages of the Brothers Zeni*, p. xvi.

that, in the narrative, they no longer represent the truth. Professor Gaffarel, a staunch adherent of Zeno, has said :¹

On a encore prétendu que ce voyage fut inventé par un Vénétien jaloux de Gènes, 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'eut été plus facile, si la révélation eut 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 ni 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,

¹ 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,¹ so confidently quoted by Major²: *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,³ *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

¹ *Examen Critique*, Tom. II., p. 122.

² *Voyages of the Zeni*, p. ix.

³ *Examen Critique*, Tom. II., p. 124.

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.¹ 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. Κοινόβιον) 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.

¹ 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.

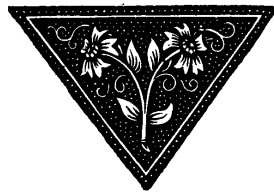
9. That however harmless may have been the original motive of Nicolò Zeno, the younger, for the compilation of the narrative and map, it ceased to be innocent when he re-edited his map for publica-

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.



APPENDIX I.

Photographic facsimile of the Title, Dedicatìon, 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 Marcolini in Venice, in 1558.

[A facsimile of the map which illustrated the above-mentioned work is given in Plate XI.]

DE I COMMENTARII DEL
Viaggio in Persia di M. Caterino Zeno il K.
Et delle guerre fatte nell' Imperio Persiano,
dal tempo di Vssucassano in qua.

LIBRI LVIE.

ET DELLO SCOPRIMENTO
dell' Isola Frislanda, Eslanda, Engromelanda, Esto
tilanda, & Icaria, fatto sotto il Polo Artico, da
due fratelli zeni, M. Nicolò il K. e M. Antonio.

LIBRO VNO.

CON VN DISEGNO PARTICOLARE DI
tutte le dette parti di tramontana da lor scoperte.
 CON GRATIA, ET PRIVILEGIO.



REGISTRO.

A B C D E F G

Tutti sono quaderni, eccetto G
che è quinterno.



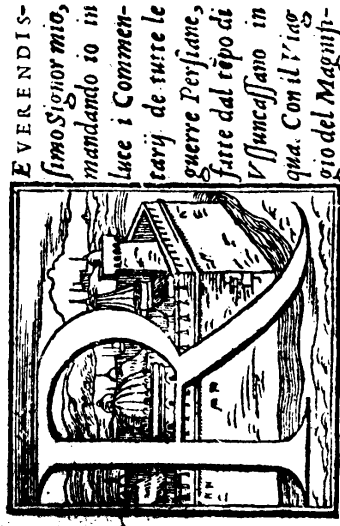
VERI TAS.

IN VENETIA
 Per Francesco Marcolini. M D LVIII.

AL REVERENDISSIMO
MONSIGNOR M.

DANIEL BARBARO
ELETTO PATRIARCA
D'ACVILEGIA.

Francesco Marcolini. V mil sermo.

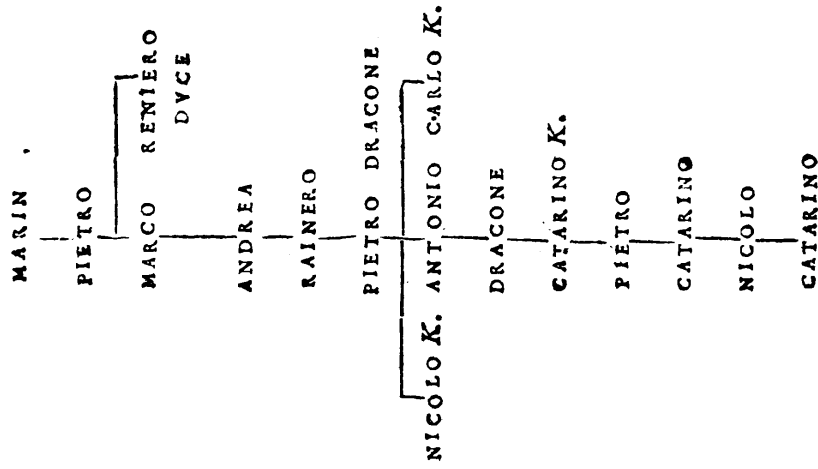


EVERENDIS-
simo Signor mio,
mandando io in
luce i Commen-
tarij de tutte le
guerre Persiane,
fatte dal tempo di
V. S. successano in
qua. Con il viag-
gio del Magnifi-
co M. Caterino Zeno il Cavalliere, fatto da sua Si-
gnoria come Ambasciatore di questo Illustris-
simo Dominio al detto Re di Persia, ilquale fu il
primo che ardi di andar a tãta et così fatiosa lega-
tione. Et il scoprimento delle Isole, Frislandia,
Estlandia, Engvorneland, Estotilandia, & Icaria.

A ij

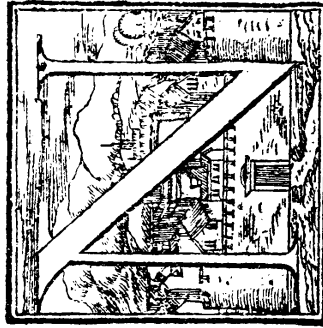
fatto dal Magnifico M. Nicolò il Cavalliere, & il
Magnifico M. Antonio Zeni, ho voluto ornare li
la fronte cò il celebrato nome della Signoria vostra
Reuerendis. dedicandogli, & per la fratelanza & in
amore che ha Vostra Reuerendis. Signoria col
Magnifico M. Nicolò Zeno. *Quelli che legge-
ranno troueranno cose marauigliose di guerre, di
costumi, di habitis; & di uiuer di genti; & siti di
paesi, e animal diuersi, & pescagioni. Et fra l'al-
tre marauiglie, narra il Magnifico M. Nicolò il
K. hauer veduto in Grolandia sotto il Polo Arti-
co (dove sono freddi grandissimi, & nene, &
ghiacci grandi,) uno monistero di frati nominato
S. Tomaso, piu miracoloso, che marauiglioso per-
che non solo quelli padri si riparano dalli grandissi-
mi freddi senza fuoco, ma che in acquando li rerre
ni, con l'acqua bozziente che esce di un monte uici-
no al lor monistero gli fanno produrre herbe fiori
& frutti necessarij al uiuer. Et quel che piu mi
par marauiglioso, è il cuocere il pane senza fuoco,
con detta acqua bozziente, che con il loro artificio
lo cuocono meglio che non si fa in un forno ben cal-
do. Et scaldano lo stanz e. & la Chiesa a uso di stu-
se a lor modo, tal che le gente rozze di quei paesi
tengono quelli frati come Dei, & li honorano, &
obediscono, come loro Signori. Di Venetia di
Dicembre M. D. L. V. I. I.*

ALBORO DELLA
FAMIGLIA ZENA.



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DELLO SCOPRIMENTO DEL
l'Isola Frislanda, Eslanda, Engvondland, Ffostilanda, & Icaria, fatto per due fratelli Zeni M. Nicolo il Cavaliere, & M. Antonio Libro Vno, col disegno di dette Isole.



NEMILLE, & dugento anni del la nostra salute se molto famoso in Venetia M. Marin zeno chiamo per la sua gran virtù, et de strezza d'ingegno podestà in alcune Republi. d'Italia, ne governi dellequali si portò sempre così benes che era amato, & grandemente riverito il suo nome da quelli anco, che non l'hanno mai per presenzia conosciuto: et tra l'altre sue belle opere particolarmente si narra,

che prescò certe gravi discordie cittadinesche na-
te tra' Veronesi, dallequali si speravano grandi
motivi di guerra, se la sua estrema diligenza, et
buon consiglio non si fosse interposto. Di co-
stui 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, et Procuratore di grandis-
sima riputatione per molte rare parti, ch'erano in
lui; et fu suo figliuolo M. Rinieri, Senatore illu-
stre, et piu molte Consigliero; di cui usi M. Pie-
tro Capitan Generale della Lega de' Christiani con-
tra Turchi, chiamato Dragone, perche nel suo scu-
do portò in cambio di un Manfrone, che haueua
prima, un Dragone; il quale fu padre di M. Car-
lo il grande, chiarissimo Procuratore, et Capitan
Generale contra Genovesi in quelle pericolose
guerre, che furono fatte, mentre quasi tutti i mag-
giori Principi dell'Europa oppugnauano la nostra
libertà, et l'Imperio, nellequali per il suo valore
liberò non azzimenti, che un alio Eurio Camillo
Roma, la sua patria da un'istante pericolo, che
correua di non diuenir preda de' suoi nimici; onde
perciò 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 Cavaliere, et 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 Cavaliere, come
huom di alto spirito, doppo la sudetta guerra Ge-
monese di Chioggia, che diede tanto da far à i no-
stri maggiori, entrò in grandissimo desiderio di
ueder il mondo, et peregrinare, et farsi capace
di uarij costumi, et di lingue de' gli huomini, ac-
ciò che con le occasioni potesse meglio far ser-
uigio alla sua patria, et à se acquistar fama, et
honore. La onde fuita, et armata una nave delle
sue proprie ricchezze, che amplissime haueua
usi fuori de' i nostri mari, et passato lo stretto di
Gibilterra nauigò alcuni dì per l'Oceano sempre
tenendosi uerso la Tramontana con animo di ue-
der l'Inghilterra, et la Fiandra, dove, assata-
to in quel mare da una gran fortuna molti di au-
ciò trasportato dalle onde, et da uenti senza sa-
pere, dove si fosse, quando finalmente scoprendo
terra, ne potendo piu reggersi contra quella fieris-
sima burasca, ruppe nell'Isola Frislanda, saluan-
dosi gli huomini, et gran parte delle robbe, che
erano su la nave, et questo fu l'anno mille, e tre-
cento, et ottanta; Qui concorrendo gli Isolani ar-
mati in gran numero assaltarono M. Niccolò, et

i suoi, che tutti tramagliati per la fortuna passata, non sapessero, in che mondo si fossero, & per conseguente non erano atti à far un picciolo inselso, non che à difendersi gagliardamente, come il pericolo il portava contra i nemici; & in ogni modo sarebbero stati mal menati, se la buona ventura non faceva, che casualmente si fosse trovato un vicino un Principe con gente armata, il quale inteso, che s'era rotta pur all' hora una gran nave nell' Isola corse al romore, & alle grida, che si facevano contra i nostri poderi marini, & cacciati via quelli del paese, parlò in Latino, & di mandò, che venivano d' Italia, & che erano huomini del medesimo paese fu preso di grandissima allegrezza, Onde, promettendo à ciascuno, che non riceverebbero alcun dispiacere, & che erano venuti in luogo, nel quale sarebbero benissimo trattati, & meglio ueduti, li tolse tutti sopra la sua fede. Era costui gran Signore, & possedeva alcune Isole dette Porlanda, vicine à Frislanda da mezzo giorno: le più ricche & popolate di tutte quelle parti, & si chiamava Zichmni; & oltre le dette picciole Isole signoreggiava fra terra la Duchca di Sorano posta dalla banda verso Scotia. Di queste parti di Tramontana m'è paruto di trarne una copia dalla carta da navigare, che ancora mi truo-

uo hauere tra le antiche nostre cose di casa; la quale, con tutto che sia Marcia, & uecchia di molti anni, m'è riuscita assai bene; & posta dauanti gli occhi di che si diletta di queste cose servirà quasi per un lume à dargli intelligetia di quel, che senza essa non sporebbe così ben sapere. Con tutto stato, che s'è detto, Zichmni erabellicofo, & valente, & sopra tutto famosissimo nelle cose di mare, & per hauer habuto vittoria l'anno auanti del Re di Noruegia, che signoreggiava l'Isola, con m'huom, che desideraua con l'arme di farsi molto più illustre, che non era, con le sue genti era disceso per far l'impresa, & acquistarsi il paese di Frislanda, che è Isola assai maggiore, che Irlanda; Onde, uedendo che M. Nicolo era persona sensata, & nelle cose marine scie, & della guerra grandemente pratico, gli commisse, che andasse su l'armata con tutti i suoi, imponendo al Capitano, che l'honorasse, & in tutte le cose si uadesse del suo consiglio, come di quel, che conoscea, & sapena da se molto per lungo uso di nauigare, & dell'arme. Questa armata di Zichmni era di tre dici legni, due solamente da remo, il resto nauigli, & una nave, con la quale nauigauono verso Ponente, & s'insignorirono con poca fatica di Ledono, et di Ilose, & di alcune altre Isolette, uolgendosi in un golfo, chiamato Sudero, dove nel porto del-

dimostrazione di allegrezza, così per la vittoria di terra, come per quella di mare, per la quale erano tanto honorati, & celebrati da tutti i Veneziani, che non si sentiva d'altro parlare, che di loro, & del valore di M. Nicolò. Onde il Prencipe, che era da si amatissimo de' valenti huomini, & di quelli specialmente, che si portavano bene nelle cose marine, che si fece venir M. Nicolò, et dopo haverlo con molte honorate parole comendato, et lodato la sua grande industria & l'ingegno, dalle quali due cose diceua, che riconosceua un molto grande, & rileuato beneficio, come era quel di hauergli salvata l'armata, & acquistato senza alcuna sua fatica tanti luoghi, lo fece cavaliere, & honorati, & donati di ricchissimi presenti tutti i suoi, parò di quel luogo, & à guisa di trionfanti per la vittoria hauuta andò alla uolta di Frislanda, città principale dell'Isola, posta dalla banda di Levante verso Ostro dentro un golfo, che molti ne fà quell'Isola, nel quale si prende pesce in tanta copia, che se ne caricano molte navi, & se ne fornisce la Fiandra, la Bretagna, l'Inghilterra, la Scotia, la Noruegia, & Danimarca, & di quelle canano grandi, & si uicchezze. Fin qui scrive M. Nicolò in una sua lettera à M. Antonio suo fratello questi anssi, pregandolo, che con qualche nave lo uolesse andar à trouare. Perche egli,

la terra detta Susestol, presero alcuni nauigli carichi di pesce salato; e, trouato qui Zichmni, che con l'esercito di terra era uenuto acquistando tutto il paese, poco uisì fermarono, perche fatto uela pur per Ponente peruenero fin all'altro capo del Golfo, & girandosi di nouo trouarono alcune Isole, e terre, che furono tutte da lor ridotte in poter di Zichmni. Questo mare da lor nauigato era in maniera pieno di Seccagne, & di Scogli, che se non fosse stato M. Nicolò il suo Piloto, & i marinai Venetiani, tutta quell'armata, per giudicio di quanti u'erano su, si sarebbe perduta, per la poca pratica, che hauuano quelli di Zichmni à comparatione de i nostri, che nell'arte erano sì più diuati, cresciuti, & inuechiati. Or, hauendo l'armata fatte quelle cose, che si sono dette, il Capitano col consiglio di M. Nicolò uolle, che si facesse scala à una terra, chiamata Bondendon per intendere i successi della guerra di Zichmni, doue intese con suo molto piacere, che egli hauua fatto una gran battaglia, & hauua rotto l'esercito nimico; per laqual sua vittoria tutta l'Isola gli mandaua Ambasciadori à fargli deditione, leuando le sue insegne per tutte le terre, & castella; per il che gli parue di soprastar in quel luogo fin alla sua uenuta, dicendosi per fermo, ch'egli tosto u'ha uenia da essere. Al suo arriuare si fecero grande

che non men era desideroso, che si fosse il fratello di veder il mondo, & praticar varie genti, & per ciò farsi illustre, & grand'huomo, comprò una nave, & dirizzatosi a quel camino doppo un lunga viaggio, & uarij pericoli scossi giunse finalmente sano, & salvo a M. Nicolo, che lo riceuette con grandissima allegrezza, & perche gli era fratello, & perche era fratello di valore. 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 gratificarmelo, ma piu, perche da se egli pur troppo il ualeua, fece Capitain della sua armata M. Nicolo, & con grande apparato di guerra se mossero all'impresa di Esilanda, che e sopra la costa tra Frislanda, & Noruegia, doue fecero molti danni, ma inteso che il Re di Noruegia con una grossa armata di navi ueniua lor contra per distorle da quella guerra, si lenarono con una Buvasca si terribile, che cacciati in certe secagino ruppero gran parte delle lor navi, saluandosi il rimanente in Grislanda, l'Isola grande, ma dishabitata. L'armata del Re di Noruegia anch'ella saltata dalla medesima fortuna si ruppe, et perdè enta per quei pelaghi, diche hanno aniso Zichmini, da un nauiglio de' nimici scorso per fortuna in Grislanda, haendo già racconciata la sua arma

& uedendosi per la Tramontana vicino alle Islande, si dilibero di assaltar Islanda, che medesimamente con l'altre era sotto il Re di Noruegia, ma trouò il paese così ben munito, & guardato di difesa, che ne fu uibrato per hauer poca armata, & quella poca poco malissimo in ordine di arme & di genti, Per laqual cosa si parua quella impresa senza hauerui fatto nulla, & assaltone gli stessi cavali l'altre Isole, doue Islande, che sono sette, cioè Talas, Brodas, Iscant, Tyans, Miamit, Dambert, & Bres; & messo tutto in preda edificò una fortezza in Bres, nellaquale lasciò M. Nicolo con alcuni nauigli, & genti, & altre munitioni, & egli partendogli allhora di hauer fatto assai con quella poca armata, che gli era rimasa ritornò a saluamento in Frislanda. M. Nicolo rimaso in Bres si dilibero a tempo inuouo di uscir fuori, & scoprir terras onde armati tre nauigli non molto grandi del mese di Luglio fece uelauerlo Tramontana, & giunse in Engvouland; doue trouò un monistero di frati dell'ordine de' Predicatori, & una Chiesa dedicata à San Tomaso appresso un monte, che burta fuoco, come Vesuuio, & Etna; et c'è una fontana di acqua affocata, con laquale nella Chiesa del monistero, et nelle camere de' frati si fa l'habitatione calda, essendo nella camera così bolente, che senza altro fuoco farui, si ser

non si quasta mai. Ecce fauile medesime, estin-
 ge che sono serueno in luogo di pietre à far i muri,
 et i volti, perche, come si raffreddano non si posso
 no piu disfare, ò rompere, se per auentura non so-
 no spezzate dal ferro; et i volti fatti di quelle so-
 no in maniera leggiero che non hanno bisogno di al-
 tro sostenatolo, et durano sempre belli, et in con-
 cio. Per queste tante commodità u'han fatto quei
 buon padri tante habitazioni et muraglie, che è uno
 stupore à vederle. Il piu de' coperti, che u' sono si
 fanno in questo modo, che rivato il muro fin alla
 sua altezza, lo uanno à poco à poco auanzando so-
 pra il uolto, tanto che nel mezzo forma un giustò
 pauer; ma di piogge non ci si teme troppo in quel
 le parti, perche, per essere il Polo, come s'è detto
 freddissimo, caduta la prima neue non si disfa
 piu, se non passati i noni mesi dell'anno, che tanto
 tra lor dura il uerno. V'ueno di saluaticine, &
 di pesci, percioche, doue entra l'acqua rispida nel
 mare, u'è il porto assai capace, & grandi, che per
 l'acqua, che bolle, di uerno non si congela mai; La
 onde c'è tanto concorso di ucelli marini, & di pe-
 sci, che ne prendono un numero quasi infinito, col
 quale fanno le spese à un gran popolo in uicino, che
 tengono in continua opera, così nel tirar sì le fabri
 che, come nel prender gli ucelli, & il pesce, & nel
 far mille altre cose, che bisognano al monistero. Le
 C 4

ueno al bisogno di quella, mettendo nelle pignatte
 di rame il pane senz'acqua, che si cuoce, come in
 un forno ben riscaldato; Et ci sono giardinetti, co-
 perri di uerno, iquali inasfati di quell'acqua si di-
 fendeno contra la neue, et il freddo, che in quelle
 parti per essere grandemente situate s'ha il Polo,
 u'è assprissimo, onde ne nascono fiori, et fructi, et
 herbe di uarie sorti non altrimenti, che si facciano
 ne paesi temperati alle loro stagioni, per lequali
 cose le genti rozzee, et saluatiche di quei luoghi,
 vedendo effetti sopra natura tengono quelli fructi
 per Dei, et portano à lor polli, carne, et altre cose,
 et come Signori li hanno tutti in grandissima riu-
 renza, et rispetto. Nel modo adunque, che s'è
 detto, fanno questi frati, quando u'è maggior il
 ghiaccio, et la neue la lor habitazione temperata,
 et possono in un attimo riscaldar, et raffreddar
 una stanza con far crescer à certi termini piu l'ac-
 qua, et con aprir le finestre, et lasciarui entrar la
 freddura della stagione. Nelle fabbriche del moni-
 stero non si serueno di altra materia, che di quella
 stessa, che porta lor il fuoco, perche tolgono le pie-
 tre ardenti, che à similitudine di fauile escono dal
 la bocca dell'arsura del monte allhora, che sono piu
 infiammate, et butano lor sopra dell'acqua, per
 laquale si apreno, et fanno bitumo, ò calcina bian-
 chissima, et molto tenace, che posta in conferva

case di costoro sono intorno al monte tutte rotonde, & larghe menicinquè piedi, & nell'altro si vanno stringendo in maniera, che vi lasciano di sopra una picciola apertura, per dove entra l'aere, che dà lume al luogo; & la terra vi è così calda di sotto, che dentro non ci sente alcun freddo. Qui di stare vengono molti navigli dall'Isolè conincino, & dal capo di sopra Noruegia, & dal Treadon, & portano ai frati tutte le cose, che si possono desiderare & le cambiano con tor per essi del pesce, che secano all'aere, & al freddo, et peli di diverse sorti di animali, Onde s'acquistano legna d'abbruciar, & legnami eccellentemente lavorati, & grano, et panno da vestire; conciosia che per il cambio delle due cose dette quasi tutti i conciuini desiderano di sentir le mercatantie loro, & essi senza fatica, & dispendio hanno ciò, che vogliono. Ci concorrono in questo monistero frati di Noruegia, di Suetia, & di altri paesi, ma la maggior parte sono delle Isolde. Et sempre in quel porto ci sono molti navigli, che non possono partire per essere il mare agghiacciato; & aspettano il nuouo tempo, che lo disgele. Le barche de' pescatori si fanno come le navi celle, che usano le testatori nel far la tela; e tolte le pelle de' pesci le formano con alcuni ossi de' medesimi pesci, che le formano; et cucite insieme, et poste in piu doppij, riescono si buone, & sicure, che e cosa

certo miracolosa à sentire, nelle fortune ni se ferrano dentro, et lasciano portarsi dall'onde, et dà uenti per il mare senza alcun timore ò di roperè, ò di affogarsi; & se danno in terra, stanno salde à morte e percosse. Et hanno una manica nel fondo, che tengono legata nel mezzo, et quando entra acqua nel nauiglio, la prendeno nell'altra mità, & con due legni chiusi serrando di sopra, & aprendo la legatura di sotto, cacciano l'acqua fuori; et quante volte uecorre lor di far questo, lo fanno senza discomio, ò pericolo alcuno. L'acqua poi nel monistero per esser di Zolfo li conduce nelle camere de' maggiori per certi usi di rame, di stagno, ò di pietra così calda, che come una stufa, riscalda benissimo la stanza senza che u' introduchi purza, ò altro cattiuo odore. Oltra di questo menano un'altra acqua uina cò un muro sotterra, acciò che non si agghiacci, fin nel mezzo della corte, dove cade in un gran uaso di rame, il quale stà in mezzo di un fonte bollente, et così riscaldando l'acqua per il bere, et adacquar i giardini, hanno dal monte tutte le comodità, che si possono desiderar maggiori; ne pongono in altro piu cura quei buoni padri, che nel coltivar bene i giardini, & nel far belle fabbriche, et maghe, et sopra tutto comode; ne macano lor in questo buoni ingegneri & huomini industriosi, perche pagano, & donano largamente; & uerso quelli, che portano frutti, &

semezze sono senza fine liberali, & larghi nello spendere. Per uche u'è un grandissimo concorso di oure, & di maestramenti per esserci in quel luogo così buon guadagno, & minor uivere. V'auo il più d'essi la lingua Latina, & specialmente, i sapienti, & i grandi del monistero. Questo tanto si sa di Engroueland, della quale M. Nicodò deseruue tutte le cose dette, & particolarmente la riuiera da lui discoperta, come nel disegno per me fatto si può uedere; & infine, non essendo egli ufo à quelli freddi aspri, infermo, & poco dopo ritornato in Frislanda morì. Et M. Antonio successe nelle sue ricchezze, & all'onore, ne, con tutto che tenesse molte uie, & pregasse, & supplicasse assai, gli uenne mai fatto di ritornarsene a casa sua; perche Zichmmi, come huom di spirito, & di ualore si haueua al tutto messo in cuore di farsi padron del mare; Onde, uatendosi di M. Antonio uolle, che con alcuni nauigli nauigasse uerso Ponente per essere state discoperte da quel lato da certi suoi pescatori. Isole ricchissime, & popolate; laqual discoperta narra M. Antonio in una sua lettera scritta à M. Carlo suo fratello così puntualmente, matate però alcune uoci antiche, & lo stile, & lasciata star nel suo essere la materna.

Si partirono uentisei anni fa quattro nauigli

di piscatori, i quali, assaltati da una gran fortuna na molti giorni andarono, come per perduri per il mare, quando finalmente raddolcitosi il tempo scoprirono una Isola, detta Estorilanda posta in Ponente, lontana da Frislanda più di mille miglia, nella quale si ruppe un de' nauigli, & sei huomini, che u'erano su furono presi da gli Isolani, & condotti à una città bellissima, & molto popolata, doue il Re, che la signoreggiaua fatti uenir molti interpreti, non ne trouò mai alcuno, che sapesse 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 intese tutte queste cose uolle, che si fermassero nel paese; perche essi facendo il suo comandamento per non si poter altro fare stettero cinque anni nell'Isola, & appresero la lingua, et un di loro particolarmente fu in diuer si parti dell'Isola, & narra, che è ricchissima, & abundantissima di tutti li beni del mondo, & che è poco minore di Islanda, ma più fertile, ha uendo nel mezzo un monte altissimo, dalquale nascono quattro fiumi, che la irrigano. Quelli, che l'habitano sono uingemosi, & hanno tutte le arti, come noi; & credesi, che in altri tempi hauessero commercio con i nostri, perche dice di ha-

uer mediti libri Latini nella libreria del Re, che non vengono hora da lor intesi; hanno lingua, & lettere separate, & usano metalli di ogni sorte, & sopra tutto aboundano di oro, & le lor pratiche sono in Egiptoland, di doue traggono pellerie, & zolfo, & pegola; & uerso Ostro naria, che u'è un gran paese molto ricco d'oro, & popolato; seminano grano, & fanno la ceruola, che è una sorte di beuanda, che usano i popoli Settentronali, come noi il uino; hanno boschi d'immensa grandezza, & fabricano à muraglia, & ci sono molte città, & castella; fanno nauigli, & nauigano, ma non hanno, ma non hanno la calamità, ne intendono col bossolo la Tramontana. Per ilche questi pescatori furono in gran pregio, si che il Re li spedì con dodici nauigli uerso Ostro nel paese, che essi chiamano Drogo; ma nel nauigio hebbero così gran fortuna, che stenenano per perduti; tuttauia fuggita una morte crudele, diedero di petto in una crudelissima; perciò che presi nel paese furono la piu parte da quelli feroci popoli mangiati cibandosi essi di carne humana, che tengono per molto saporita minanda. Ma, mostrando lor quel pescatore co' compagni il modo di prender il pesce con le reti, scampo la uita; & pescando ogni dì in mare, & nelle acque dolci prendeano assai pesce, & lo donaua à i principali, Onde se ue

acquistò perciò tanta gratia, che era tenuto caro, & amato, & molto honorato da ciascuno. Sparfasi la fama di costui ne' conuicini popoli entro in tanto disiderio un signor uicino di hauerlo appresso di se, & ueder, com' egli usaua quella sua mirabil arte di prender il pesce, che mosse guerra à quell'altro Signore, appresso ilquale egli si riparaua, & prendendo infine per essere piu potente, & armigero, gli fu mandato insieme con gli altri; & in tredici anni, che stette continuamente in quelle parti dice, che fu mandato in quel modo à piu de uenticinque Signori, mouendo sempre questo à quel guerra, & que! à quell'altro solamente per hauerlo appresso di se, & così errando andò senza hauer mai ferma habitazione in un luogo lungo tempo, si che comobbe, et pratico quasi tutte quelle parti. Et dice il paese essere grandissimo, & quasi un nuouo mondo, ma gente rozza, & prima di ogni bene, perche uanno nudi, tutti che patiscano freddi crudeli, ne sanno coprirsi delle pelli degli animali, che prendeno in caccia; non hanno metallo di sorte alcuna, niuero di ciaggiogioni, & portano larcie di legno nella punta aguzze, & archi, le corde de i quali sono di pelle di animali; sono popoli di gran ferocità, combattono insieme mortalmente, & si mangiano l'im l'altro; hanno superiori, & cerre leggi molto disse-

venti tra di loro; ma piu che si uà verso Garbino, uisè troua piu ciuità per l'aere temperato, che uè; di maniera, che ci sono città, tempj agli Ido li, & uisacrificano gli huomini, & se li mangiano poi, hauendo in questa parte qualche intelligenza & uso dell'oro, & dell'argento. Or, sendo sta- to tanti anni questo pescatore in questi paesi, si deliberò di ritornar, se uoleua alla patria, ma i suoi compagni disperato si di poterla piu riuedere, lo la sciarono partir à buon uiggio, & essi si rimase- ro là. Ond'egli, detto a lor à Dio, fuggi uia per i bochi uerso Drogo, & fu benissimo ueduto, & accarezzato dal Signor uicino, che lo conoseua, e tenuea grande nimistà con l'altro; & così andan- do di uia in un'altra mano di quelli medesimi per liquali era passato, dopo molto tempo, & assai travagli, & fatiche peruenne finalmente in Dro- gio, nel quale habito tre anni continui, quando per- siai buona uentura intese da Paesiati, che erano giunti alla uisita alcuni nauigli; Ond'egli entra- to in buona speranza di far bene i fatti suoi, uenne al mare, & di mandato, di che paese erano, intese con suo gran piacere, che erano di Estorlanda: perche, hauendo egli pregato di essere leuato, fu uolentieri riceuuto per hauer la lingua del paese, su- ne essendo altri, che la sapesse, lo usarono per lor interprete; Là onde egli frequentò poi con lor quel-

uiggio, si che diuenni molto ricco, & fatto, & armato un nauigio del suo, se ne è ritornato in Frislanda, portando à questo Signor la nuoua del lo scoprimento di quel paese ricchisimo; & à tut- to se gli dà fede per i mirai, & molte cose nuo- ue, che approuano essere uero, quanto egli ha rap- portato. Per laquale cosa questo signore s'è rissol- tuto di mandarmi con un armata uerso quelle par- ti, e tanti sono quelli, che u vogliono uenire, per la nouità della cosa, che senza dispendio pu- blico penso, che saremo potentissimi. Questo si contiene nella lettera per me di sopra allegata, & ho posto il suo tenor qui, à uisa che s'intenda un altro uiggio, che fece M. Antonio, il quale partì con molti gente, & nauoli, non essendo pe- rò stato fatto Capitan, come ha prima hauea pensato, perche Zichimi in persona uisolle tro- uare, & ho una lettera sopra questa impresa, che dice in questo modo. L'apparato nostro grande per andar in Estorlanda fu in cominciato con mal augurio, perche tre dì à punto auanti la nostra partita, morì il pescatore, che haueua da essere no- stra guida: intantua non restò questo Signore di se- quitar auanti il preso uiggio, prendendo per gui- de in càbio del morto pescatore alcuni marinai, che erano tornati da quella Isola con lui, et così si pose mo à nauigar uerso Ponète, et scoprimo alcune Iso-

le soggette à Frislanda, et passate certe seccagne si fermammo à Ledono, dove per sette dì fummo per catione di riposo, & di formar l'armata delle cose necessarie. Partiti di qui arrivammo il primo di Luglio all'Isola di Ilose, & perche il vento faceva per noi senza punto fermarsi, passammo avanti, & ingolfatisi nel più cupo pelago, non dopo molto ci assalì una fortuna così fiera, che per otto giorni continui ci tenne in tramaglio, & balestro senza saper, dove ci fossimo, perdendosi gran parte de' nauigi, in fine tranquilitosi il tempo, si ragunarono insieme i legni, che si erano smarriti dagli altri, & navigando con buon vento scoprimmo da Ponente terra, perche dirizzate le vele à quella volta arrivammo in un porto quieto, & sicuro, & uedemmo un popolo quasi infinito posso in arme, & in atto di ferrir essere corso al luo per difesa dell'Isola; Là onde Zichinni, facendo dar à i suoi segni di pace gli Isolani mandarono dieci huomini, che sapemmo parlar in dieci linguaggi, ne sinirejo alcuni di loro, suor ch'ùn d'Islanda. Così, essendo stato condotto davanti il nostro Principe, & dimandato da lui, come si chiamava quell'Isola, et quai genti l'habitavano, & chi la signoreggiava; disse, che l'Isola si chiamava Icaria, & che tutti i Re, che hanno regnato in quella si chiamarono Icarri dal primo Re, che ni fu, che dicono esser stato

figliuolo di Dedalo Re di Scotia; il quale, sendo si ingnorito di quell'Isola, mi lascio per Re il figlio suo con le leggi, che ancora gli Isolani usano; & dopo fatte queste cose, volendo più avanti navigare, per una gran fortuna, che si leuò si sommerse; onde per la sua morte ancora chiamano quel mare Icaro, & i Re dell'Isola Icarri, & perche si appagavano di quello stato, che hanno lor dato Dio, ne uolano punto inuar costumi, non ricenano alcun forestiero, & che perciò pregavano il nostro Principe, che non uolse romper quelle leggi, che hanno habuto dalla felice memoria di quel Re, & offeruate fin all'horà; perche non lo potrebbe fare se non con manifestar sua ruina, essendo egli tutti apparecchiati di lasciar anzi la vita, che di perder in alcun conto l'uso di quelle; nondimeno, accioche non paresse, che in tutto rifiutassero il commercio de' gli altri huomini, gli diceuano per cortisifione, che uolentieri haurebbero ricevuto in te' nostri, & l'hauerebbero tra loro fatto de' primi; & questo sol per apprendere la lingua mia, & hauer relatione de' nostri costumi, euss come hanno già ricenuto que' gli altri dieci d'altri diuersi dieci paesi, che all'Isola erano uenuti. A queste cose non rispose altro il nostro Principe, se non che fatto riceuar, doue ci era buon porto, fece uisita d'leuarsi, & et ricondando l'Isola si cacciò à piene uole con tutta l'armata

landos; ma non ci riuscì il disegno, perciocchè quel popolo poco men, che bestiale in questo stette continuamente in arme, e animo deliberato di combattere, se hauesimo terato la discesa. La onde Zichmini, vedendo di non poter far cosa alcuna, & che s'egli fosse stato piu ostinato nel suo proposito, la vittoria l'haurebbe potuto mancar all'armata, si tenò con buon vento, nauigando sei giorni per Poventre; ma notatosi il tempo à Caromo, & uigliarditrosi perciò il mare scorse l'armata quattro di con vento in poppa, et discoprendo finalmente terra con non picciolo timore si appressammo à quella per essere il mar gonfio, et la terra discoperta da noi non conosciuta; nondimeno Dio ci aiutò, che mancato il vento, ci pose in bonaccia; onde alcuni de l'armata andando à terra con i nauigli da remo, dopo non molto ritornarono, & ci riferirono con sommo nostro piacere, che haueuano trouato buonissimo paese, & miglior porto; per laqual nouità, rimorehiate noi le navi, & i nauigli andammo à terra; & entrati in un buon porto uedemmo dalla lunga un gran monte, che gettata fummo; il che ci diede speranza, che nell'isola ci sarebbero trouate genti; ne con tutto che fosse essai lontano restò Zichmini di mandar cento buoni soldati, che riconoscessero il paese, & rapportassero quai genti l'habitauano; & sia tanto l'armata si formò à ac-

in un porto mostratogli dalla banda di Leuante, in quale fatto scala discesero i marinai à far legna, et acqua con quella prestezza, che poterono maggior re, dubitando in tanta di non esser assaltati da' soli Iolani; ne suauo il timore, perche quelli, che habitauano ad' intorno, facendo segno à gli altri con fuoco, & con fumo, si misero tosto in arme, et soprauenendo gli altri, in tanto numero discesero al lito sopra di noi con arme, & sacche, che molti restarono morti, & feriti; ne ualena, che si facesse segno di pace, se che quasi che combatteressero della somma di tutte le cose, si uideruol'uno ogni hor piu. Per laqual cosa ci fu forza à tenare, e dalla lunga andar con un gran circuito girando intorno l'isola essendo sempre accompagnati per i monti, & per le marine da una moltitudine infinita di huomini armati; et così notando il capo dell'isola uerso l'ra montana, trouarono grandissime scaccagne, nelle quali per dieci di continui furono in molto pericolo di non perder l'armata; ma per buona nostra sorte fu sempre bellissimo tempo. Passando adunque euanti fin al capo di Leuante, sempre uedeuano gli Iolani nelle sommità de' monti, e per i liti uenir con noi, et con grida, et con saccharci della lunga dimostrar uerso di noi ogni hor piu un medesimo animo nini co: perche si dilibetammo di fermarci in un porto sicuro, & ueder di parlar un'altra uolta con l'

qua, & di legna, & prese di molto pesce, & ucelli marini; & ni si trovarono tante uocce di ucelli, che se ne satiarono le genti mezz'ora affamate. Mentre noi dimoravamo qui entrò il mese di Giugno, nel qual tempo l'aere era nell'Isola temperato, & dolce piu che si possa dire; tuttauia non ni si uedendo alcuno, entrammo in sospitione, che un sì bel luogo fusse disabitato, & ponemo nome al porto, & alla punta, che ufcina in mare Trin, & Capo di trin. I cento soldati andati dopo otto di ritornarono, & riferirono essere stati per l'Isola, & al monte, & che quel fumo nasceua, perche dimostraua, che nel suo fondo u'era gran fuoco, & che c'era una fontana, dalla quale nasceua una certa materia, come pegola, che correua al mare; & che u'habitauano molte genti intorno mezz'etluariche riparandosi nelle cauerne di picciola statura, & molte paurose, perche si uidero, che ci uidero s'uggirono nelle cauerne; & ch'è u'era un gran fiume, & un porto buono, & sicuro. Diche informato Zichmi, uedendo il luogo con aere salubre, & fertile, & con miglior terreno, & fiumi, e tante altre particolarità entrò in pensiero di farlo habitare, & di fabricarui una città; quando la sua gente, stanca hoggi mai di un viaggio così pieni di tranagli cominciò a tumultuare, & à dire, che uolenano ritornar à casa, perche

il uicino uicino, & che se lo lasciavano entrare, non s'hauerebbero poi potuto piu partire, se non la state, che uenua. Per laqual cosa egli ritenuti solamente i nauigi da remo, & quelli, che ni uolentano restare, rimandò gli altri in dietro tutti con le nauì, & uolle, che contra mia uolgia io fossi loro Capitano. Partitomi adunque, poi che altro non si potena fare, senza mai ueder terra nauigai uerso l'euante uenti giorni continui; uoltatomi poi uerso S. uoco doppo cinque di scopersi terra, trouandomi arriuado nell'Isola Neome, & conosciuto il paese, mi accorsi di hauer passato l'Islanda, perche presi uinfrascamenti da gli Isolani, che erano sotto l'Imperio di Zichmi, nauigai con buon uento in tre di in Frislanda; done il popolo, che credena di hauer perduto il suo Principe per sì lunga dimora, che nel uaggio hauerano fatto, ci raccolse con segni di grandissima allegrezza. Doppo questa lettera non trouo altro, se non che per congettura giudico, come passo trar da un altro capo di un'altra lettera, che porò qui di sotto, che Zichmi fece una terra nel porto dell'Isola da lui nouellamente scoperta, & che datosi meglio à cercar il paese la discopri tutta, insieme con le riuere dell'una, & l'altra parte di Enguoneland; perche la uoggo particolarmente discretta nella carta da nauigare; non di meno la narratione è perduta. Il capo

della lettera dice così *Quanto a sapere le cose, che mi ricercate de' costumi de' gli huomini, de' gli animali, & de' paesi comucini, io ho fatto di tutto un libro distinto, che piacendo à Dio porterò con meco; nelquale ho descritto il paese, i pesci mostruosi, i costumi, le leggi di Frislanda, di Islanda, di Estlanda, del Regno di Noruegia, di Estotilandia, di Drogio, & infine la uita di Nicolo il Cavaliere nostro fratello con la scoperta da lui fatta, & le cose di Grolanda. Ho anco scritto la uita, & le imprese di Zichinni, Principe certo degno di memoria immortale quando mai altro sia stato al mondo per il suo molto ualore, & molta bontà, nellaquale si legge lo scoprimento di Engroniland da tutte due le parti, & la città edificata da lui. Però non ui dirò altro in questa lettera, sperando tosto di essere con uoi, & di soddisfare ui molte altre cose con la uina uoce. Tutte queste lettere furono scritte da M. Antonio à M. Carlo suo fratello, & mi dolgo, che il libro, & molte altre scritte pur in questo medesimo proposito siano andati non sò come miseramente di male; perche, sendo io ancor fanciullo, & peruenuti alle mani, ne sapendo ciò che fossero, come fanno i fanciulli le squarcia, & mandai tutte à male, il che non posso se non con grandissimo dolore ricordarmi hora. Pur, perche non si perda*

una sì bella memoria di cose quel, che ho potuto hauere in detta materia, ho posto per ordine nella narratione di sopra; acciò che se ne sodisfaccia in qualche parte questa età, che più che alcun'altra mai passata, mercè di tanti scoprimenti di nuove terre fatte in quelle parti, doue à punto meno si pensaua, che ui fossero, è studiosissima delle narrationi nuove, & delle discoperte 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 discoverie of the Isles of Frisland, Iceland, Engroueland, Estotiland, Drocco and Icaria, made by M. Nicolas Zeno, Knight, and M. Antonio his brother.



In the yere of our Lord 1200. There was in the Citie of Venice a famous Gentleman, named M. Marino Zeno, who for his great vertue and singular wisdom, was called and elected governour in certain countries wealthes of Italy, in the administration wherof hee bore himselfe so discreetly, that hee was beloved of all men, and his name greatly revered of those that never knewe or sawe his person. And among sundrie his worthy workes, this is recorded of him, that hee pacified certaine greivous civile dissensions that arose among the Cittizens of Verona: wher eas otherwise if by his grave aduise and great diligence, they had not bene prevented, the matter was likely to beake out in hot broyles of warre. Hee was the first Agent that the common wealth of Venice kept in Constantinople in the yere 1205, *quar do nera patrona, comli baroni fracesi*. This Gentleman had a sonne named M. Pietro, who was the father of the Duke Rinieri, which Duke dying without issue, made his heire M. Andrea, the sonne of M. Marco his brother. This M. Andrea was captaine generall and spocurator, a man of great reputation for many rare partes that were in him. He had a sonne M. Rinieri, a worthy Senatour and prudent Councellour: Of whom descende M. Pietro Genetall of the league of the Christians against the Turkes, who was called Dragon, for that in his armes hee bare a spocurator; and Generall against the Genowayes in those

Po. 254.

¶ Morum bega.

those cruel warres, when as almost all the chiefe princes of Europe did oppugne and seek to overthrow our Empire and libertie, wherby his great valiance and prowesse like an other Furus Camillus, hee desuered his Countrey from the present perill it was in, being readie to become a praye to the people unto the enemy, wherof hee was afterwards surnamed, the Lion, and for an eternall remembrance of his fortitude and valiant exploits he gaue the Lion in his armes. M. Carlo had two brethren, M. Nicolo, the knight & Antonio, the father M. Dragon, of whom issued M. Caterino, the father of M. Pietro, this M. Pietro had sonnes M. Caterino, that dyed the last yere, M. Francisco, M. Carlo, M. Battista and M. Vincenzo. That M. Caterino was father to M. Nicolo, that is yet living. Now M. Nicolo, the knight, being a man of great courage and very nobly minded, after this foresaide warre of Genoua, that troubled so our predecessors, entred into a wonderfull great desire and fanisie to see the fashions of the world, and to trauaile, and to acquaint himselfe with the manners of sundry nations & learne their languages, wherby afterwards vpo occasions hee might be the better able to do seruice to his countrey & purchase to himselfe credite & honoy. Wherfore hee caused a shippe to be made & having furnished her at his proper charges (as hee was very wealthy) hee departed out of our Seas & passing the straites of Gibraltarra, he sailed for certaine dayes vpon the Ocean keeping his course stil to the Northwards, to intent to see England and Flaunders. Wher being assaulted in those Seas by a terrible tempest, was so tossed for the space of many dayes with the Sea and winde that hee knewe not wher hee was, till at length hee discovered lande, and not being able any longer to sustaine the violence of the tempest the ship was cast away vpon the Isle of Frisland, the men were saved, and most part of the goods that were in the ship. And this was in the yere 1380. The inhabitants of the Island came running in great multitudes to weapons to set vpon M. Nicolo and his men, who beinge loye wether beaten and overlaboured at Seas, and not knowing in those

The ship of M. Zeno cast away vpon Frisland in anno. 1380.

The discoverie of

part of the people they were, were not able to make any resistance at all, much lesse to defende them selves courageously, as it behooved them in such dangerous case. And they shoulde have bene doubtlesse very discourteously entreated and cruelly handled, if by good hap there had not been hard by the place a prince with armed people. Who understanding, that there was euen at that present a great ship cast away vpon the Island, came running at the nose and outcries that they made againt our poore shippers, and dying away the inhabitants, spake in latine and asked them what they were and from whence they came, and perceived that they were Italians, & all of one Countie, he was surprised with maruelous great ioy. Wherefore promising theall, that they shoulde receiue no discourtesie, and that they were come into a place where they shoulde see well used and very welcome, he tooke them into his protection vpon his faith. This was a great Lord and possessor certaine Islands called Portland, lying one the Southside of Frisland being y richest and most populous of all those partes, his name was Zichmni: & beside the said little Islands, he was Duke of Sorani, lying within the land towards Scotland.

Of these two partes I thought good to shew the copie of a Sea carde, which amongst other antiquities, I haue in my house, which although it be rotten through many yeeres, yet it falleth out indifferent well, and to those that are delighted in these things, it may serue for some light to the understanding of that, which without it cannot so easily be conceived. Zichmni being Lorde of those Seignories (as is said) was a very warlike and valiant man & aboue all things famous in Sea causes. And hauing this yeere before gone the ouerthorowe to the king of Norway, who was Lord of the Islande, being desirous to winne fame by feates of armes, was come on land with his men to giue the asseyt, for winning of Frisland, which is an Island much bigger then Ireland. Wherefore seeing that M. Nicolo was a man of iudgement and discretion, and very expert both in Sea matters and martiall affaires, hee gaue him commission to goe aboard his nauic with all his men, charging the captaine to

A flourish
prince having
to be in Frisland
to armed men.
when the ship
suffered ship-
wreck, there
came vnto him
and spake latine.

Zichmni prince
of Portland of
Duke of Sorani.

Frisland the
king of Norway.

Morum bega.

honour him and in all things to use his countsaile. His prauie of Zichmni was of thirtene vessels, wherof two onely were with oars, the rest small barkes, and one ship, with the which they sayled to the Westwardes and with little paines wonne Ledouo and Ilole and diuers other small Islands, and turning into a bay called Sadero, in the haven of the towne named Sanestol they tooke certaine small Barkes laden with salt fish. And heere they founde Zichmni, who came by land with his armie conquering all the countie as he went, they staid here but a while but beto on their course to the Westwardes till they came to the other Cape of the goule of bay, then turning againe they found certaine Islands and broken landes which they reduced all vnto the Seignorie and possession of Zichmni. These Seas for as much as they sayled, were in maner nothing but sholles and rocks, in soe that if M. Nicolo and the venetian mariners had not bene their pilots, the whole fleet in iudgement of all that were in it, had been cast away, so small was y skill of Zichmnis men in respect of ours, who had been trained by in the art and practise of navigation all the daies of their life. Now the fleet hauing doone such things, (as is declared) y Captaine by the counail of M. Nicolo, determined to goe a lande at a towne called Bondendon, to vnderstande what successe Zichmni had in his warres, where they heard to their great content, that he had fought a great battaile and put to flight the armie of his enemies by reason of which victorie they lost Embassadors from all partes of the Globe to prey the countie by into his handes, taking downe their enuignes in euery towne and castell: They thought good to stay in that place for his comming, being reported for certaine that he would bee there very shortly. At his comming there was great congratulatio and many signes of gladnes shewed, as wel for the victorie by lande as for that by Sea, for the which the venetians were honoured & spoiled of all men, in such sort y there was no talke but of them, and of y great valour of M. Nicolo. Wherefore the prince who was a great fauourer of ballian men and especially of those that

The discoverie of

could beate them felues well at the Sea, caused M. Nicolo to be brought before him, and after having commended him with many honourable speeches, and prayed his great industrie and dextere of wit, by the which, he acknowledged himselfe to have received an inestimable benefite as the favouring of his fleet and the winning of many places, he made him knight, and rewarded his men with many riche and bountifull giftes: Then departing from thence they went in triumphing maner towards Friesland, the chief Citie of y^e Ilande, situate on the Southest side of the Iste, within a goulfe, (as there are very many in that Iland). In this goulfe or bay there is such great abundance of fish taken, that many ships are laden therewith to serve Flaunders, Britaine, England, Scotland, Norway and Denmarke, 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 hee woulde seeke some meanes to come to him. Wherefore hee, who had as great desire to traualle as his brother, bought a Ship, and directing his course that way, after hee had sayled a great while and escaped many dangers, hee arrived at length in safetie with M. Nicolo, who received him very ioyfully, for that hee had his brother not only in life and blood, but also in valour and good qualities. M. Antonio remained in Friesland and dwelt there for the space of foureteene yeeres, foure yeeres with M. Nicolo, and ten yeeres alone. Where they came into such grace and favour with the Prince, that hee made M. Nicolo, Captaine of his Flaute, & with great preparation of warre they went sent sooth for the enterpryse of Estlande, which lyeth upon the coaste betweene Friesland and Norway, where they did many damages, but hearing that the king of Norway was coming to wardes them with a great fleet, they departed wth such a terrible flaw of wind y^e they were driue vpon certain shoales. Where a great part of their ships were cast away y^e rest were saved vpon Griland, a great Iland but dishabited,

M. Nicolo, made knight by Zichman.

Ships laden with fish at frisk. Lands for Flaunders, Britaine, England, Scotland, Norway, and Denmarke.

But not to be proud, that hee any came there. A letter sent by M. Nicolo to his brother, M. Antonio in Estland.

Morum bega.

The king of Norway his fleet being taken with the same storme, did wretchly perishe in those seas. Whereof Zichman having notice, by a shippe of his enemies, that was cast by chance vpon Griland, having repayed his fleet, and perceyving him selfe nottherly nere unto the Ilandes, determined to see vpon Ilandes, which together with the rest was subiect to the king of Norway: But he founde the country so well fortified and defended, that his fleet being so small and very ill appointed both of weapons and men, hee was gladd to retire. And so hee left that enterpryse without performing any thing at all, and in the same chanelles he assaulted y^e other Isles called the Ilandes, which are situate Talas, Broas, Icant, Trans, Mimant, Dambers, & Bres, and having spoyled them all, hee built a fort in Bres, where he left M. Nicolo, with certaine small barkes and men and munition. And now thinking he had done well for this voyage, with those fewe ships which were left hee returned into Friesland. M. Nicolo remaining now in Bres determined vpon a time to goe sooth and discover lande, whereto hee arming out their small barkes in the moneth of Iuly, he sayled to the Northwardes, and arrived in Engrouelande. Where hee founde a monastery of Fryers of the order of the Predicators, and a Church dedicated to S. Thomas barde by a hill, that cattereth forth fire, like Vesuvius and Etna.

There is a fountayne of hot burning water with the which they beate the Church of the monastery and the Fryers chambers, it cometh also into the kitchen so boiling hot, that they use no other fire to welle their meate, and putting their bread into brasse pottes without any water, it boyleth as it were in a hot oven. They haue also small garbans, covered ouer in the winter time, which being watered with this water are defended from the force of the snowe and colde, which in those parts being situate farre vnder the pole, is very extreme, and by this meanes they produce flowers and frutes and herbes of summe sortes, euen as in the other temperate countreys in their seasons in suche sorte that the rude and savage people of those partes seeing these fruits

Engrouelande, preaching Fryers of S. Thomas.

A notable fruit

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pernaturall effects doe take those Friers for Gods, and bring them many presents as chickens, sicke and divers other things, and haue them all in great reuerence as Gods. When the frost and snow is great, they heate their houses in manner before said, and will by setting in the water or opening the windowes, temper the heate and colde at their pleasure. In þe buildings of the monasterie they use no other matter but that which is ministered vnto them by the fire, for they take the burning stones, that are cast out as it were sparkes of cinders at the fire mouth of the hill, and when they are most enflamed, cast water vpon them, whereby they are dissolved and become excellent white lime and so rough that being contriued in building it lasteth for euer. And the very sparkes after the fire is out of them do serue in steede of stones to make walles and vaultes: for being once colde they will neuer dissolve or breake except they be cut with some iron tooke, and the vaultes that are made of them are so light that they need no sustentacle or proppe to holde them vp, and they will endure continually very fayre and whole. By reason of these great commodities the friers haue made there so many buildings and walles, that it is a wonder to see. The courts or roofes of their houses for the most part are made in this manner, first they raise the wall ty to his full height, then they make it enclining or bowing in by litle and litle in forme of a vault. But they are not greatly troubled with raine in those partes, for that, by reason of the pole or colde climate, the first snow being falne it thaweth no more for the space of nine moneths, for so long dureth their winter. They feede of the sicke of wilde beastes & of fish, for where as the warme water falleth into the sea, there is a large and wide haue, which by reason of the heate of the water, doth neuer freeze all the winter, by means whereof there is such concourse and flocks of sea foule and such abundance of fish, that they take thereof infinite multitudes, whereby they maintayne a great number of people rounde about whiche they keepe in continuall worke, both in building and taking of foules and fish, and in a thousande other necessarie affaires and busines about

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about the monasterie.

Their houses are builte about the hill on every side, in fourne rounde, and 25. foote broad and in mounting vponwardes they goe narrower and narrower, leaning as the coppe & litle hole, wherent the ayre connecth in, to giue light to the house, and the floze of the house is so hot, that being latched in they feele no colde at all. Whether in the summer tyme come many barkes from the Islands there about, & from the Cape about Norway and from Trondon. And bying to the Friers at manner things that may be desired, taking in change thereof fish which they dye in the sunne or in the colde, and skins of diuers kindes of beastes. For the which they haue wood to burne and timber verie artificially carued, and coppe & cloth to make them apparell. For in change of the two foresayde commodities all the nations bordering rounde about them couet to trafficke with them, and so they without any traueil or expences haue that which they desire. To this monasterie resort Friers of Norway, of Suetia and of other countreys: but the most part are of the Islands. There are continually in that part many barkes, whiche are kept in there by reason of the sea being frozen, waiting for the season of the yere to dissolve the Ice. The fishers boates are made like vnto a waters shuttle, taking the skins of fishes, they fasten them with the bones of the saure fishes, and sewing the together in many doubles they make them so liue and substantiall, that it is miraculous to see, how in tempests they will shut the felts close within, and let the sea and winde carrie them, they care not whether, without any feare eyther of breaking or bowing. And if they chance to be driuen vpon any rocks, they remaine sounde, without the least hurt vnto the woode: And they haue as it were a scele in the bottom which is tied fast in þe middle, & when there cometh any water into their boat, they put it into the one halfe of þe scele, the falling þe side of it to two peeces of wood and looking þe hand beneath they souey the water forth of the boate: and this they doe as often as they haue occasion without any perill or impediment at all.

Morum bega.

the sea. **W**herfore using alwayes the countsaie and ser-
vice of M. Antonio, hee sent hym with some small barkes
to the Westwardes, for that towards those partes some of
his fishermen had discovered certaine Ilandes verpe rich
and populous, whiche discovered, M. Antonio in a letter
to his brother M. Carlo, recounteth from point to point in
this manner, sauing that wee haue chaunged some olde
wordes, leauing the matter entire as it was

3. letter begins
rich from the
from by other
of Antonio one
of Frislande, to
his other bro-
ther in Arnice
named Spacie
Carlo.
Frisland.
6. Fisher men
taken.

Sire and twenite yeeres agoe there departed foure
Fisher boates, the whiche a mightie tempest arising, were
colled for the space of manye dayes verpe desperately vpon
the Sea, when at length the tempeste ceasing and the
weather waring saye they discovered an Ilande called Ef-
corlande, lying to the Westwardes aboute 1000. Spiles
from Frislande, vpon the whiche one of the boates was
caste awaye, and five men that were in it were taken of the
inhabitauntes and brought vnto a verpe saye and populous
Cittie, where the kynge of the place sent for manye in-
terpreters, but there was none coulde bee founde that in-
derstoode the language of the fishermen, excepte one that
spake Latin, who was also cast by chance vpon the same I-
lande, who in the behalfe of the kynge asked them what
Countreynen they were, and so vnderstanding they
case, rehearied it vnto the King, who willed that they
shoulde carrie in the Countrey, wherefore they obeyinge
his commaundement for that they coulde not otherwise doe,
dwelte five yeeres in the Ilande, and learned the lan-
guage, and one of them was in diuers partes of the Ilande.
and reporteth that it is a verpe riche Countrey, abounding
with all the commodities of the world, and that it is little
lesse than Iulande, but farre more fruitefull, hauing in
the middle thereof a verpe hygge mountayne, from the
whiche there riseth foure Riuers, that passe throughte the
whole Countrey.

One of the fish-
ers of Frisland
reporteth of E-
corlande.
Frislande
rich abounding
with at the coun-
modity of the
world.
The inhabitants are very iustie people, and haue all
the artes and facultes as wee haue; and it is credible, that
in tyme past they haue had trafficke with our men, for he
saies

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of bathsome nature is conveyed into the lodgings of the
principall friers by certaine vessels of brasse, tyme or tyme
to tyme that it heateth the place as it were a stove, not carry-
ing with it any stinke or other noysome smell.

Besides this they haue another conuenance to bring
hot water with a wall vnder the ground to the ende it should
not freeze, vnto the middle of the court, where it falleth in-
to a great vessel of brasse, that standeth in the middle of a boy-
ling fountayne, and this is to heate their water to drinke and
to water their gardens, and thus they haue from the hill the
greatest commodities that may be wished, and so these fri-
ers employ all their traualle and studie for the most part in
trimming their gardens and in making faire and beautifull
buildings and especially handsome and commodious, next
ther are they destitute of ingenious and painefull artificers
for the purpose, for they giue very large payment, and to
them that bring them fruites and seedes they are very boun-
tiful and giue them what they will. So that there is great
resort of workemen and maisters in diuers faculties, by rea-
son of the good gaines and large allowance that is there.

The most of them speake the Latin tongue, and especially
the superiours and principalls of the monasterie. And this
is as muche as is knowne of Engrouelande, which is all by
the relation of M. Nicolo, who maketh also particular de-
scription of a riuer, that he discovered, as is to be seene in
the carde that I haue. And in the ende M. Nicolo not be-
ing bled and acquainted with these cruell coldes, fell sick,
and a litle while after returned into Frislande, where he dy-
ed. He left behinde him in Venice two sonnes, M. Giouanni
and M. Toma, who had two sonnes M. Nicolo, the father of
the famous Cardinal Zeno, and M. Pietro of whom descen-
ded the other Zenos, that are liuing at this day.

John M. Nicolo being dead M. Antonio succeeded him both
in his goods and in his dignities & honour, and albeit he at-
tempted diuers wayes and made greate supplication hee
coulde neuer obtaine licence to returne into his Countrey,
for Zichmani had determined to make him selfe Lord of
the

In the monasterie
S. Thomas
most of them
speake the latin
gongue.
and of the two
letters.

John died in
Frisland.

The discoverie of

saye that he sawe latin booke in the Kings library, whiche they at this present doe not understande, they have a peculiar language and letters of characters to them selves. They hate mines of all manner of metals, but especially they abounde with golde. They have their trade in Engroueland from whence they bring skins and himstone and pitch: And he saith that to y^e southward, there is a great populous countrey very rich of gold. They use coine and make bere of ale, which is a kind of yntike that the north people doe use as we do wine. They have mightie great woods, they make their buildings with wals, and there are many cities & castles. They build smal barkes and haue sayling, but they have not the knowlege nor know not the use of the compass. Whether these fishes were had in great estimation, inasmuch that the king sent them with 2. barkes to the southwardes to a countrey whiche they call Drogio: but in their voyage they had suche contrary weather, that they thought all to haue perished in the sea, but yet escaping that cruell death, they fel into another more cruell. For they were take in the countrey and the most parte of them eaten by the Savage people, which feede upon mans fleshe, as the sweetest meate in their iudgements that is.

A countrey called Drogio.

The 6. fisherme
offricill and only
found, by shew-
ing the manner to
take fische.
The chiefest of
the 6. fishers.
specification betwix
& his companions

In the space of
13. yeres in
Drogio.

Morum bega.

so more than 25. Lordes, for they had continually warre amongst them selves, this Lord dwelt with that Lord and he with an other, onely to haue him to dwell with them, so that wanting by and bowine the Countrey without any certayne abode in one place, hee knewe almost all those partes the south same fishermen. that it is a very great countrey and as it were a newe world, the people very rude and voyde of all goodnesse, they goe all naked so that they are miserable bred with colde, neyther haue they the wit to cover their bodies with beastes skins, they take in hunting, they haue no kind of metal, they live by hunting, the pearle certain lances of wood made sharp at y^e point, they haue bowes, the stringes wherof are made of heathes skinned: They are a very fierce people, they make cruell warres one with another, and eat one another, they haue governours and certayne lawes verpe diuers amongst them selves. But the farther to the South westwardes, the more civility there is, the ayre being somewhat temperat, so that there they haue Cities, and temples to Idolls, wherewith they sacrifice men and afterwardes eat them, they haue there some knowledge and use of gold and silver.

Howe this fisher having dwelt so many yeres in those countreys, purposed if it were possible to returne home into his countrey, but his companions disspaying ever to see it againe, let him goe in Gods name, they kept them selves, wher they were. Wherefore hee bidding them farewell, stode through the woods towards Drogio, and was verie well receiued of the Lordes that dwelt next to that place wher hee knewe him and was a great enemye of the other Lord, and so running from one Lord to another, being choise by wher hee had passed before, after long time and many trauelles he came at length to Drogio wher hee dwelt these yeres. When as by good fortune he heard by y^e inhabitants, y^e there were certaine boats arrived upon y^e coast, wher some entering into good hope to accompany his intent, he went to y^e sea side & asking the of what countrey they were, they answered of Scotland wher he was exceeding glad, and requested that they

D 2

Sent to

more then
25. Lordes, which
continually war-
red amongst the
fishers for the
same fishermen.

3. yeres in Drogio.

Wher by happy
arrived certain
boats from
Scotland.

The discouerie of

he became in- they woulde take him into them, whiche they did verie wil-
 lerper for þ singly, and for that hee had the language of the Countrey
 men that arrived at wages in the and there was none of them could speake it they used him
 boates of Ethio. for their interpreter.

And after that hee frequented that trade with them, in
 freque with that such force that hee became verie riche and so furnishing out
 trade with them a bark of his owne hee returned into Frislande, where hee
 in such sort, that made repoyze vnto this Lorde of that welthie Countrey.
 he became verie rich. And so hee is througely credited because of the Partners, who
 silyd a bark of approue many strange things, that hee repoyte to be
 his owne & re. true. Wherefore this Lorde is resolu'd to sende me forth
 turned to Fris- with a flecte towarde those partes, and there are to manage
 lande where hee reported the so: that desire to see in the voyage, for the noueltie and strange-
 ry to his Lorde nesse of the thing, that I thinke we shall be very strongly ap-
 Zichimni. pointed, without any publicke expence at all. And this is the
 to sende to the Lorde of the letter before mentioned which I haue here set
 tonio & no. with downe, to giue intelligence of an other voyage, that M. An-
 a flecte towarde whole parties of tomo made, being set out with many Barkes and men, not
 Westlande. withstanding hee was not captaine as hee had thought at
 end of 3. letter. the first hee should, for Zichimni went in his owne person:

4. letter be- & concerning this matter I haue a letter in forme as folow-
 ginneth to 4. ech. Our great preparation for the voyag of Eskiland, was
 Antonio in ref- begun in an vnluckie houre, for three dayes before our de-
 land, to his bio- parture, the fisherman died, that should haue been our guide:
 ther Carlo in notwithstanding this Lorde woulde not giue ouer the enter-
 Venice. prise, but in steade of the fisherman tooke certayne Warri-
 The fisherman ers that returned out of the Islande with him, and so ma-
 dead that should king our nauigation to the Westwards, we discovered cer-
 haue bin guide & tayne Islandes subiect to Frislande, and hauing passed cer-
 interpreter. tayne sheldes we stayed at Ledono for the space of 7. dayes
 stiners taken in. to restrewe our felues, and furnish the flecte with necessarie
 his flecte which came with him provision. Departing from hence we arrived the first of Iu-
 to Estonia. ly at the Isle of Hise, and for that the winde made for vs, we
 July. the Hise. stayed not there, but passed forth, & being vpon the maine sea,
 there arose immediately a cruell tempest wherewith for eight
 dayes space we were miserably bered, not knowing
 where we were, and a great part of the Barkes
 were

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were cast a way, afterwarde waiting faire whether we gather
 red by the broken peeces of the Barkes that were lost, and
 sayling with a prosperous winde we directly landed at
 West. Wherefore keeping our course directly vpon it, Zichimni his first
 we arrived in a very good and safe harboroug, where wee discouery of the
 lande in an infinite companie of people readie in armes, come Island Icaria.
 running very furiously to the water side, as it were for de- Infants number
 fence of the Islande. Wherefore Zichimni causing his of people in
 men to make signes of peace vnto them, they sent tenne men armes.
 vnto vs that could speake tenne languages, but wee could An Island man
 vnderstande none of them, except one that was of Island. He in Icarie.
 being brought before our Prince and asked, what was the
 name of the Island, and what people inhabited it, and who
 gouerned it, answered, that the Island was called Icaria, and Icaria Ilande.
 that all the kings that had reigned there, were called Icarie, All the kings þ
 after the name of the first king of that place, which as they had reigned in
 say was the sonne of Decalus king of Scotland, who con- that Icarie were
 quering that Island, left his sonne there for king, and left the ter the name of
 those lawes that they reaine to this present, and after this, he the first king of
 desiring to sayle farther, in a great tempest that arose, was þ place: which
 drowned, wherefore for a memoriall of his death, they call they say was the
 those Seas yet, the Icarian Sea, and the kings of the Island his king of
 Icarie, and for that they were contented with that state, which Icarie dyed
 god had giue them, neither would they alter one tocke of their ad. Icarie dyed
 lawes and customes, they would not receiue any stranger, Icarian Sea.
 wherefore they requested our Prince, that hee would not Icarian Sea
 seeke to violate their lawes, which they had receiued from Icarie
 that king of whiche memoie and obserued very duly to that Icarie
 present: which if hee did attempt, it woulde rebounde to his Icarie
 manifest destruction, they being all resolutely bent rather to Icarie
 leaue their life, than to loose in any respect the vie of their Icarie
 lawes. Notwithstanding, that we should not thinke they Icarie
 did altogether refuse the conuersation and trafficke with Icarie
 other men, they tolde vs for conclusion that they would wil- Icarie
 lingly receiue one of our men, and prefferre him to be one Icarie
 of þ chiefe amongst them, only to learne my language the of the Icarie
 Italian tongue, and to bee enforced of our manners and ch- Icarie
 stomes.

Morum bega.

followed obstinately his purpose, their victuals would have
 sailed them, he departed with a faire winde and sailed five
 dayes to the Westwards, but the winde changing to the
 South-west and the Sea waering rough was sayled 4. dayes
 with the wind in the poupe and at length discovering land,
 we were afaire to approach neere unto it, being the Sea
 growen, and we not knowing what lande it was, but God
 prouided for vs, that the winde ceasing there came a greafe
 calme. Wherefore some of our companie robbing to land
 with sars, returned and brought vs word to our great com-
 forie, that they had founde a very good Countrie and a better
 harborough, vpon which newes we towd our ships & small
 Barkes to land, and being entred into the harborough, we
 sawe a farre of a great mountaine, & cast forth smoke, which
 gaue vs good hope that we should finde some inhabitants
 in y^e Island, neither would Zichmiri rest, although it were a
 great way of, but sent a 100. good soldiers to search the
 Countrie and bring report what people they were that inha-
 bited it, and in the meane time theyooke in wood & water
 for the provision of the Fleet, and catcht great store of fische
 and Sea foule and founde such abundance of birdes egges
 that our men that were halfe famished, were filled withall.
 Whiles we were riding here, began the month of June, at
 which time the ayre in the Island was so temperate and pleas-
 sant as is impossible to expresse, but when we coulde see no
 people at all, wee suspected greatly that this pleasant place
 was desolate and inhabited. Wee gaue name to the harbor
 calling it Trim, and the point that stretched our into y^e sea
 we called Capodi Trim. The 100. soldiers that were
 sent forth, eight dayes after returned, and brought word
 that they had been through the Island and at the mountaine
 and that the smoke was a naturall thing proceeding from a
 great fire that was in the bottome of the hill, and that there
 was a spring from which issued a certaine matter like pitch,
 which ran into the Sea, and that there aboutes dwelt greafe
 multitudes of people half wilde, having chrestures in caules of
 the

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Islands, as they had already received those other tenne of
 the same sundrie nations, that came unto their Island. To these
 things our Prince answered nothing at all, but causing his
 men to seeke some good harborough, hee made signes as
 though he would come on land, and sayling round about the
 Island, hee espied at length a harborough on the East side of
 the Island, where he put in with all his fleet, the mariners
 went on land to take in wood and water, which they did with
 as great speede as they coulde, doubting least they should
 be assaulted by the inhabitants as it fell out in deed, for those
 that dwelt there abouts, making signes unto the other with
 fire and smoke, put them selues presently in armes: and the
 other coming to them, they came al running downe to the
 Sea side vpon our men, with bowes and arrowes and other
 weapons, that many were slaine and diuers soye wounded.
 And we made signes of peace unto them, but it was to no
 purpose, for their rage increased more and more, as though
 they had fought for life and liuing. Wherefore wee were
 forced to depart and to sayle along in a great circle about
 the Island, being alwayes accompanied vpon the hill tops and
 the Sea coast with an infinite multitude of armed men, and
 so doubling the Cape of the Island towards the North, we
 found many great holdes amongst the which for the space of
 ten dayes we were in continual danger of losing our whole
 fleet, but that it pleased God all that while to send vs very
 faire weather. Wherefore proceeding on till we came to y^e
 East cape, we sawe the inhabitants still on the hill tops &
 by the Sea coast keepe with vs, and in making great out-
 cries & shooting at vs a farr of they hated their olde spite,
 full affection towards vs. Wherefore we determined to
 stay in some safe harborough, and see if we might speake once
 againe with the Islander, but our determination was true
 in vaine, for the people more like into brastles than men, stood
 continually in armes to intent to beat vs backe, if we should
 come on land. Wherefore Zichmiri seeing hee coulde
 not prevail and thought if hee should haue persecuted and
 followed

standing in that
 Island 10. men
 of our company

Islands and
 more of armed
 men in that

100. good sol-
 diers sent by
 Zichmiri to
 search the coun-
 trie (which
 countrie is not
 named.)

The ayre so re-
 freshing & sweete,
 as impossible is
 to expresse it.

Capo di Trim.
 The 100. sol-
 diers returned
 which had been
 through the Is-
 land, report
 what they sawe
 and found.

Monum bega.

have made thereof a particular booke, which by Gods helpe I will bring into the world: Wherein I have described the Countrey, the monstrous fishes, the customes and lawes of Frisland, Island, Eliland, the kingdom of Norway, Elotiland, Drogio, and in the ende the life of master Nicolo, the knight our voyager, with the discouerie which he made and of Gronland. I have also written the life and acts of Zichinni, since as worthe of immortall memory, as any that ever lived, for his great valiance and singular humancitie, wherewith I have described the discouerie of Engroueland on both sides, and the Citie that hee builded. Therefore I will speake no further hereof in this letter, hoping to be with you very shortly, and to satisfie you in sundrie other things by worde of mouth. All these letters were written by master Antonio to master Carlo his brother. And it greuethe me, that the booke and diuers other writings concerning these purposes, are miserably lost: For I being but a child, when they came to my handes, and not knowing what they were, (as the manner of children is) I tooke them, and read them in peeces, which now I cannot call to remembrance but with grief. Notwithstanding, that the memory of so many good things should be lost: whatsoeuer I could get of this matter, I have disposed and put in order, in the former discourse, to the ende that this age might see partly satisfied, to which we are more beholden for the great discoueries made in those partes, then to any other of the time past, being most studious of the relations of the discoueries of strange Countreies, made by the great intrades, and industry of our nationours.

This discourse was collected by *Ramusio* Secretarie to the State of Venice, (or by the Printer Tho. Giunti.)

John Baptista Ramusio, died in Padua in July, 1577.

6

The discouery of

the grounde, of small stature, and very fearful, for as soone as they sawe them they fled into their holes, and that there was a great river and a very good harborough. Zichinni being thus entranced, and seeing that it had a hollowe pure ayre, and a very fruitfull soyle and fayre rivers with sundrie other commodities, fell into such liking of the place, that hee determined to inhabite it, and build there a Citie.

But his people being weary and faint with their long and scorous travails began to murmur and murmure, saying that they would returne into their Countrey, for that the winter was at hand, and if they entered into the harborough, they should not be able to come out againe before the next Sommer. Therefore hee retaining only the Barkes with Darts and such as were willing to stay with him, sent all the rest with the shippes backe againe, and willed that I, (though unwilling) should see their Captaine. I therefore departed, sayled for the space of twentie dayes to the Eastward without sight of any land, then turning my course towards South-east in five dayes I discovered lande and founde my selfe upon the Isle of Neome and knowing the Countrey, I perceived I was past Islande: wherfore taking in some fresh victuals of the inhabitants being subiect to Zichinni, I sayled with a faire winde in three dayes to Frisland, wher the people, who thought they had lost their helpe, because of his long absence, in this our voyage, received us very joyfully.

That followed after this letter I knowe not but by conjecture, which I gather out of a peece of an other letter, which I will set downe heere underneath: That Zichinni builde a towne in the port of the Island that hee discovered, and that hee searched the Countrey very diligently, and discovered it all, and also the rivers on both sides of Engroueland, for that I see it particularly described in the Sea-card.

but the discourse of narration is lost. The beginning of the letter is thus. Concerning those things that you desire to knowe of mee, as of the men and their manners and customes, of the beastes and the Countreys adjoining, I have

Zichinni determined to remaine in the land, kept with him his barkes with some that were willing to goe with him, and I appointed Antonio Zichinni his chief captaine of them, Antonio Zichinni had sight of Frisland, and I perceived I was past Island.

Ende of the 4. Letter.

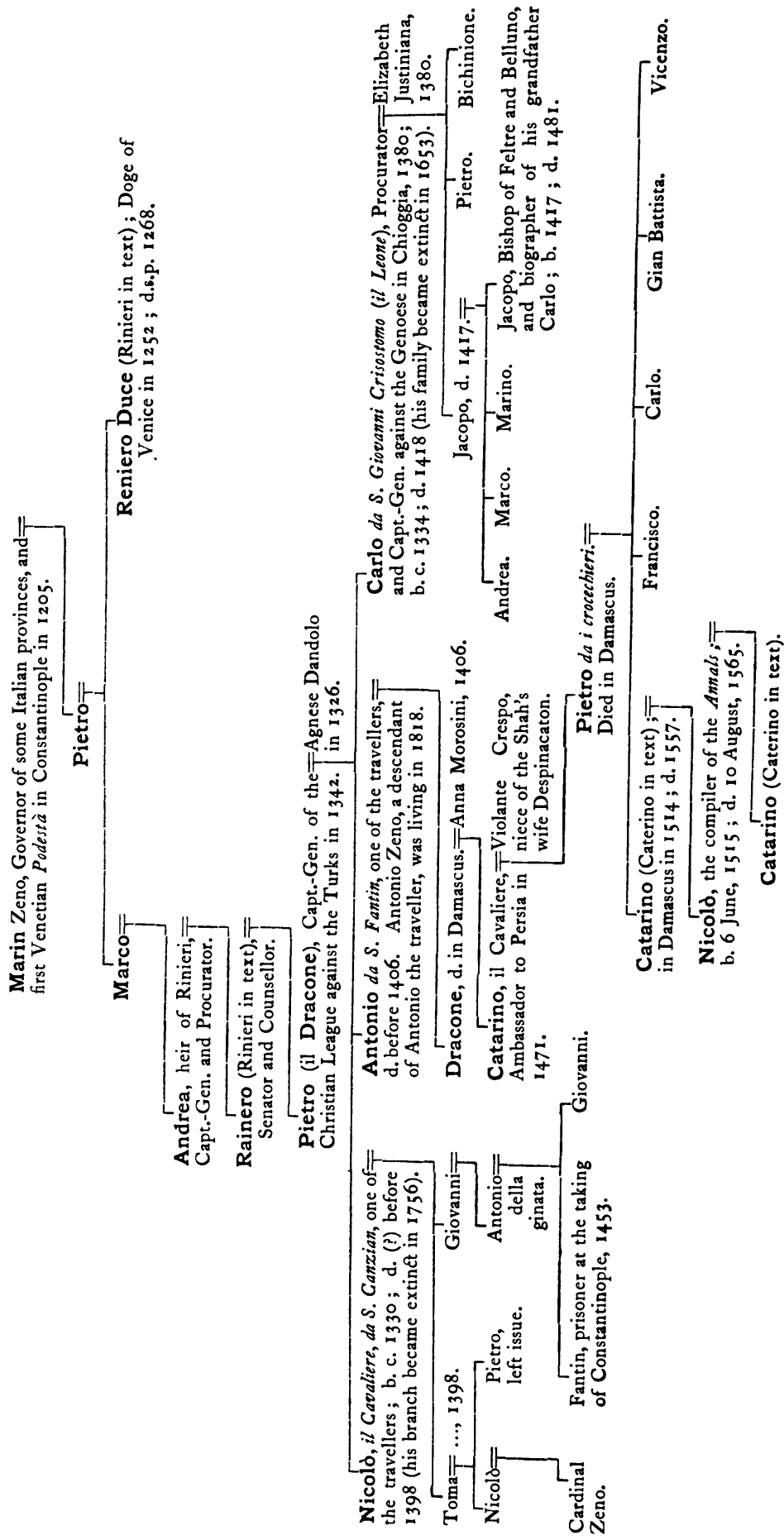
Ende of the 5. Letter.

APPENDIX III.

Extended version of the Pedigree of the Zeno Family given on the verso of folio 44 of the *Commentarii*.

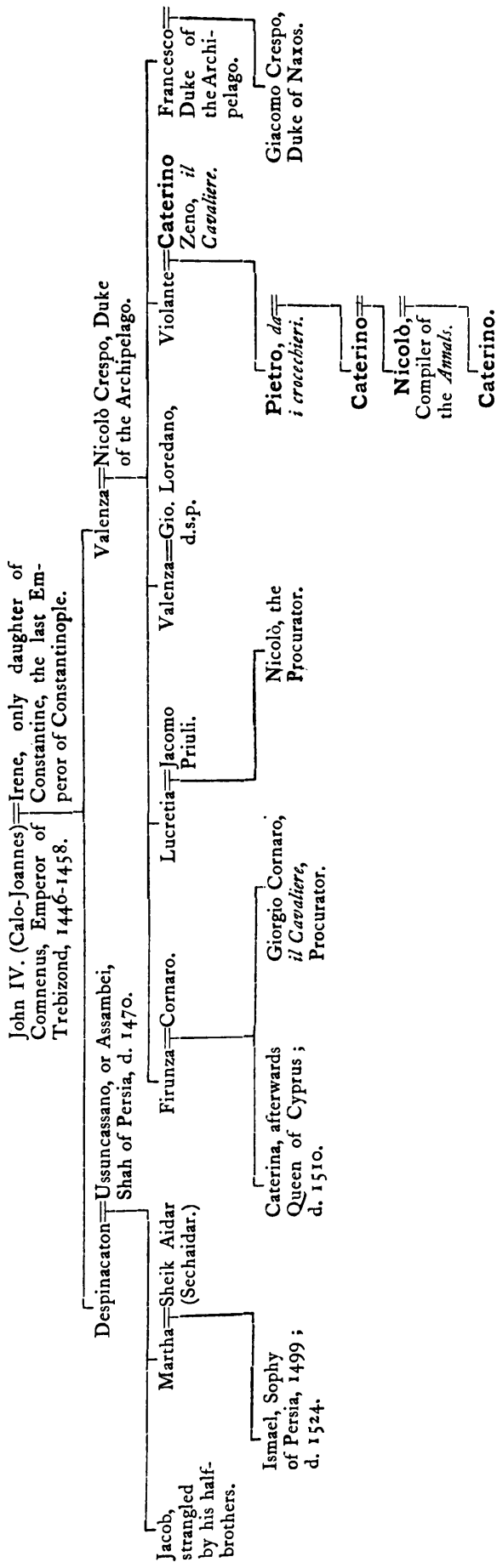
[The additions are principally derived from the travels of Caterino Zeno in Persia, in the earlier part of the *Commentarii, etc.*; Ramusio's *Navigazioni et Viaggi*, vol. ii. (ed. 1574), pp. 65, etc.; Zurla's *Dissertazioni, etc.*, 1808, cap. 2, and *Dei Viaggi, etc., di N. et A. Zeni in Di Marco Polo, etc.*, 1818, vol. ii., cap. 2, etc., etc.]

SKELETON PEDIGREE OF THE VENETIAN FAMILY OF ZENO.*



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 Zena*. (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.)
2. The Fra Mauro map, 1457-1459. (Baron Heath's full-sized photograph.) See Plate I.
3. The Zamoiski map, 1467. (Nordenskjöld's *Facsimile Atlas*, Plate XXX.) See Plate II.
4. Fifteenth century map in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence.
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. Engronelant, Norbegia, Suetiaque, et Gottia occidentalis. (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.

	Zamoiski Map, 1467.	Florence Map, No. 1. 14—(?)	Florence Map, No. 2. 14—(?)	Florence Map, No. 3 14(?)	Donis Ptolemy, 1482.	Zeno Map, 1558.	Zeno Text, 1558.	Ruscelli, 1561. Moletius, 1562.
1	Gronelandia	...	Gronelanth	Gronelanth	...	Crolandia	Grolanda	{ Crolandia ... } Gronelant ... }
2	...	...	...	...	...	S. Tomas Zenobitum.	{ Chiesadedicata } à San Tomaso }	S. Tomas Zenobius
3	Ther pmō	Ther pmō	Ther pmot (bis)	Ther pm̄	Ther pmō	Ther promōt	...	Ther prom
4	Boyer f.	Bever flu ^a	Boier f. Bever fl.	Boier flu.	Boier fl.	Boier f.	...	Boier f
5	...	...	...	...	...	Chin pm	...	Chan prom
6	Naf f.	Naf fl ⁹	Naf fl	Naf f.	...	Naf f.	...	Naf f
7	Hien p.	Hien pmōt	Hien pmonte	Hien pro	Hien pmon	Hian promontor	...	Hian prom
8	Engronelan*	...	Engrolant*	Engronelanth*	Engronelant*	ENGRONELANT	Engroveland	Engronelant
9	Yhi pmō.	Yi pm.	Yc pmote	vgi pmōt	Y pmō	Gli promontor	...	Giu prom
10	Landé f.	Landé fl ⁹	Landé f.	Landé f.	Landé fl	Landé f.	...	Landé. f
11	Mūder pro.	Munderh p	Mūder pmō.	Mūder pro	Mud pmō	Munder pmontor	...	Munder prom
12	Han f.	Han flui ⁹	...	Han f.	...	Han f.	...	...
13	Triu p.	Ceum pmō	Trir pmō	Trin pmō	...	Trin pmontor	Capo di Trin	Trin prom
14	Aner fl	Aver pmō	Aver prom (?)	Aner f.	...	A ier f	...	Aver f
15	Af p.	Haff pmō	Af pmōt	Af pmō.	Af pmō	Af pmontor	...	Af prom
16	Nice f	Nice flm	Nice fl	Nice f.	...	Nice f	...	Nice f
17	Hoen p.	Hoen pmōt.	Hoen pmōt	Hoen p.	...	Hoen promontor	...	Hoen prom
18	Han f.	Han flui ⁹	Hain fl.	Han f.	Han fs	Han f.	...	Han f
19	Daner pmō	Daner pmōtor	Daner pmote	Oaver p	Oauer pmō	Diaver pmontor	...	Diaver prom
20	Flesde f.	Flesele fl	Fleschle fl	Flesde flu	Flestle ff	Fiestle	...	Fiste
21	Hic pmō	Hic prom	Hit pmote	Hic pmō	Hic pmō	Hit pmontor	...	Hit prom
22	Feder fl	...	Foder fl ⁹	Feder f.	...	Feder f	...	Feder f.
23	Druier f.	Druier flui ⁹	Druier fl	Druier f.	...	Druier fumen	...	Druier f.
24	Sadi p.	...	Sadi pmōt (bis)	Sadi pmō	Sadi pmō	Sadi pmōtor	...	Sadi prom
25	Nha pmōtorū	Naa pmōtorium	Na pmōt	Nha pmō	Na pmō	Nha pmontor	...	Nha prom
26	Neum pmōt	Neum promontor.	Neum pmote	Neum pmōt	...	Neum pmontor	...	Neum prom

* On the four maps marked with an asterisk, Engronelant appears a second time on the Northern part of the Scandinavian Peninsula.

NAMES ON ICELAND.

	Zamoiski Map, 1467.	Florence Map, No. 1, 14—(?)	Florence Map, No. 2, 14—(?)	Florence Map, No. 3, 14—(?)	Donis Ptolemy, 1482.	Olaus Magnus, 1539.	Mercator, 1554.	Zeno Map, 1558.	Zeno Text, 1558.	Ruscelli, 1561. Moletius, 1562.
27	Islandia	Islandia	Islandia	Islandia	Islandia	Islandia	Islandia	Islandia	Islandia	Islandia
28	Thirhos	Hofos	Thir	Tuhos	Tirchos	Hanaford	Hanaford	Anaford	...	Anaford
29	...	...	...	...	...	Jokel	...	Tuhos	...	Tulos
30	...	...	...	...	...	Vestrabord	Westrabord...	Joucl	...	Jouci
31	Hauos f	...	Hauos fl.	Hanos f	...	...	...	Vestrabo	...	Votrabor
32	Knesol	Knesol pmöt.	Knesol	Knesol	Klesol	Holensis	Holen	Honos f	...	Honos f
33	Hollösis	Hollensis	Hollensis	Hollensis	Hollensis	...	...	Conesol	...	Cenesol
34	...	Hanog pñ	Hanos	...	Hanos	...	...	Olensis	...	Olensis
35	Nader	ader pm	Maere	Nader	Naderos	...	...	Havos	...	Havos
36	Maere	Maere prom	Maere	...	Maere	...	...	Noder	...	Noder
37	...	Esdos	Harsis	Osdos	Dos	...	...	Mane	...	Mane
38	...	Harsis	Harsis	Harsol	Haisel	...	...	Dos	...	Dos
39	...	Steloch	Steloch	Steloch	Velonick	Vallen	...	Aisel	...	Aisol
40	Stelonth	...	...	Steloch	...	...	...	Valen	...	Valen
41	...	...	...	...	...	Foglasker	...	Stelofth	...	Stelofth
42	...	...	...	...	...	Chaos	...	Flogascer	...	Flogascer
43	...	...	...	...	...	Rok	...	Ochos	...	Ochos
44	...	...	...	...	...	Scalholdin	Roxk	Rok	...	Rok
45	...	...	...	...	...	Scalholdin	Scalholdin	Scalodid	...	Scalodid

NAMES ON ISLANDS OFF THE SOUTH AND EAST COASTS OF ICELAND.

	Zeno Map, 1558.	Zeno Text, 1558.	Ruscelli, 1561. Moletius, 1562.
46	Mimant	Mimant	Minant
47	Bres	Bres	Bres
48	Talas	Talas	Ialas
49	Danbert	Damperc	Dambert
50	Brons	Broas	Brons
51	Iscant	Iscant	Iscant
52	Trans	Trans	Trans
53	Grislada	OFF SOUTH COAST. Grislanda	Grislada

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— (?)	Olaus Magnus, 1539.	Mattheus Prunes, 1553.	Mercator, 1554.	Zeno Map, 1558.	Zeno Text, 1558.	Ruscelli, 1561. Maleitus, 1562.	Lafrezi, 1561 (?)	
54	...	Ixilandia	Fixlanda	Fare	Fixlanda	Farre insule	FRISLAND	Frislanda...	Frisland	FRISLAND	54
55	Monachus.	...	...	Monaco	...	Monaco	(notin field of map)	55
56	Porlanda	...	Porlanda	...	Porlanda	Portland	Porlanda	P. Orlanda	56
57	Gamola	...	Grimola	...	Ocibar	...	Ocibar	Ocibar	57
58	Lavina	...	Lavina	...	C. Cunala	...	C (?) Cunala	Ocunala	58
59	Sudero	...	Sudero	Vernas	...	Vernai	Vena	59
60	Sanestol	...	Sunifise	...	Sudero colfo	Sudero	Sudero colfo	Sudero Colfo	60
61	Inestol	...	...	...	...	...	Sanestol	Sanestol	Sanestol	Sanestol	61
62	Liderovo	...	...	...	...	...	Ledeve	Ledovo	Ledeve	{ (not in field of	62
63	C. di viya	...	C. de viya	...	Ilofe	Ilofe	Ilofe	map)	63
64	C. deria	...	C. deria	C. Deria	64
65	Nordero	...	Nordero	Banar	...	Banar	Banar	65
66	Colfo Nordero	...	Colfo Norda	C. Nordei	66
67	{ Porci	...	Porti	...	Bondendea	Bondendon.	{ Bondendea	Bondendea	67
68	Carua	...	Caruo	...	C. Bouct	...	C. Bouct	Porti	68
69	Espraya (bis)	...	Espraya (bis)	...	Cabaru	...	C. Cabaru	C. Bouet	69
70	Sibideu	...	Sibideu	...	Spagia	...	Cabaru	Cabaria	70
71	...	Odifordi	Bodifordi	...	Godifordi	...	C. Vidil	...	Spagia	Spagia	71
72	Aqua (bis)	...	Aqua	...	Andefort	...	...	C. Vidil	72
73	Aqua	...	Andefort	Andefort	73
74	Dolfo	...	Aqua	Aqua	74
75	Forau and Forasi	...	Forasi	...	Alanco	...	...	Dolfo	75
76	Dumo	...	Duino	Forali	...	Forali	Alanco	76
77	Compa	...	Compo	...	Dvi	...	Duilo	Forali	77
78	Campa	...	Campa	Dvi.	78
79	Logosi los	...	Campa	Campa	79
80	Carne	...	Carne	...	Rane	...	Logosi	Logosi los	80
81	Vadin	...	Rane	Rane	81
82	Abde	...	Vadin	Vadin	82
83	Piglu	...	Abde	Abde	83
84	Sabrius	...	Sabius	...	Ibini	...	Piglu	Piglu	84
85	Rodeal	...	Radeal	...	Rifu	...	Ibini	Bini	85
86	...	bodeal	...	Faren	...	Farre.	Rodea	...	Rifu	Rifu	86
87	Frisland (town)	Frislanda	Rodea	Rodea	87
							Frisland	Frislanda	Frisland	Frisland	

88	...	Dorosais	...	Dorasais	...	Dossais	...	88
89	...	Godinech	...	Strems	...	Strems	...	89
90	...	Godinech	...	Godinech	...	Godmec	...	90
91	...	Estuya	...	Estuya	...	Spirige	...	91
92	...	Isola Solan { (detached) }	...	Solanda	...	SORAND	...	92
93	...	Annius	...	...	...	Aneses	...	93

NAMES ON TWO ISLANDS.

94	...	...	...	ille neome	...	Neome	...	94
95	...	...	...	illa portlanda.	...	Podalida.	...	95

NAMES ON NORWAY, SWEDEN, AND DENMARK.

	<i>Olaus Magnus, 1539.</i>	<i>Mercator, 1554.</i>	<i>Tramezzini, 1558.</i>	<i>Zeno Map, 1558.</i>	<i>Zeno Text, 1558.</i>	<i>Ruscelli, 1561. Moletius, 1562.</i>
96	NORVEGIA	Norvegia	NORVEGIA	NORVEGIA	NORVEGIA	NORVEGIA
97	Troms	Trunis	...	Trons	...	Trons
98	Langanes	Langanas	...	Langens	...	Lunga
99	Helgalandia	Helgaland	...	Engal	...	Engal
100	Trondo	Trondanas	...	Trondo	...	Trondo
101	Trondem	Trundhem, Nidrosia	...	Diuten	...	Diuten
102	...	...	...	Stoppel	...	Stoppel
103	Brue	...	...	Bruc	...	Bruc
104	Scorpe	Skorpna	...	Scorv	...	Score
105	Stad	...	...	Stat	...	Stat
106	...	...	...	Stesont	...	Stesoni
107	Bergen	...	...	Bergen	...	Bergen
108	Scutenes	Scutenes	...	Scutenes	...	Scutenes
109	...	...	...	Scute	...	...
110	...	Gansendael	Gransendael	Gasendel	...	Gasendeb
111	...	...	Ekessont	Escescent	...	Escescet
112	...	...	...	Raceuit (?)	...	Raceuit
113	...	...	...	Tlant	...	Tlant
114	...	...	...	Geranes	...	Geranes
115	Succia	Suecia	...	SVLGIA	...	SVEGIA
116	Gothia	Gothia	...	GOCIA	...	GOCIA
117	DANIA	DENEMARCK	...	DANIA	...	DANIA
118	Bovenberg...	...	...	Bovenbergen	...	Bonuenbergen
119	...	Myning insula	...	Munit	...	Munit
120	...	...	...	Uthoc	...	Uthoc
121	...	...	...	Fanu	...	Fanu
122	...	...	...	Manu	...	Manu
123	...	Rim ins.	...	Ruin	...	Ruit
124	...	...	...	Salt	...	Sal
125	...	...	...	Aniere	...	Aniere
126	...	...	...	Fuy	...	Fuy

Appendix IV.—continued.

NAMES ON SHETLAND.

	<i>Fra Mauro</i> , 1459.	<i>Zamositi Map</i> , 1467.	<i>Donis Ptolemy</i> , 1482.	<i>Olaus Magnus</i> , 1539.	<i>Mercator</i> , 1554.	<i>Zeno Map</i> , 1558.	<i>Zeno Text</i> , 1558.	<i>Ruscelli, 1561. Molitius, 1562.</i>	<i>Lafreri, 1561 (?)</i>
127	Stillante ...	Herlant ...	Hetlant ...	Hetlandia ...	Hetlant ...	ESTLAND ...	{ Estlandia and Eslanda }	ESTLAND ...	ESTLAND ...
128	Oloford ...	...	Oloford ...	Oloford ...
129	Onlefort ...	...	Onlefort ...	Onlefort ...
130	Incaford ...	...	Incaford ...	Incaford ...
131	Sonueral ...	...	Sonueral ...	Sonueral ...
132	Incafort ...	...	Incafort ...	Incafort ...
133	Sandetot ...	...	Sandeuic ...	Sandetot ...
134	Plodi ...	...	... ..	P. ludi ...
135	Lonabies ...	...	... ..	Lonabies ...
136	Itlant ...	...	Itlant ...	Itlant ...
137	Brystund ...	...	Bristund ...	Bristund ...
138	Skaluogh ...	...	Scaluogi ...	Scaluogi ...
139	Eccle S. Magnus ...	...	S. Mignus ...	S. Magnus ...
140	Fledero ...	...	Eledere ...	Eledere ...
141	Svinborhuit ...	...	S. Vmbercouit..	Sumbercouit ...

NAMES ON SCOTLAND AND ADJACENT ISLANDS.

142	Scotia ...	Scotie Regnum ...	Scotia ...	Scotie pars ...	Scotia ...	Scotia ...	Scotia ...	Scotia ...	... ..
143	...	Leaist ...	Levist ...	Livs ...	...	Tev ...	...	Teu ...	Levissa ...
144	...	beira ...	bara ...	...	...	Ara ...	...	Ara ...	Bure ...
145	...	...	...	...	...	Lopapia ...	...	Lopapia ...	... ..
146	...	...	...	...	...	Contanis ...	...	Contanit ...	Cathencia ...

MISCELLANEOUS NAMES.

147	...	...	...	...	...	ICARIA*	ICARIA ...	ICARIA ...	... ..
148	...	...	...	...	...	ESTOTILAND*	ESTOTILANDA ...	ESTOTILAND ...	... ..
149	...	...	...	...	...	DROGIO*	DROGIO ...	DROGIO ...	... ..
150	...	...	...	...	...	{ Mare et terræ incognitæ }	{ Drogeo ... }	{ Drogeo ... }	{ Open Sea and Gvardvys } INSULA }

* 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. EGGERS, 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., *Brödrene Zeno's Reiser*, in *Grönlands Historiske Mindesmærker*.
1852. LELEWEL, Joachim, *Géographie du Moyen Age*.
1855. ERIZZO, Miniscalchi, *Scoperte Artiche*.
1873. MAJOR, R. H., *Voyages of the Venetian Brothers Nicolò 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 *Fourn. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xlix.
1883. STEENSTRUP, Japetus, *Zeniernes Reiser i Norden*, in *Årboger for Nord Oldkindighed*.
1884. " " *Les Voyages des Frères Zeni dans le Nord*, in *Compte Rendu du Congrès des Americanistes*, Copenhagen, 1884.

IDENTIFICATIONS OF NAMES ON ICELAND.

	1558. <i>Zeno Map.</i>	1794. <i>Eggers.</i>	1845. <i>Bredsdorff.</i>	1852. <i>Leleuel.</i>	1855. <i>Erizzo.</i>	1873. <i>Major.</i>
27	ISLANDA	Iceland	Iceland	Iceland	...	...
28	Anaford	Arnafordr	...	Hanförd	...	...
29	Tuhos	...	Tjaldanes (?) or Thorsnes	...	...	...
30	Joucl	...	Glamajökull (?)	Snæfelsyokel	...	...
31	Vestrabö	Vestrophsholar	...	Bardstrand in Westland	...	...
32	Honos f	Mouth of the Hunavatsna	...	R. Hounavals	...	...
33	Conesol	Spakonufells or Skagastrandar-Höfn	Spákonufell	Tindasföll (?)	...	...
34	Olensis	Holar	Holar	Halar	...	...
35	Havos	Hofos	Hofós	Ile Heis	...	...
36	Noder	Modruvalla Klaustr	...	Modervaller	...	...
37	Mane	Munke Thvera Klaustr	...	Minotn	...	...
38	Dos	Eyafalla } both in Rangarvalla- Rangarvalla } syssla	Eyjafjöll	Orosoe	...	...
39	Aisel	Scalvoqr in Arnesyssla	{ Steinsholt in Rangarvalla Syssel— or, perhaps, Skalholt }	Ranaa Valle	...	...
40	Valen	* Geirfugleasker, near Reykianes	Oxará	Siglavik	...	...
41	Steloth	Reykjavik in Guldbringessysla	{ Reykjavik, or, perhaps, Reykjanes }	Fugle aster	...	...
42	Flogascer	Skalholt	Skalholt	Aas (?)	...	...
43	Ochos	...	...	...	...	...
44	Rok	...	...	...	...	...
45	Scalodin	...	...	Skalholt	...	...

IDENTIFICATIONS OF NAMES ON SEVEN ISLANDS EAST OF ICELAND.

46	The Islands together	Austfordingafjordungr	Part of Iceland	Part of Iceland	Shetlands (misplaced)	Shetlands (misplaced)...
47	Mimant	{ Myvatn, N. part of Mulesysla and greater part of Thingeyarsysla }	Myvatnssveit	† Iles Meinaar, or I. Moisen	Mainland	Mainland ...
48	Bres	† Part of Mulesysla	Bersastad	Mouth of R. Brou	Bresla	Bressay ...
49	Talas	Part of Mulesysla	The Icelandic Dalr	Tangoe	Isell	Yelli ...
50	Danbert	Breidamerksiökul in Skaptafellssysla	{ Bjarnanes (?), further south than Berunes }	...	Hemer in N. of Mainland	Hamna ...
51	Brons	Borunes in Mulesysla	Skopta	Berouford	Burras	E. and W. Barras ...
52	Isant	Skapta, in W. of Skaptafellssysla	Torfajökul	Escaford	Unst	Unst ...
53	Trans	Torfajökul	Torfajökull	...	Tronda	St. Ronans Isle ...

* Gairfowl's Skerries = Great Auk's Rocks. There were three, if not four, skerries so called round Iceland; the one here referred to disappeared in 1830. The last gairfowl was killed on Eidey Island in 1844.
 † Leleuel (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 = Bersastad.

IDENTIFICATION OF NAME OF AN ISLAND

	1558. <i>Zeno Map.</i>	1784. <i>J. R. Forster.</i>	1784. <i>Buache.</i>	1794. <i>Eggers.</i>	18—. <i>Walckenaer.</i>	1845. <i>Bredsdorff.</i>	
53	Grislada ...	{ Grimsey, or per- haps Enkhuysen }	... ..	Westmanna Is. ...	Mainland Shetlands.	{ Gorsoc, near the Romsdal, Norway }	53

IDENTIFICATIONS OF

54	FRISLAND ...	{ Fara, a small island in the Orkneys }	The Faroes ...	The Faroes ...	N.E. part of Ireland	Faero ...	54
55	Monaco ...	... ..	Munk ou Le Moine ...	Munken ...	... ..	Munken ...	55
56	Porlanda ...	The Faroes ...	Suderoe ...	Part of Syderoe ...	N.E. part of Ireland	Porkeri ...	56
57	Ocibar ...	... ..	... ..	Giöguará ...	... ..	Gjögvaraa ...	57
58	C. Cunala ...	... ..	... ..	Oexlin ...	... ..	Quönnafjeld ...	58
59	Verias ...	... ..	... ..	(Vena) Famian ...	... ..	(Vera) Beinisvera ...	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 ...	Skuoë ...	Uist ...	Myggenæs ...	63
64	C. Deria ...	... ..	... ..	Frodl hoddi ...	... ..	Tréfair ...	64
65	Banar ...	... ..	... ..	Skopunnarvig ...	... ..	Baren ...	65
66	Colfo Nordero ...	... ..	{ Sound between Stromoe and Waagoe }	... ..	... ..	{ Vestman- havns-fjord }	66
67	Bondendea } Porti }	Pondontown in Skye ...	... ..	{ Near Kirkeboe, } Thorshavn }	Brandon in Kerry ...	{ (?) Funding dal Vestmanhavn }	67
68	C. Bouët ...	... ..	Mygnes ...	Mygenæs ...	... ..	Mulen ...	68
69	Cabaru ...	... ..	... ..	C. Beari ...	... ..	Svartaa ...	69
70	Spagia ...	... ..	I. Stachen ...	Saxenhavn ...	... ..	Stakken ...	70
71	C. Vidil ...	... ..	... ..	Kiedling ...	... ..	Eide ...	71
72	Andefort ...	... ..	Andefort ...	Andafjord ...	... ..	Andefjord ...	72
73	Aqua ...	... ..	Funding ...	... ..	... ..	Gjogv ...	73
74	Dolfo ...	... ..	... ..	Kalsoe ...	... ..	Kalsö ...	74
75	Alanco ...	... ..	... ..	Blanskaali ...	... ..	Blankskaale ...	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 ...	... ..	Fugloe ...	A rock ...	... ..	(Piglu) Fuglō ...	83
84	Ibini ...	... ..	Bispen ...	Svinoe ...	... ..	(Ibini) Svinō ...	84
85	Rifu ...	... ..	... ..	... ..	... ..	Rideviig ...	85
86	Rovea ...	... ..	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 ...	... ..	Nolsoe ...	Stor Dimon ...	... ..	Strömō ...	89
90	Godmec ...	... ..	Thorshavn ...	Strait Skaalevig ...	... ..	Skaaleviig ...	90
91	Spirige ...	... ..	... ..	Porkerjinæs ...	... ..	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	Neome ...	... ..	... ..	Foula ...	Isla ...	Foula ...	94
95	Podanda ...	... ..	... ..	Fair Isle ...	... ..	Pentland ...	95

OFF SOUTH COAST OF ICELAND.

	1852. <i>Leleuel.</i>	1855. <i>Erizzo.</i>	1873. <i>Major.</i>	1879. <i>Irminger.</i>	1884. <i>Steenstrup.</i>	
53	{ Grossey, Orkneys }	...	{ Corruption of Wrislanda = Frislanda = Resland = 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	Oravujik (?) ...	...	...	Orebakke ...	Orebakke on the S. ...	57
58	Kvalbja (Bay) ...	...	...	...	Conical hill on Reykianes (Italian = cuneale)	58
59	W. of Witternes ...	...	...	...	...	59
60	Sudero Sund ...	...	Sudero fjord ...	...	Sudere Tiede in continental Friesland ...	60
61	Sandoe ...	...	{ Sandsbugt in Sandoe }	{ Budensland Havnefjord Hvalfjord }	Steinsolt in Sudere Tiede ...	61
62	Troll-hoddi I. ...	...	Lille Dimon ...	...	...	62
63	Kolter I. ...	...	{ Store Dimon and Skuoe }	...	...	63
64	Draasund ...	...	...	Snæfeldsnæs ...	Snæfeldsnesset ...	64
65	...	...	...	Bjarnarhöfn ...	Bjarnarhafn = Stykkisholmr ...	65
66	Washes Vaagoe ...	...	...	Brede Bugt ...	Nordere Tiede in continental Friesland ...	66
67	{ Town on the Island Vaagoe }	...	Norderdahl ...	Budardalr Stykkisholm ...	Bondum or Bundum in Nordere Tiede }	67
68	{ Mujlingur, S. point of Stromoe }	...	...	...	C(olfo) Bolungur ...	68
69	...	...	...	...	Fuglebærg ...	69
70	Svujnajir ...	...	...	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 = Hvitabjorn's Vandet = Hunavatn }	75
76	Bordoe ...	...	...	...	* Hvalvatnsfjodr-pt. (See 74.) ...	76
77	Deble in Bordoe ...	...	...	...	Grimsey ...	77
78	...	...	...	...	Sletta = a field, a plain ...	78
79	Blankkala ...	...	...	Langanæs ...	...	79
80	{ Île Kunoj with its town Kuni }	...	...	Raudanæs ...	Randanæs ...	80
81	Videroe ...	...	...	Vapnafjord ...	...	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	Mavanæs ...	...	...	Arnæs-syssel ...	Arnessyssel ...	93

ON TWO ISLANDS.

94	Foula ...	...	...	...	...	94
95	Fair Isle ...	...	Pentland ...	...	...	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>Bredsdorff.</i>	1852. <i>Lelevel.</i>	
96	NORVLICIA	Norway	... Tromsøe	... Trones on I. Hindoen	96
97	Trons	Langnes in Vesteraalen	... Langnæs in Vesteraalen	... Langenes on Langoen	97
98	Langens	Helgeland	... Helgeland	... Engelvaer	98
99	Engal	Trondhjem	... Trondhjem	... Drontheim (Trondhjem)	99
100	Trondo	(Toruten) Trondhjem's Leed	... Trondhjems Leed	... Titteren	100
101	Diuten	Stoppeloer	... Stoppeløerne	... Stoppel	101
102	Stopel	Bresund	... (Bive) Bresund (?)	... Breedsund	102
103	Brue	Skorpoe	... Scorv or Skorpø	... Stordal (Roemesdal)	103
104	Scorv	Stadland	... Stat	... Stadland	104
105	Stat	Steensund or Stavenes	... Stavens or Steensund	... Steensund	105
106	Stesont	Bergen	... Skudenes	... Bergen	106
107	Bergen	Skudenes	... Skudenes	... Île Carmen	107
108	Scutenes	(Storoe (<i>Sciro</i>) between Hardanger Fjord and Selboefjord, or the land between Bukkeford and Bummelford	... Gjæsdal	... Île Carmen	108
109	Scute	Giesdal	... Gjæsdal	... Hitteroe	109
110	Gasendeb	Egersund	... Egersund	... Hitteroe	110
111	Eseset	Rasvaag on Hitteroe	... Resvaag in Hitterøe	... Hitteroe	111
112	Raccueit	Listerland	... Listerland	... Hitteroe	112
113	Tlant	Lindersnes	... Der news for Lindesnæs	... Hitteroe	113
114	Geranes	...	... Der news for Lindesnæs	... Hitteroe	114
115	SVLCIA	...	... Der news for Lindesnæs	... Hitteroe	115
116	GOCIA	...	... Der news for Lindesnæs	... Hitteroe	116
117	DANIA.	C. Bovbjerg	... Denmark	... Bovensberg	117
118	Bonvenbergen	Istmo (Strait)	... Bovbjerg	... Bovensberg	118
119	Munit	C. Vesterhorn	... Mindet	... Numet	119
120	Uthoc	Fanoc	... Vesterhorn	... Islet and point of peninsula Dodebergh	120
121	Fanu	Mandoe	... Fanø	... Fanoe, Panu	121
122	Manu	Romø	... Mandö	... Man, Manoe	122
123	Ruin	Sild	... Römö	... Romeo, Rem	123
124	Salt	Amrom	... Sylt	... Sylt	124
125	Aniere	Ford	... Amrom	... Amrom	125
126	Fuy	Ford	... För	... Foehr, Vour	126

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 (*teste* Lelewel), one at Oxford, the other in Paris. A small reproduction is given in the Atlas to Lelewel's *Géog. du Moyen Age*, and a description in the text of that work, Vol. I., Prolegomena liv-lxxvii, and Sections 54-64.
- 1154. Edrisi. Tabula Itineraria Edrisiana.** (2)
From a MS. Atlas in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (*teste* Lelewel). Small restoration of part in Atlas to Lelewel's *Géog. du Moyen Age*, Plates XI. and XII. Description in the same work, Vol. I., Sections 60-64, and Vol. III., pp. 73-220.
- 1360. Hyggeden, Ranulphus de. Imago Mundi.** (3)
Map illustrating the MS. *Polycronycon* of Hyggeden.
Reproduction in Lelewel's *Géog. du Moyen Age*, Atlas, Plate XXV.
- 1367. Pizigani, Francesco and Marco.** (4)
Map of the World. Original in the National Library, Parma.
Facsimile in Jomard's *Monuments Géographiques*, Map X. [Brit. Mus. S. 11. 1]; also, Photograph by F. Ödorici, Parma, 1873 [Brit. Mus. S. 202 (3*)].
- 1375. [Anon.] Atlas Catalan de Charles V., Roi de France.** (5)
(The "Catalane" Map.)
Facsimile in Santarem's *Atlas* [Brit. Mus. Tab. 1850. A.], Plate XIII.; and a better one in Delisle's *Documents Géographiques*, Paris, 1883 [Brit. Mus. S. 35. 5]; see also Fig. 3 on p. 107 *supra*, and No. 362.
- [1427, c.] Clavus, Claudius.** (6)
Map of the North Atlantic.
Facsimiles in Storm's *Den Danske Geograf Claudius Clavus* (*infra*, No. 362) and in Nordenskjöld's *Facsimile Atlas* (*infra*, No. 360). See also p. 58, *supra*.
- 1436. Bianco, Andrea.** (7)
Map. Original in Biblioteca Marciana, Venice.
Photograph by Ongania, Venice, 1879. See also p. 106, *supra*, fig. 1.
- 1448. Bianco, Andrea.** (8)
Map. Original in Biblio. Ambrosiana, Milan.
Photograph by Ongania, Venice, 1879.
- 1457-9. Mauro, Fra.** (9)
Mappa Mondo. Original in R. Biblio. Marciana di Venezia.
Full-sized photograph taken for Baron Heath. Small facsimiles in Lelewel's *Géog. du Moyen Age*, and in Zurla's *Mappamondo di Fra Mauro*, Venice, 1806. See Plate I., *infra*.
- [1467, c.] Zamoiski Map.** (10)
Original in Biblio. Zamoi-skiensi, Warsaw.
Reproduced in Nordenskjöld's *Facsimile Atlas*, 1889, and on a reduced scale in Plate II., *infra*.
- 14—? [Anon.] Catalan Map.** (11)
Original in Biblio. Ambrosiana, Milan. [S. P. II. 5.]
Reproduced in Baron Nordenskjöld'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.** (12)
[Sec. xv. $\frac{1}{2} \frac{3}{4} \frac{5}{9}$.]
Reproduced in Nordenskjöld's *Bidrag till Nordens Aldsta Kartografi*, Stockholm, 1892.
- 14—? [Anon.] Map of Scandinavia and Greenland, original in MS. of Christ. Ensenius' Descriptio Cicladum aliarumque insularum, in Biblio. Laurenziana, Florence.** (13)
[Plut. xxix., Cod. xxv., Sec. xv.]
Reproduced in Nordenskjöld's *Bidrag*, etc.
- 14—? [Anon.] Map of Scandinavia and Greenland, from a MS. Ptolemy in Biblio. Laurenziana, Florence.** (14)
[Plut. xxx., Cod. 3.]
Reproduced in Nordenskjöld's *Bidrag*, etc.
- 1482. Donis, Nicolaus.** (15)
Engronellant, Norbegia Suetiaque et Gottia Occidentalis. Map from the *Ptolemæi Cosmografia* (edited by Nicolaus Donis), Ulm, 1482.
See Plate III., *infra*.
- 1492. Behaim, Martin.** (16)
Globe.
Facsimiles in Ghillany's *Geschichte des Seefahrers Ritter, Martin Behaim*, Nuremberg, 1853; and, of part, in Lelewel's *Géog. du Moyen Age*.
- 1493. Schedel, Hartmann.** (17)
Registrum huius operis libri cronicarum cum figuris et ymaginibus ab inicio mundi. Schedel, Nuremberg, 1493. [The Nuremberg Chronicle.]
Map of North Europe on folio ccxcix verso.
- 1497. Ancone, Fredrici D' (Wolfenbutel).** (18)
Map.
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 fixo en el Puerto de Santa Maria en año de 1500.* Original in the Naval Museum, Madrid. (19)
Facsimiles in Jomard's *Monuments de la Géographie* (Map XVI.); of portions on Humboldt's *Examen Critique*; Lelewel's *Géog. du Moyen Age*; Stevens' *Historical Notes*. Full-sized facsimile by Vallejo and Traynor, Madrid, 1892. See also p. 106 *supra*, fig. 2.
1502. **Cantino, Alberto.** Carta da Navegar per le Isole novamen^{te} tr: &c. Original in Biblio. Estense, Modena. (20)
Facsimile in HARRISSE'S *Les Cortereal*, 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 HARRISSE'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 Florentino intitolato. Vicenza, M.CCCCXVII. (24)
- 1507 (?). **Sabellico, Marcantonio.** Storia della Repubblica di Venezia. (25)
Haym (*Biblioteca Italiana*, vol. i. p. 92, 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 Fislanda. See page 110, *supra*.
1508. **Madriagnano, Archangelo.** Itinerarium Portugallensium e Lusitania in Indiam & inde in occidentem & demum ad Aquilonem. Milan, MCCCCVIII. (28)
An inexact translation of No. 24.
1511. **Sylvanus, Bernardus.** C. Ptholemæi Liber Geographiæ cum Tabulis &c. Venice, M.D.XI. Folio. (29)
The version of Jacobus Angelus, edited by Bernardus Sylvanus of Eboli. Twenty-eight double-paged 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 Waltzeemüller (Hylacomylus), and most of them engraved as early as 1507.
1515. **Schöner, Johann.** Luculentissima quædam terræ totius descriptio: cum multis utilissimis Cosmographiæ iniciis &c. Nuremberg, Stuchsen, 1515. 4to. (32)
1516. **Giustiniano, Agostino.** Psalterium Hebræum Græcum Arabicum et Chaldæum 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. Venetia, MCCCCXVII. (34)
1521. **Martyr, Peter.** De nuper sub D. Carolo Repertis Insulis simulatq incolarum moribus R. Petri Martyris Enchiridion, &c. Basle, MDXXI. (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 4º. (36)
See HARRISSE, *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 Historiæ 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, MDXXVIII. (39)
1530. **Martyr, Peter.** De Orbe Novo Petri Martyris ab Angleria Mediolanensis Protonotarij Cesaris senatoris decades. Alcalá, 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 Martyre. 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, 1852-55. 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 Zurla 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. MDXXXVI. (46)
1537. **Grynæus, Simon.** Novvus Orbis Regionum ac Insularum veteribus incognitarum &c. Basle, MDXXXVII. 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^mi D. Ieronimi Quirini Patriarch: Venetiã. (50)
A unique copy of the original is in the State Library, Munich. Reduced facsimile in Brenner's *Die Achte Karte des Olaus Magnus*, 1886. Portion reproduced in Plate IV., *infra*.
1539. **Magnus, Olaus.** Opera breve, laquale demonstra, e dichiare overo da il modo facile da intendere la charta over delle terre frigidissime di Settentrione: 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 Ræmtonck's *Les Spheres Terrestre et Céleste*, 1541, 1551, de 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 Venitiana. 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. xix.
- [15—, c.] **Desceliers, Pierre.** Harleian (Desceliers) Mapped-Monde. (Manuscript.) (55)
[British Museum Add. MSS. 5413.]
1546. **Desceliers, Pierre.** Map. "Faiçtes à Arques par Pierre Desceliers, presb^{re} 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.**] Britannia Insulæ quæ nunc Angliæ et Scotia Regna continet, cum Hibernia adjacentia nova descriptio. Romæ. 2 Tabs., 1546. Map from *Lafreri'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 Gastaldi. 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 "Schonlandia Nova," Map 21 in this edition.
1550. **Desceliers, Pierre.** Map in the British Museum. [MSS. Add. 24,065.] (59)
1553. **Prunes, Matteus.** Original in Biblioteca Comunale, Siena. (60)
Partly reproduced in Kretschmer's *Entdeckung Amerika's*, 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 XVth, XVIth and XVIIth 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 Salle, 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. Avtore 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, Daniae et Terrarum adjacentium recens exactaque descriptio. MICHAELIS TRAMEZINI formis. Ex pont. Max. ac Veneti Senatus privilegio. MDLVIII. Jacob Bussius in æs incidebat. Map from Lafreri'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 Scoprimiento dell' Isole Frislanda, Eslanda, Engrovelanda, Estotilandia & 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., and 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. 2. 70^a]; 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. 119, *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 Navegar*, 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 Additarum & XXVI secundum seriem numerorum" is apparently from the same plate as No. XXXV. in the Ruscelli, 1561, *Ptolemy*.
1562. **Camocius, J. F.** Septentrionalium Regionum, Suetiæ, Gothiæ, Norvegiæ, Prussiæ, Pomeraniæ, Ducatus Megapolensis, Frisiæ, Geldriæ, Altæ Marchiæ, Lusætiæ 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)
Extract in Kretschmer's *Entdeckung Amerika's*, Berlin, 1892, Atlas, Tab. IV., No. 3, where the date 1514 is assigned. Desimoni reads the figures 1504, Uzzielli-Amat. 1564. The last date is no doubt the correct one. See *supra*, p. 113, Note 2.
1564. **Mercator [Kaufmann], Gerard.** Angliæ Scotiæ & Hiberniæ 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. MD.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 Nordenskjöld'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 "xx Maii. M.D.LXX"; the other, which bears the date "M.D.LXX" 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 (30).]
1570. **Stephanus, Sigurdus.** Map. Sigurdi Stephani terrarum hyperborearū delineatio Año 1570. (83)
Reproduced in Torfæus's *Gronlandia 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 del' 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 gia da M. Gio. Battista Ramusio. Venice, MDLXVIII. (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 Richarde Eden. Newly set in order, augmented and finished by Richarde Willes. Imprinted at London by Richarde Jugge. 1577. 8vo. (87)
1576. **Porcacchi, T.** L'Isole piu famose 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 seven islands off the east coast, and Grislanda. 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-Weast, 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 Leslæo, 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, *supra*.
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 Paule's 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 Nordenskjöld'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 materials. 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 Voiages 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. 314, *infra*.
1590. **Myritius, Ioannes.** Opusculum Geographicum rarum &c. . . . per Ioannem Myritium Melitensum, Ordinis Hospitalis Sancti Ioannis Hierosolymitani, Commendatorem Alemanni Monasterii ac domus Ratisponensis. Ingoldstadii Anno MDLXXX. (101)
Reference to the Zeni, Part II., chap. xix.
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 (*Exercises*, 6th ed., 1622, pp. 521-592), but no copy of it is now extant.
1595. **Map.** Europa Ost Kerstenrijck, in the *Caart Thresor* (p. 21). Amsterdam, 1595. (105)
1596. **Linschoten, J. H. van.** Itinerario oste 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 novae. Cologne, 1597. (107)
1597. **Wyffliet, Cornelius.** Descriptionis Ptolemaicæ Augmentum sive Occidentis notitia Brevi Commentario illustrata. Louvain, MDXCVII. (108)
Ed. Douai, 1603, p. 188 and map 19, "Estotilandia et Laboratoris Terra."
1598. **Veer, Gerrit De.** Waerachtige Beschryvinghe van drie Seylagien (*long title*). Gedacn 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, 1558. Folio. (111)
1598. **Linschoten, John Huighen.** J. H. Linschoten his Discours of Voyages into y^e Easte & West Indies. Deuided into Foure Bookes. Printed at London by Iohn Wolfe Printer to y^e Honorable Cittie of London, 1598. (112)
1598. **Barents, Willem.** Map. Delineatio cartæ Trium Navigationum per Batavos, ad Septentrionalem plagam, Norvegiæ, Moscoviæ, et Novæ Semblæ, et perq̄ fretum Weygatis Nassovicum dictum, ac juxta Groenlandiam, sub altitudinē 80 graduum necnon adiacentium partium Tartariæ, promontorii Tabin, frete Anian atq̄ regionis Bargi et Partis Americæ versus Orientem. Authore 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 Lvsitanorvm Indiam &c. Hagae-Comitis. Ex officinâ Alberti Henrici. Impensis Authoris et Cornelii Nicolai, prostantque apud Ægidium Elsevirum Anno 1599. (115)
Contains *Historia Trium Navigationum Batavorum in Septentrionem*, and Willem Barents' map *Delineatio 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 have 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 *Engronland, 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, Ralf 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 Zenian names, but the Zeni are not mentioned in the text.
1600. **Quad, Matthew.** Compendium Universi complectens Geographicarum enarrationes librò sex &c. . . . Ex optimis ut plurimum tam veterum quam hujus ævi scriptoribus excerpta &c. per Matthiam Quadum sculptorem. Coloniae Agrippinæ. Anno c10 dc. 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 navigationes Hollandorum, 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.** Delineatio Gronlandiæ Gudbrandi Thorlacii Episcopi Hollensis. Anno 1606. (Map.) (124)
- Shows Frisland and Estotelandia. Reproduced in Torfæus, *Gronlandia Antiqua*, 1715, p. 21, and, to illustrate *Om østerbygden*, by K. J. V. Steenstrup in *Meddelelser om Grønland*, part ix., pp. 1-51, plate 2.
- 1605 (?). [Anon.] The Stockholm Chart (illustrating James Hall's voyages). Original manuscript on paper in the Royal Library, Stockholm. (125)
- Reproduced with article by K. J. V. Steenstrup, in *Ymer*, 1886, pp. 83-86, Stockholm [Swedish Anthropological and Geographical Society]; Gosch, *The Danish Expeditions to Greenland* [Hakluyt Society, 1897, App. A]; Miller Christy, *An Early Chart of the North Atlantic* [Privately printed, London, 1897]; and (part) in *Meddelelser om Grønland*, part ix. [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 Frysland and Estotiland. Reproduced in *Meddelelser om Grønland*, part ix., 1889, Plate I.
1607. **Blefken, Ditmar.** 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. c10.10 cvii. [B. M. 794. d. 5.] (127)
1610. **Arngrim Jonas [Jonsson].** Crymogæa sive Rerum Islandicarum Libri III. Hamburg, 1610. [B. M. 590. e. 9/1.] (128)
1610. **Camden, William.** Britannia (Philemon Holland's translation). (129)
1612. **Gatonbe's Chart.** (130)
- Shows "Frisland" and "Bus ins." Partly reproduced in *Meddelelser om Grønland*, part ix., 1889, p. 48.
1613. **Arngrim Jonas [Jonsson].** Anatome Blefkeniana, qua Ditmari Blefkenii viscera, magis præcipua in Libello de Islandia, anno 1607 edito, convulsa, per manifestam exenterationem reteruntur. Typis Holensibus in Islandia boreali. Anno 1612. 12mo. [Brit. Mus. 153, a. 23.] (131)
1613. **Megisser, Jerome.** Septentrio Novantiquus, oder Die neue Nort Welt . . . durch Hieronymum Megiserum . . . Leipzig. Anno 1613. *Twelve maps.* (132)
- Gives a free translation of the Zeno narrative, with remarks thereon, pp. 121-178.
1613. **Gerritz, Hessel.** Descriptio ac delineatio Geographica Detectionis Freti, sive transitus ad Occasum supra terras Americanas in Chinam atq. Japonem ducturi. Recens investigati ab M. Henrico Hudsono Anglo, &c. . . . Amsterodami ex officina Hesselii Gerardi. Anno 1613. *Four maps and three plates.* (133)
1614. **Hulsius, Levinus.** Zwolffte Schiffahrt. 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 Frisland.
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, Frisland, Greenland, with St. Thomas Monast. and Bus Island.
1622. [Davy.] Les Estats, Empires, et Principavtez du Monde, &c. Par le Sr D. T. V. Y. Gentilhomme ord'ne de la chambre 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 Actes 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, contayning a History of the World, in Sea Voyages and lande Trauells 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 Blefken, p. 643; Arngrim Jonas, p. 654; 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 S^t 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, Blefken, and Wytfliet; 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 Leggatt, for John Partridge, 1633. *One map.* (144)
 Fzezeland 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, Othur, the two Zenis of Iseland, Estotiland and Dorgia . . . With the Author his own Voyage, being the XVIth . . . 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; Blefkens (Plifkins), 61-64; Arngrim Jonas, pp. 4, 5. Refers to Dorgio (Drogeo of the Zeni), p. 181.
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- 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 ALLARDT." (149)
 Reproduced in Müller's *Remarkable Maps of the XVIIth, XVIIIth and XIXth Centuries*, Amsterdam, 1894, Part I., Plates VII. and VIII. Shows Greenland, with some Zenian names, and Frisland.
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 Shows Frisland. Reproduced in Torfæus' *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 littoribus Gestarum Generalis Historia. Authore Claudio Barthol. Morisoto. Divione (Dijon), MDCXLIII. Folio. (152)
 Refers to the Zeni, p. 593, and to Frislandia, 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 Quæstionis. Amstelodami apud Ludovicum Elzevirium c10 10 cXLIII. (153)
 Pp. 20, 22, etc.
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- 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. c10 10 cXLIV. (155)
- 1646. Zabarella, Giacomo.** Trasea Peto, ovvero origine della serenissima famiglia Zeno. Padova, 1646. (156)
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 The maps show Frisland, 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 dv Sievr de La Boullaye-le-Gouz, Gentil-homme Angevin &c. &c. a Paris. M.DC.LIII. 4to. *Plate.* See No. 276. (161)

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- 1668-9. **Thorlacius, Theodorus.** Delineatio Gronlandiæ Theodori Thorlacii. Anno 1668. (166)
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1783. **Formaleone, V.** Storia curiosa delle aventure di Caterino Zeno tratta da un antico originale manoscritto ed ora per la prima volta pubblicata. Venice, 1783. (218)
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1819. **Daru, P. Antoine Noël Bruno.** Histoire de la République de Venise. Paris, 1819. (249)
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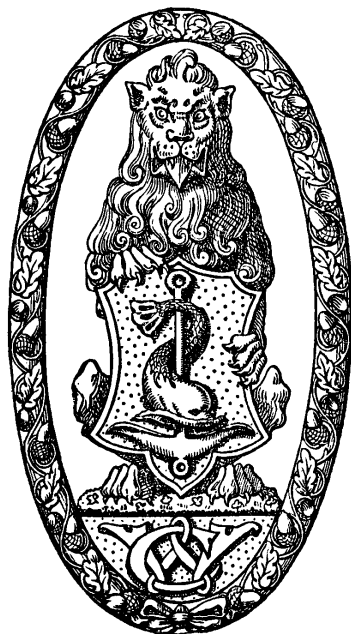
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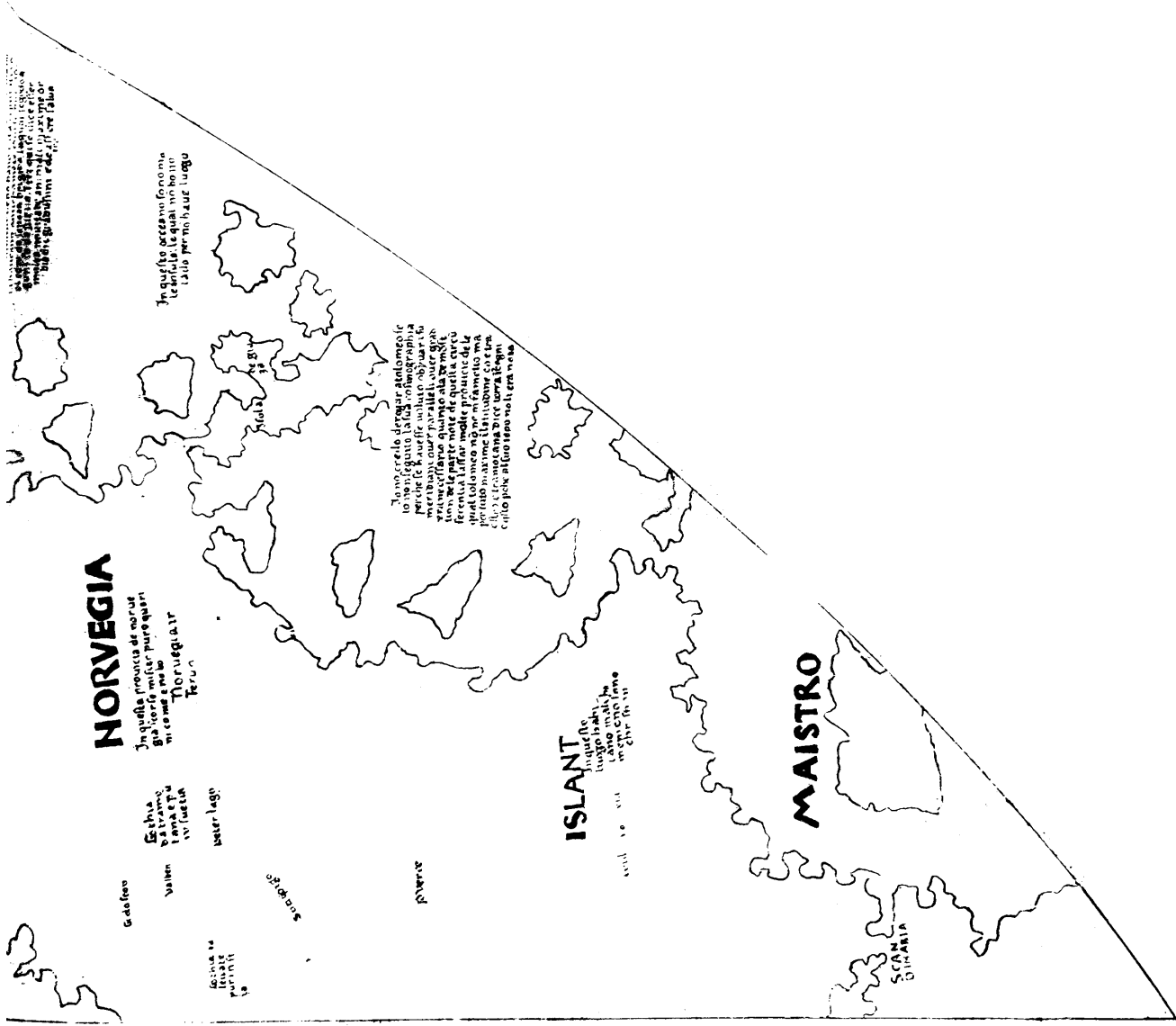
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- pre-Columbian discovery of America to, 87; his account of Greenland considered, 90; his alleged writings not forthcoming, 149; his accounts of Greenland untrue, 156.
- Zeno, Carlo, Antonio Zeno's letters said to have been addressed to, 15, 18, 22, 23, 63; life of, by Jacopo Zeno, 63, 78, 91, 96, 149, 150.**
- Zeno, Caterino, Ambassador of Persia, 4, n. 1.**
- Zeno, Caterino, son of Nicolò the younger, 28.**
- Zeno, Jacopo, Bishop of Feltre and Belluno, his Life of Carlo Zeno, 63. See App. VI.**
- Zeno, Nicolò (the elder), the voyage of, 7; wrecked on Frislanda, 7; rescued by Zichmni and taken into his service, 8, 9; made a knight, 10; joined by his brother Antonio, 10; made captain of Zichmni's fleet, 10; left at Bres, 11; his expedition to Greenland, 11; his account of the monastery there and of the volcano and hot springs, 11-15; dies in Frisland, 15; Zurla on the identity of, 59; Zurla shows date 1380, assigned by Zeno the younger for commencement of voyage of, to be incorrect, 60; died before 1398, 61; a Nicolò Zeno commanded the Venetian Government voyage to Flanders in 1385, 62; the younger Zeno's account of voyage of, considered, 64-77; account of Greenland untrue, 156.**
- Zeno, Nicolò (the younger), description of his book, 3-6; translation of his text, 6-23; Moletius states that the story was printed by, 24; personal notice of, 24; his own account of the sources of his narrative and map, 25, 26; his reputation as historian and geographer, 27; date 1380 assigned by him as that of the voyage of Nicolò Zeno the elder proved to be false by Zurla, 61; probably calculated from date of fall of Chioggia, in 1380, by, 61; some of his statements about Iceland refuted by Arngrim Jonas, 72, 73; probable origin of his seven Icelandic islands, 73; his blunder about the position of Bres, 73; his descriptions of Iceland and Greenland taken from the works of Olaus Magnus and Bordone, 74-77; his story of the Frisland fisherman pure fiction, built up by, from sources indicated, 78-84; his importation of Icaria, with its well-known classic legend, from the Ægean into the Deucalidonian Sea, 84; this part of his story stolen from Bordone, 87; the Icaria of his map, *Hirta* (St. Kilda), 88; his thefts from Olaus Magnus, 90, 92; the sources of his "Carta da Navegar," 98-124; Gastaldi also confused Greenland with Iceland, 101; guilty of a contemptible literary fraud, 143; the eight principal arguments or excuses used by his upholders, 144, 145; considered and answered, 145-155; ten conclusions, 156.**
- Zeno, Family, pedigree of the, 5, 6, 59, App. III.**
- Zichmni, a prince, 8; spoke in Latin, 8; rescues Nicolò Zeno, 8; a great lord, who possessed some islands called Porlanda, "the richest and most populous in all those parts," 8; Duke of Sorano, 8; most famous in maritime affairs, 8; his victory over the King of Norway, 8; his conquest of Frislanda and other islands, 9; makes Nicolò Zeno a knight, 10; his attack on the Shetland Isles, 10; total loss of the King of Norway's fleet, 11; his expedition against Iceland abandoned because he found the island so well fortified and furnished for defence, 11; resolved to make himself master of the sea, 15; hears of Estotiland and Drogeo, and resolves to send Antonio Zeno there in command of a fleet, 18; decides to go in person, 18; reaches *Icaria*, whose king, Icarus, was descended from Dædalus, king of Scotland, 19; repulsed by the Icarians, 20; reaches the southern point of Greenland, and founds a city there, 21, 22; his life by Antonio Zeno, 22; Mothe le Vayer calls him Zichinno, King of Frisland, 38; Moses Pitt calls him Zickmay, but considers the story of, a romance, 41; Forster identifies him with Henry Sinclair, Earl of Orkney, 46; Major, Elton, and Fiske follow Forster's identification of, 54; Marco Barbaro calls him Zicno, King of Frisland, 61; Ortelius and Mercator call him "King of Frisland," 69; unknown to historians until introduced by Marco Barbaro, 93; objections to Forster's identification, and reasons for its rejection, 94-97; Bredsdorff identifies Simon or Sigmund, son of Bui, and nephew of Sigmund Bresterson, the hero of the *Færeyinga Saga*, with, 97; Krarup identifies Henry de Siggens, Marshal of the Duke of Holstein, with, 97; Beauvois thinks the name *Zicno* given by Barbaro to be a misreading of the Scandinavian title *Thegn* = lord, 97; the only personal name mentioned in the story, except those of members of the Zeno family, 154; not identical with Henry Sinclair, 156.**
- Ziegler, Jacob, 26, 76, 111. See App. VI.**
- 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 *Ixilandia* is Zeno's *Frisland*, 106; misreads *Stilanda* on Andrea Bianco's map of 1436 as Frislanda, 105, 106. See also App. V. and VI.**

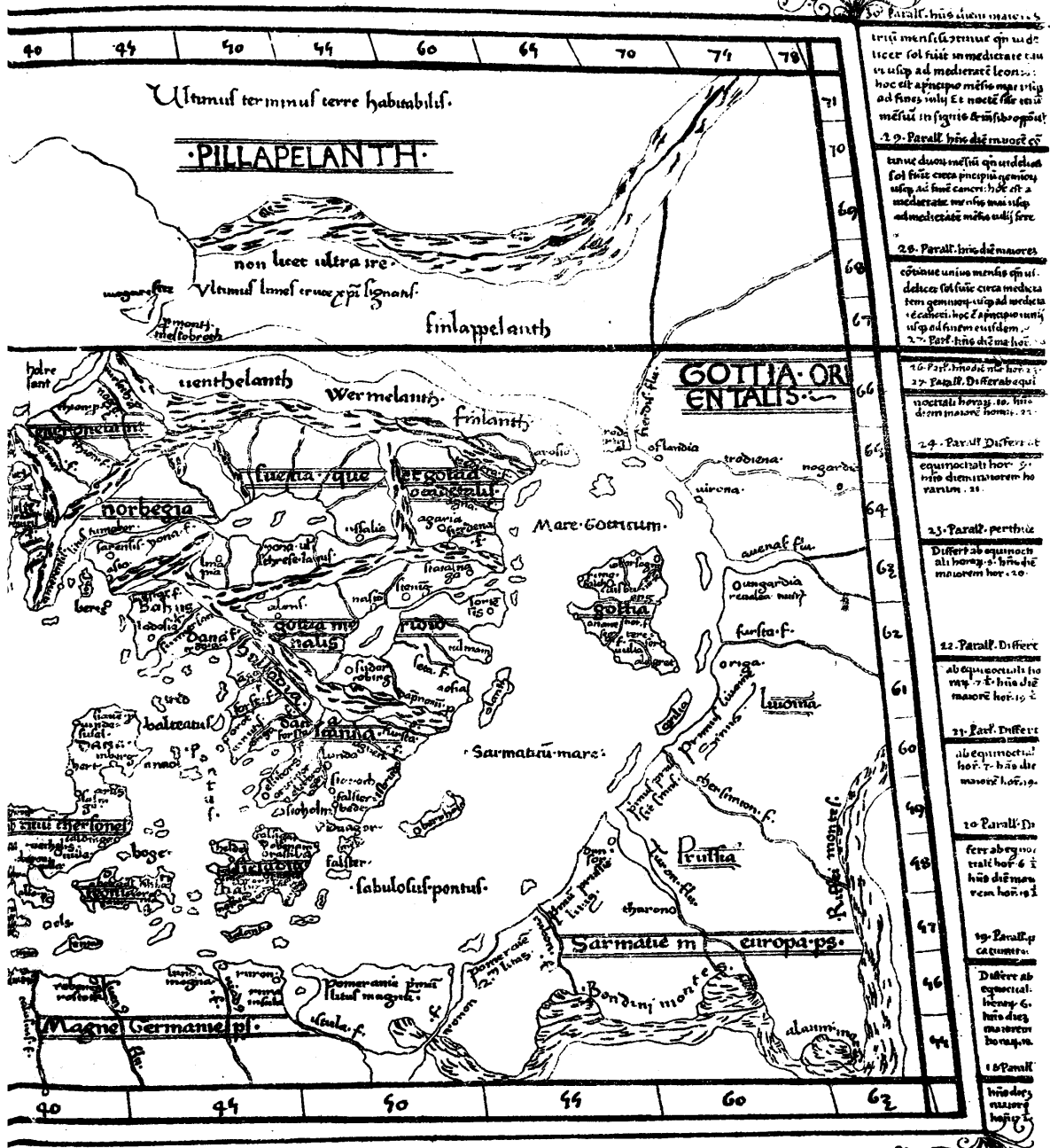


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North Western portion of the Mappa Mundi of Friar Niccolo. 1-457-9

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30 Parall. hinc diei mator. 5
 triu mensis. Quare qm uide
 licet sol hinc in medietate cau
 re usq ad medietate leon...
 hoc est a pino meo magis usq
 ad fines usq. Et nocte sic est
 mensis in signis & in fibropu!

29. Parall. hinc diei mator. 6
 tunc duos mensis qm ut dicit
 sol hinc circa pino genitoy
 usq ad fine cancri: hinc est a
 medietate usq ad fine mai usq
 ad medietate meo usq. hinc

28. Parall. hinc diei mator. 7
 equinoctio hor. 5
 hinc demum mator. ho
 rariu. 21

27. Parall. Differet
 ab equinoctio hor. 7
 hinc diei mator. hor. 19.

26. Parall. Differet
 ab equinoctio hor. 9
 hinc diei mator. hor. 17.

25. Parall. Differet
 ab equinoctio hor. 11
 hinc diei mator. hor. 15.

24. Parall. Differet
 ab equinoctio hor. 13
 hinc diei mator. hor. 13.

23. Parall. Differet
 ab equinoctio hor. 15
 hinc diei mator. hor. 11.

22. Parall. Differet
 ab equinoctio hor. 17
 hinc diei mator. hor. 9.

21. Parall. Differet
 ab equinoctio hor. 19
 hinc diei mator. hor. 7.

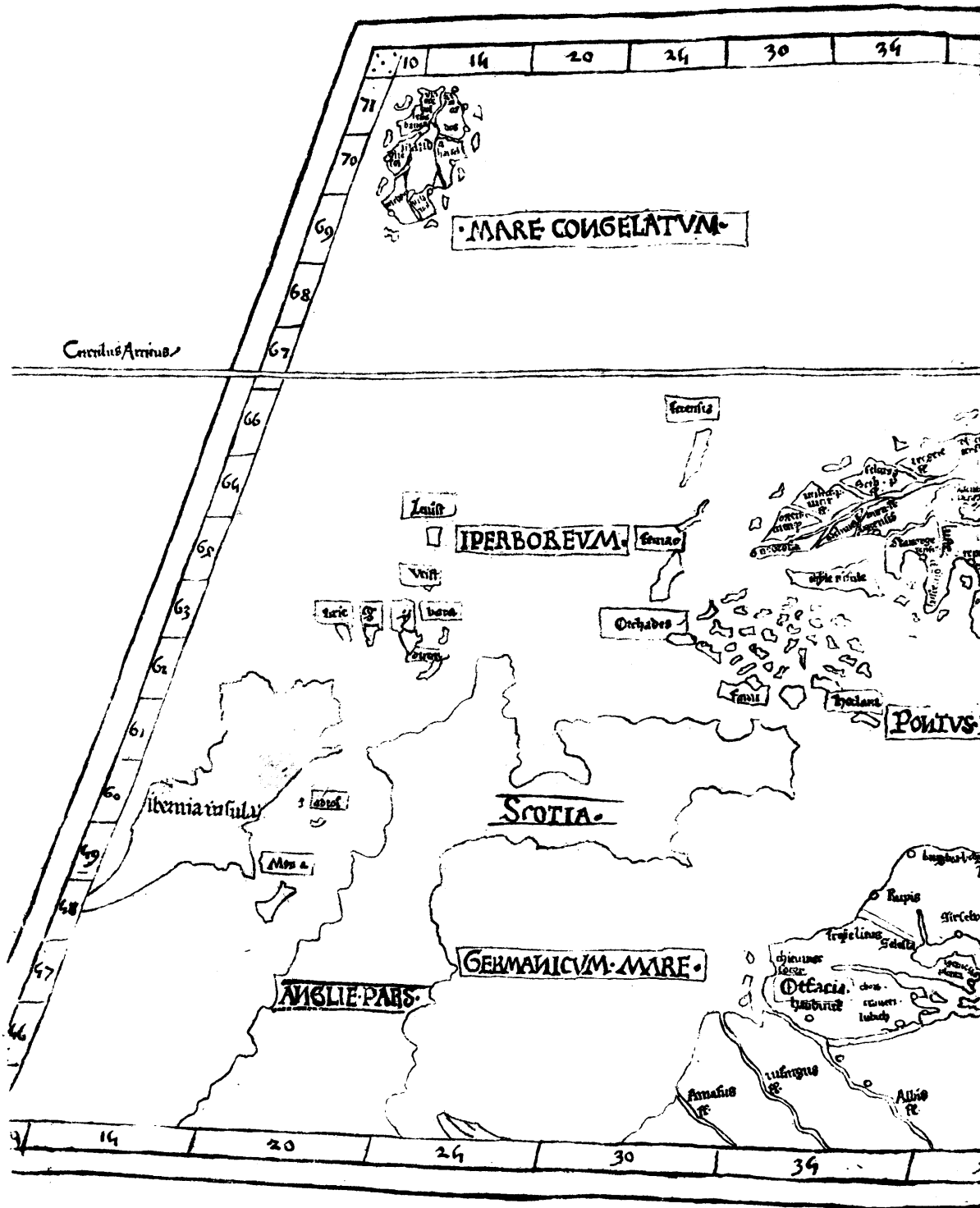
20 Parall. Differet
 ab equinoctio hor. 21
 hinc diei mator. hor. 5.

19. Parall. Differet
 ab equinoctio hor. 23
 hinc diei mator. hor. 3.

18 Parall. Differet
 ab equinoctio hor. 25
 hinc diei mator. hor. 1.

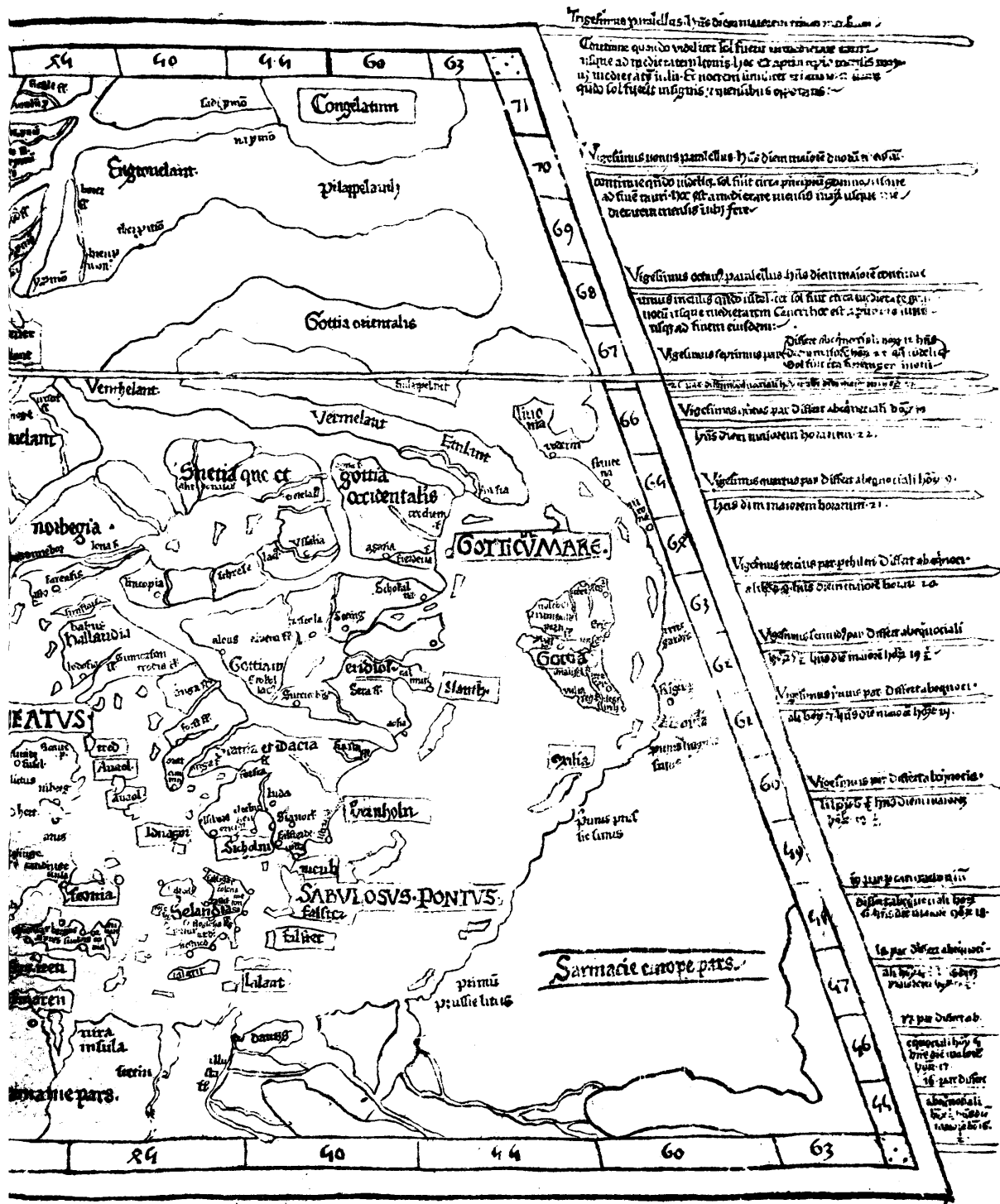
SEPTENTRIONALIUM
 BIBLIOTHECA ZAMOISKIENSI VARSOVIÆ CONSERVATO.

Atlas. Stockholm, 1889.

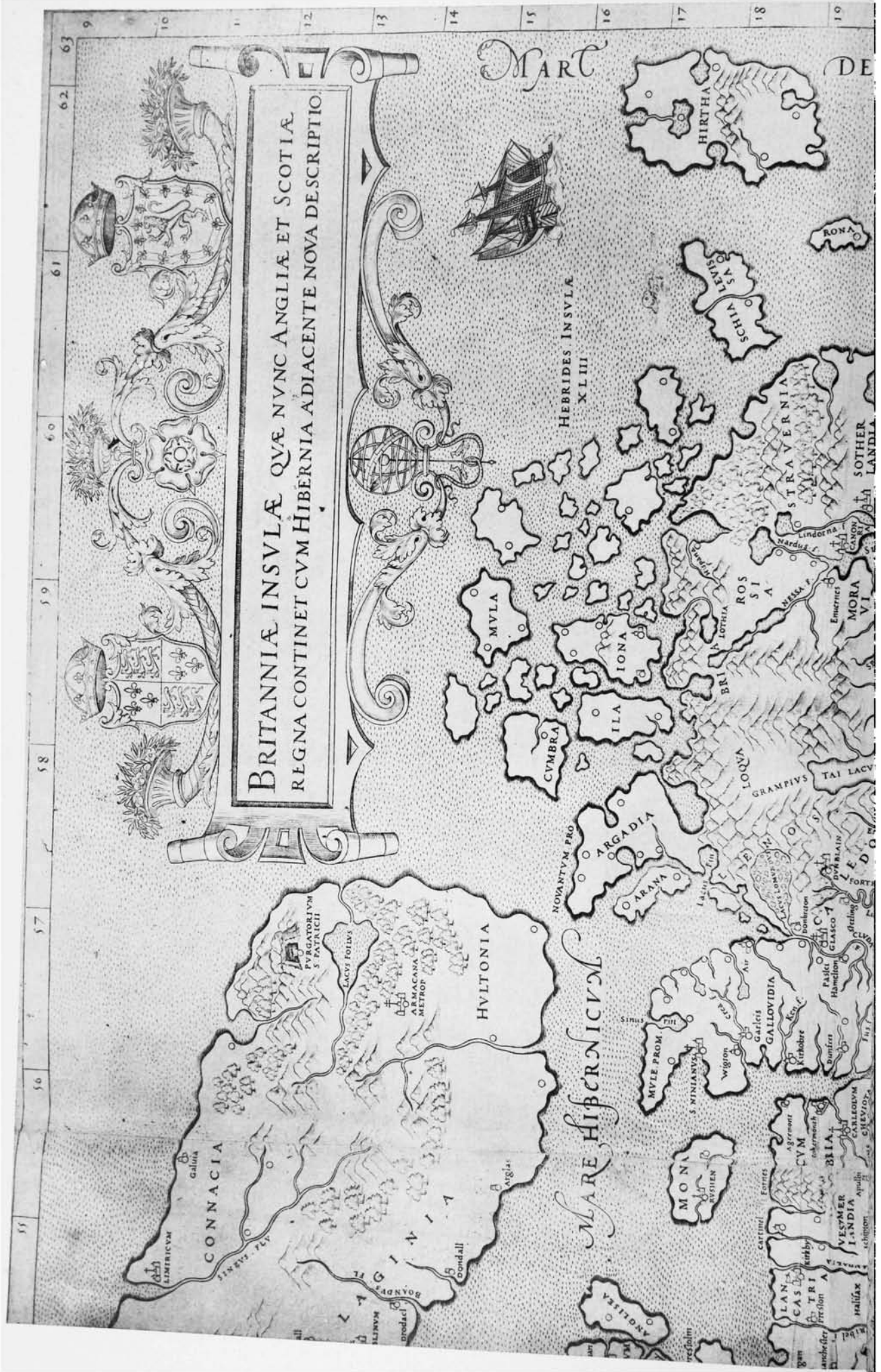


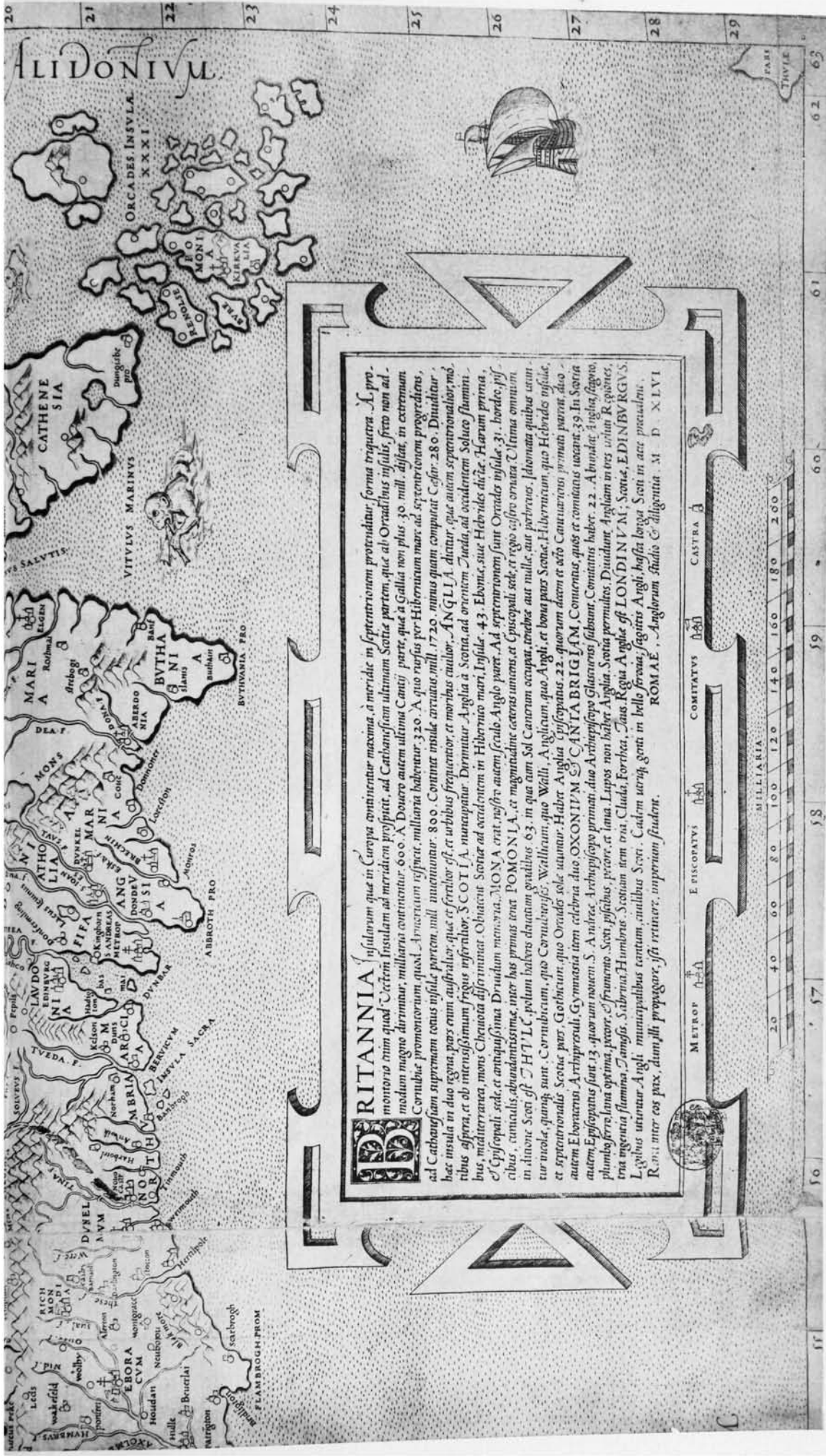
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Map of the North from



Ulm 1482





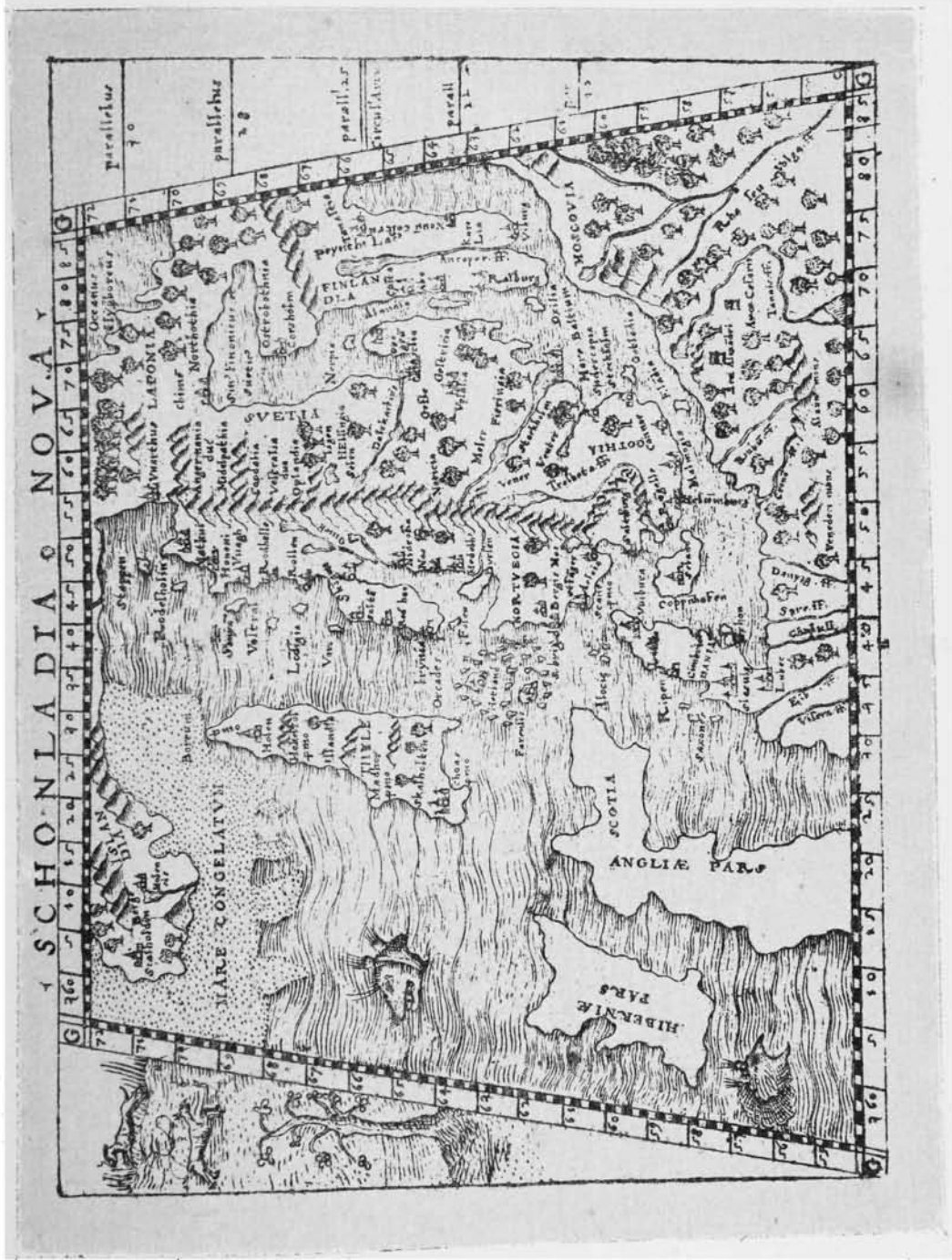
BRITANNIA insularum que in Europa continentur maxima. à meridie in septentrionem protruduntur forma triquetra. A pro-
 montorio enim quod Cictum Insulam ad meridiem prospicit, ad Cathaniam ultimam Scotiae partem, que ad Orkadibus insulis, fere non ad-
 modum magno duratur, miliaria continentur 600. A Douero autem ultima Cantii parte, que à Gallia non plus 30. mill. distat, in extremum
 Cornubiæ promontorium, quod Americam respicit, miliaria habetur 320. A quo rursus per Hibernicam mare ad septentrionem progreditur,
 ad Cathaniam supremam totus insule portem, mill. continentur 800. Comitatus insule circiter mill. 1720. minus quam computat Cesar. 280. Diuiditur
 hæc insula in duo regna, pars enim australis, que et strathor est, et urbibus frequentior, et moribus civilior, ANGLIA dicitur, que autem septentrionalior, mo-
 ribus aspera, et ob interitissimum frigus insularior, SCOTIA, nuncupatur. Dumtaxat Anglia à Scotia, ad orientem Iudæa, ad occidentem Soluco fluminis
 bus, mediterranea, mons Cheucioa discriminet. Obiactus Scotiæ ad occidentem in Hibernicæ mari, Insule. 43. Eboniæ, sive Hebride dicitur. Harum prima
 et Cypseli sede, et antiquissima Druuidum metropolis, MONA erit, insule autem scilicet Anglo paræ. Ad septentrionem sunt Orkadus insule, 31. horade, pif-
 cibus, tumulis, abundantissime, inter has primas tenet POMONIA, et magnitudine ceteras unicas, et Cypseli sede, et regio esse ornata. Ultima omnium in
 in ditone Scoti est H7LC, solum habens dactylum quadratus 63, in qua tam Sol Canorum occupat, tandem aut nulle, aut pariter. Idonata quibus usun-
 tur uicole, quare sunt. Cornubiæ, quo Cornubiæ, Wallicam, quo Walli, Anglicam, quo Angli, et bona pars Scotiæ, Hibernicam, quo Hebride insule,
 et septentrionalis Scotiæ pars. Gothicum, quo Orades sole uenitur. Haber Anglia Cypselus, 22. quorum decem et octo Canuarum, primata parum duo
 autem Eboracensi Archiepiscopi, Gymnasia item celebra duo, OXONIUM, et CANTABRIGIAM, Conuentus, quos et comitatus uocant. 39. In Scotia
 autem Episcopatus sunt 13. quorum noueni, S. Antise, Archiepiscopo primam, duo Archiepiscopo Glasneris, subant, Comitatus habet. 22. A bimidi, Angliæ, Regno,
 plumbo ferre lana optima, paxore, et frumento Scoti, pifibus, pice, et lana. Lupos non habet Anglia. Scotia permultas Diuidunt Angliam in tres ueluti R. spores,
 tria ingenia flamma, Tanyss, Sabrinia, Humbore. Scitium item tria, Cludæ, Forthea, Janus Regni Angliæ est LONDI NV M, Scotia, EDINBURGV S.
 L. quibus uicinarum Angliæ municipalibus tantum, in illibus Scoti. Cædem uerum genti in bello feruua; sagittis Angli, sagitta longa Scoti in arte picealenti.
 ROM. inter eos pax, dum illi propægor, isti ritiner, imperium student.

METROP. EPISCOPATVS. COMITATVS. CASTRA. A.

MILLIARIA.

57 58 59 60 61 62 63

BRITANNIÆ INSULÆ
 From Lafreri's Atlas 1546



FACSIMILE BY J. MANT, LONDON.

From Gastaldi's Ptolemy Venice 1548.

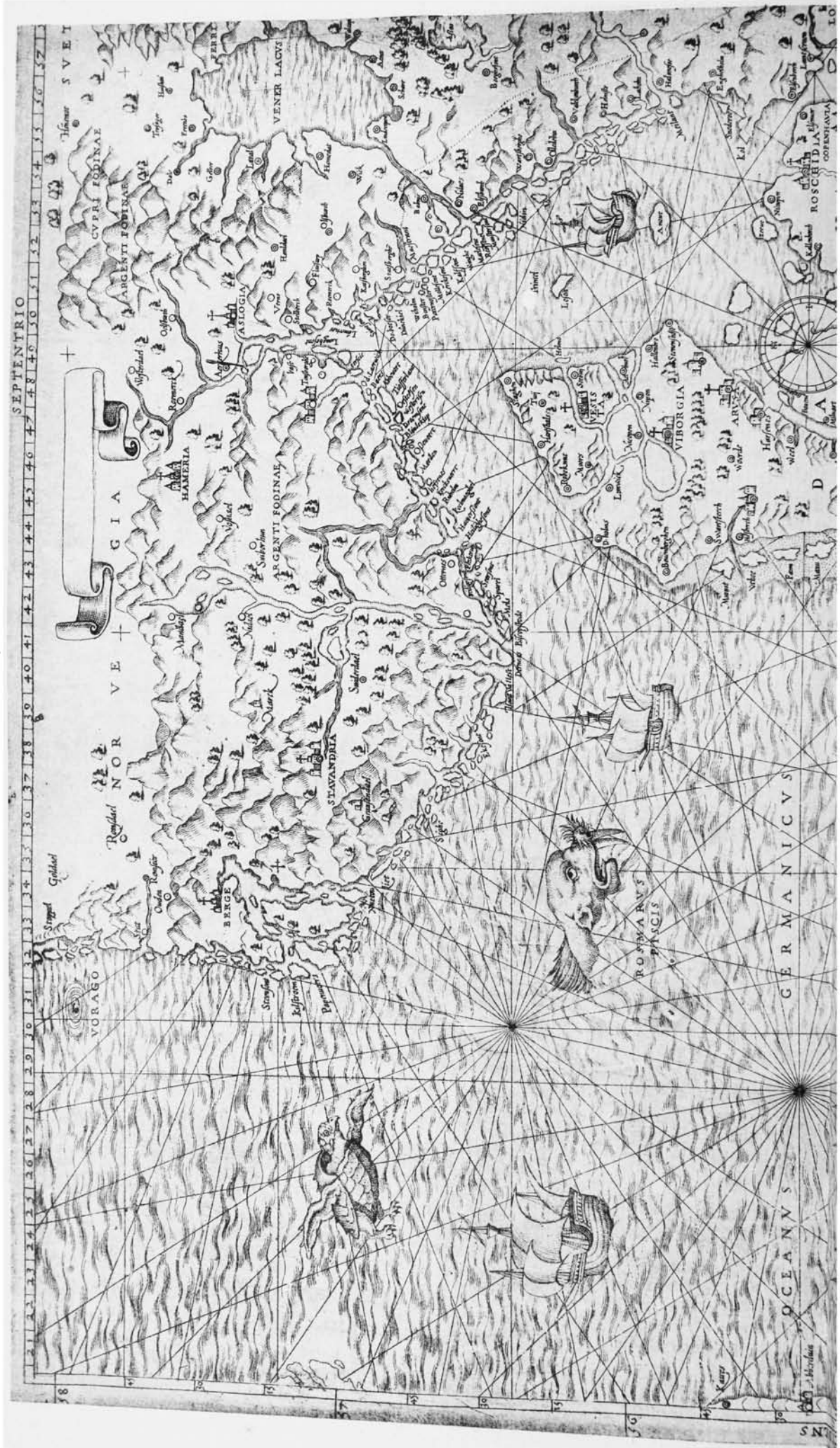


Scotis Islandicis, circumscriptionem D'insulas interme-
diaz magna fide pu'ras accepimus a perite nouidero, qui
mulus irinothus hoc mare perage gault, nos vero in plu-
res Orcades assignauit, reum serio a me interrogatus, hic
postea uide, quare suspicio si de clauis & Farre insulas
eodem nomine a Romanis comprehensas fuisse, cuius rei
argumentum prebet Solinus cap. 29 ubi nauigatione
ex Calidone promontorio Thule describitur secunda
statione ad Orcades peruenit, peruenit autem haud di-
cite ad Farre insulas, ubi tunc cursus tum distantia postu-
lat. Tres vero tantum numerat. Si modo 3 pro 20 posita
non sunt, 20 disparitate collecte sunt, tanquam in tres
insulas, cum alio in 20 ponant auctores, e' totidem eti-
am nunc fore sicut preter scopulos. Si quis uero ad Or-
cades proprie dictas Solinum cogat, neq. cursus iustus
erit, neq. interuallorum numerus constabit, neq. cur su-
per erant Orcades, sed 2 tantum, nisi numerus fallat.
Corn. Tacitus quoq. de maris Orcadibus Thule a Ro-
manis despectam inquit, nullas inter medias insulas nomi-
nauit, quasi post Orcades proxima sequatur Thule, quena ad
mediam & Tolencus posit.

From Mercator's Europa. I.



PLATE VIII





Excusata et J. W. B. P. T. E.
 47. Ulmer Plumb. Bonnae, 1710. C.

*Septentrionalium Regionum Suevicae, Gothicae, Norvegicae, Danicae et Ictarrarum
 adiacentium recens exactaque descriptio,
 Michaelis Thomezini factis
 ex Pont. Max. ac Veneti Senatibus privilegio MDLXVIII.
 Jacobo Bussius in aes incidit.*

(Cart. Mus. S. 10. 1. 40)

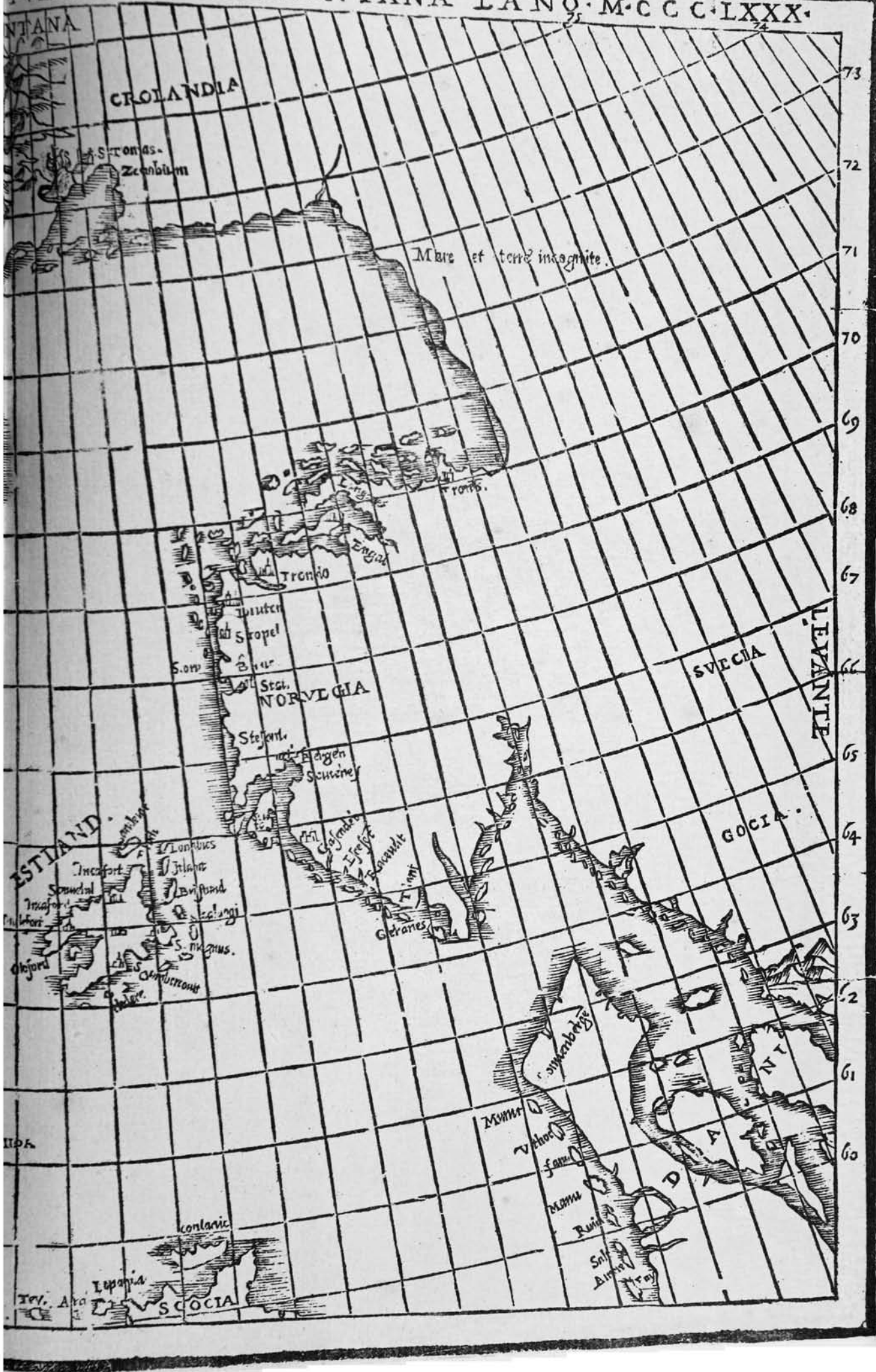




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42 Oscar Russell Street, W.

From Lafreri's Atlas C. 1558.

FRONO IN TRA MONTANA LANO. M.C.C.C.LXXX.



es. Venice. 1558



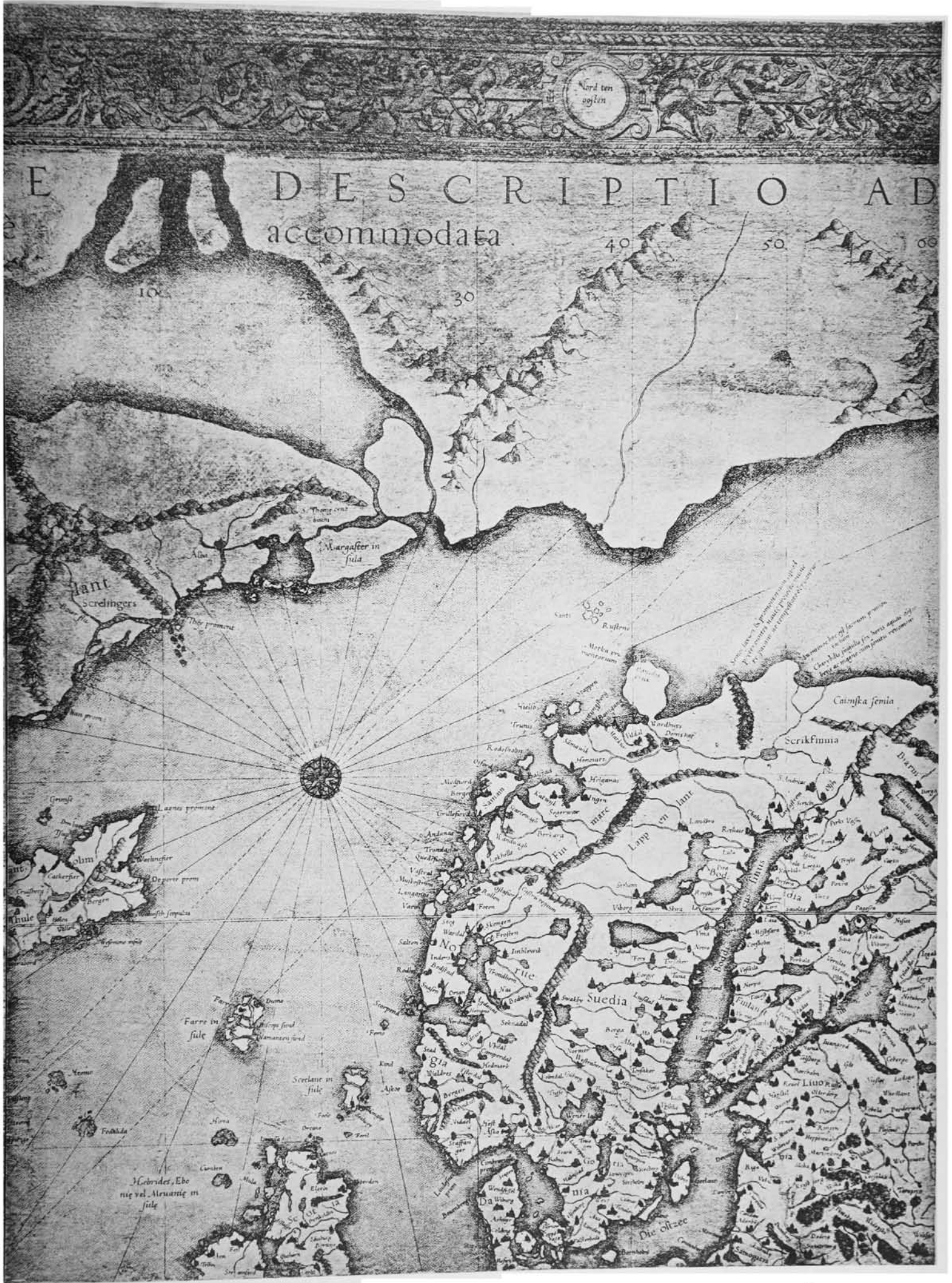
Anno Domini 1500 Gaspar Corterealis Portugalesis nauigauit ad has terras sperans a parte septentrionali inuenire transitum ad insulas Moluccas, perueniens autem ad fluium quem a deuctis nubibus vocant Rio neuado, propter ingens frigus altius in septentrionem pergere destitit, perlustrauit autem litora in meridiem vsq; ad C:R:200

Anno 1504 Britones primi inuenerunt litora noue Francie circa ostia sinus S: Laurentij.

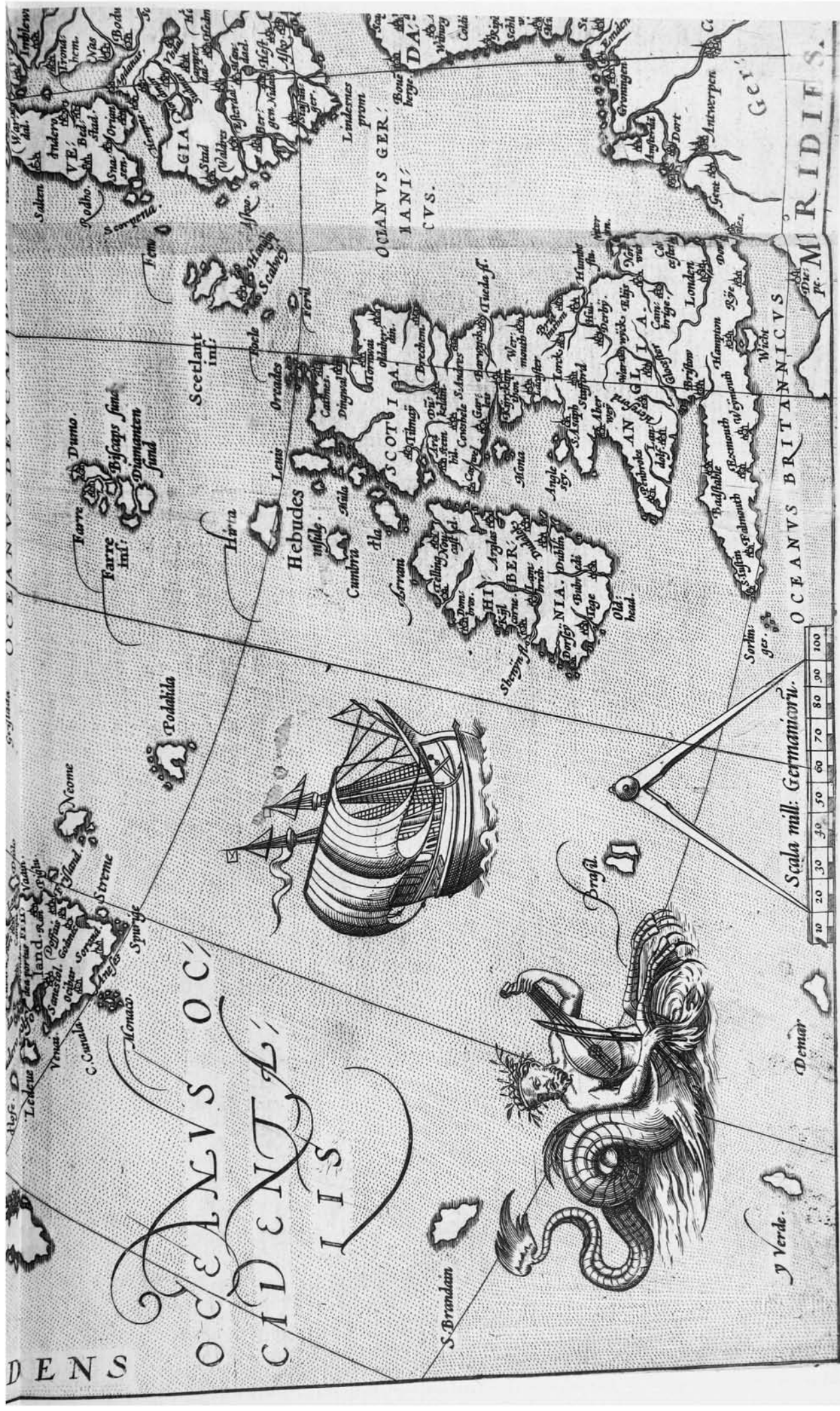
Anno 1522 Joannes Verrazanus Florentinus nomine regis Gallie Francisci primi ex portu Diepa profectus 17 Martij ad littus meridionale noue Francie peruenit circa 34 gradum latitud., atq; inde versus orientem omne littus perlustrauit vsq; ad Britonum promontorium.

Anno 1534 duce classis Jacobo Cartier. lustrata fuit noua Francia & proximo anno regi Gallie conquiri coepit.

From Mercator's Map



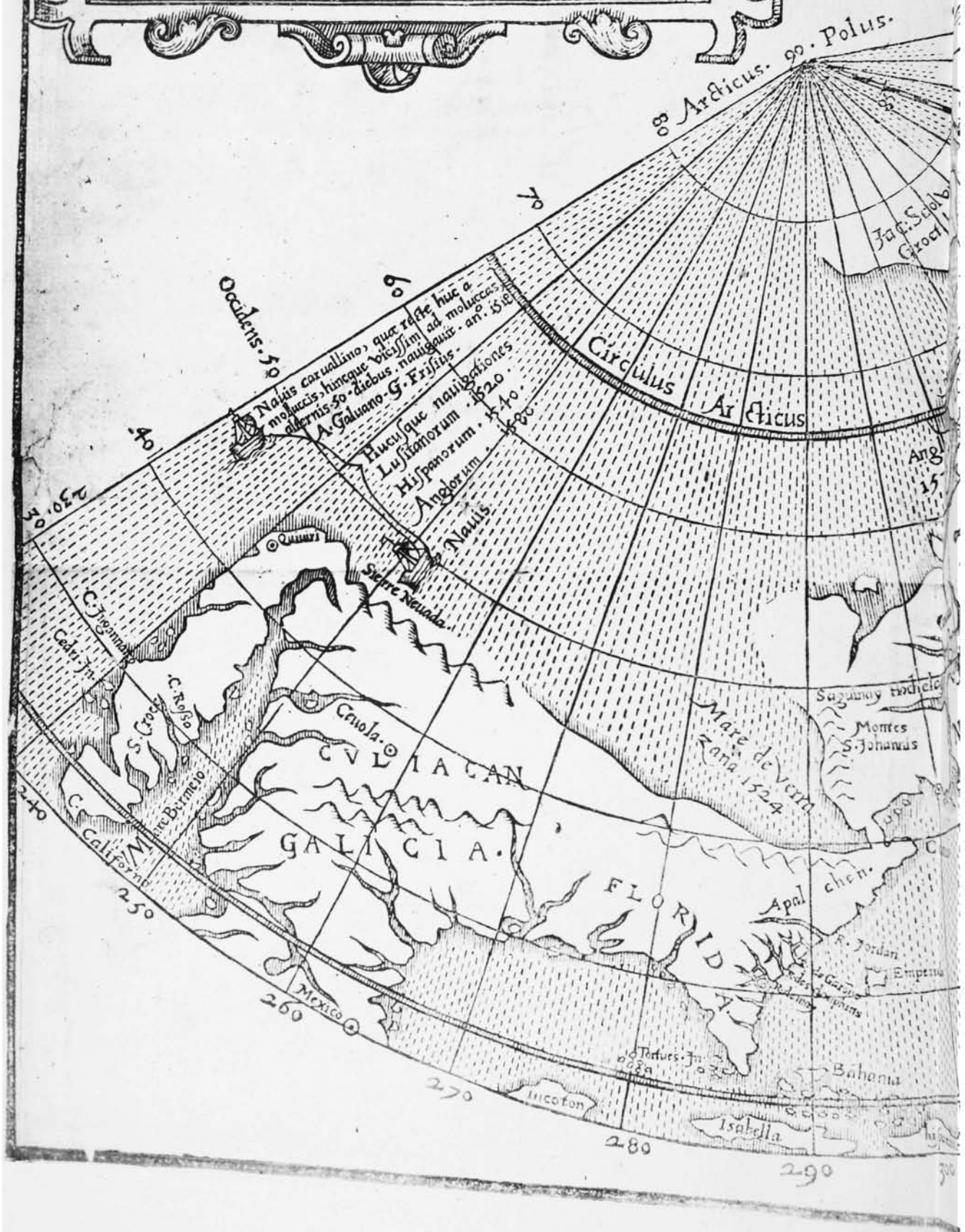
Facsimile by J. HYATT, 47 GREAT PLUMBER STREET, W. C.

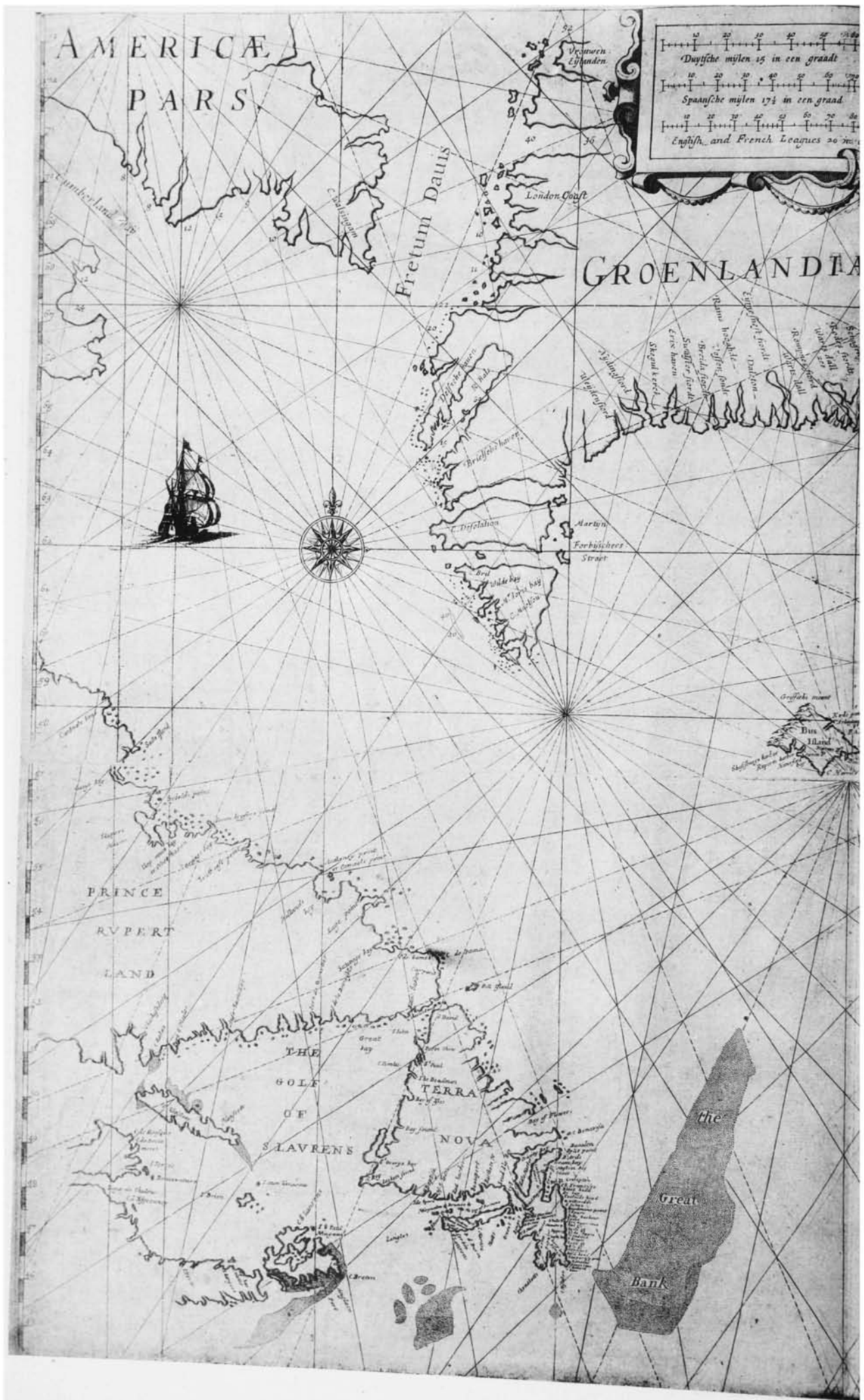


SEPTENTRIONALIORUM REGIONUM DESCRIP
 From Ortelius' Theatrum Orbis. Antwerp 1570 (Map 45)

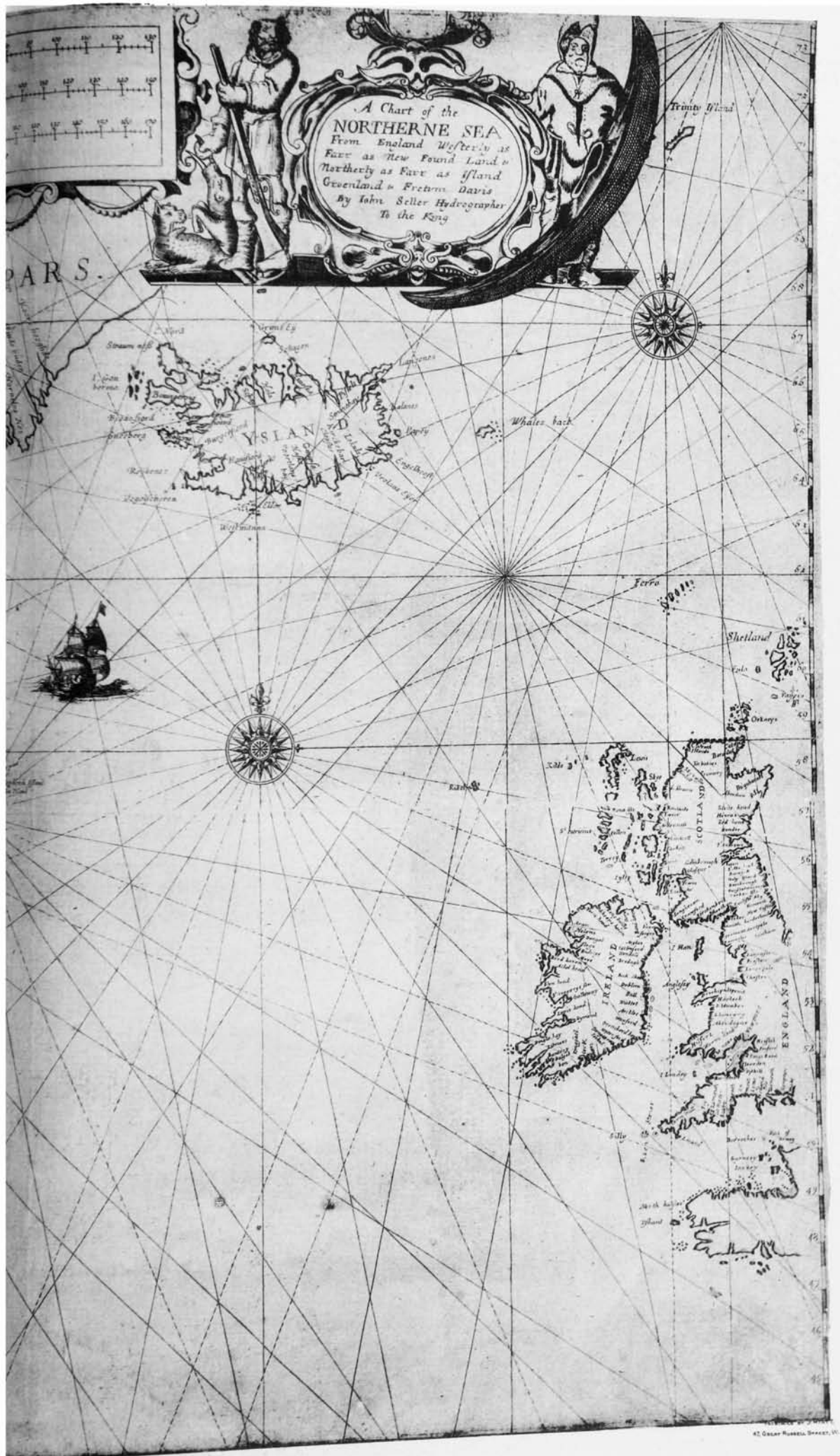
Illustration by J. P. W. T. C.
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ILLVSTRI VIRO, DOMINO PHILIPPO SIDNÆO
 MICHAEL LOK CIVIS LONDINENSIS
 HANC CHARTAM DEDICABAT :. 1582.

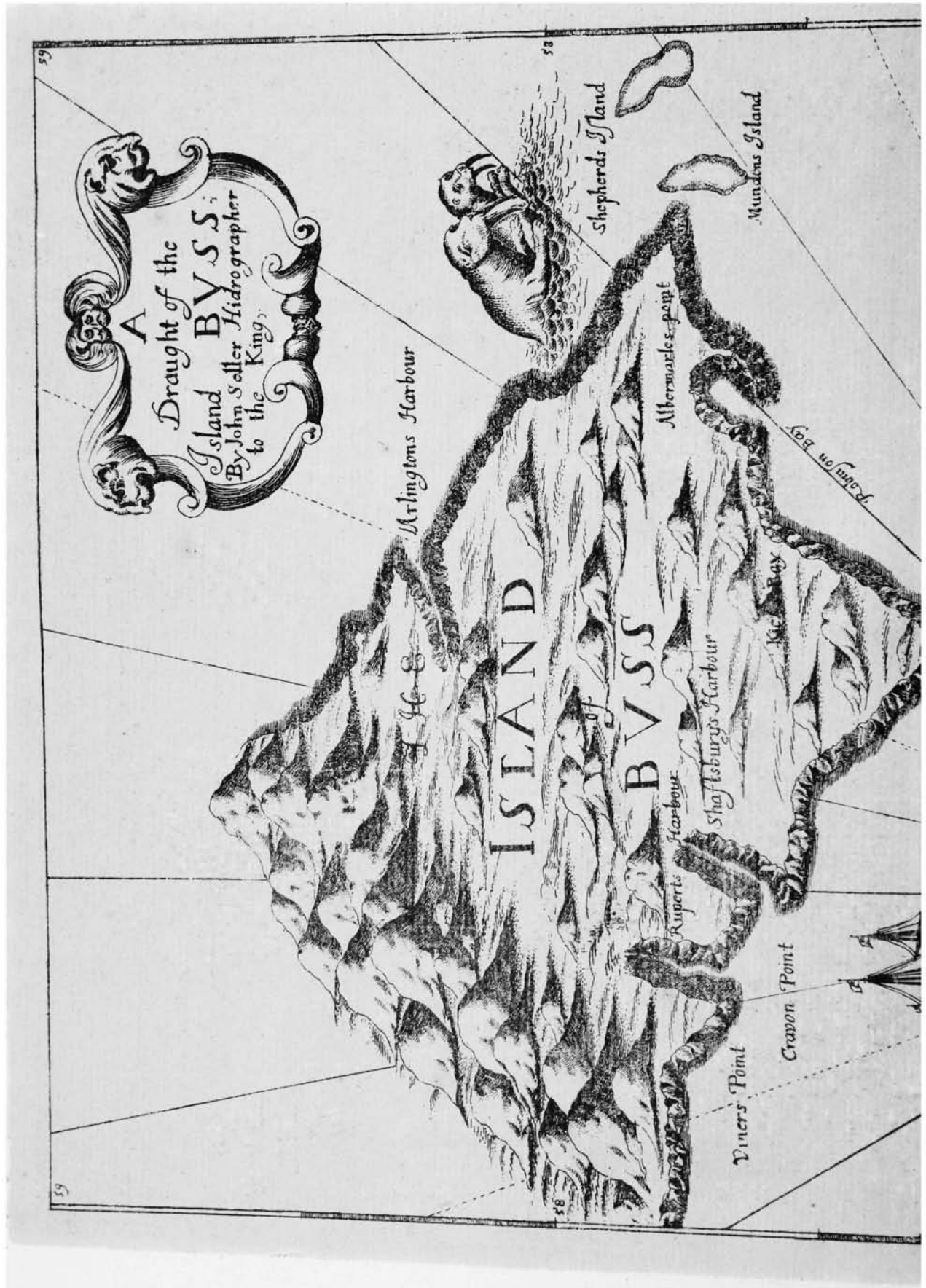




A CHART OF THE
From Seller's Engraving



THE NORTHERN SEA
English Pilot 1673



A
Draught of the
Island B V S S;
By John Seller Hydrographer
to the King.

Aringtons Harbour

ISLAND
of
B V S S

Shepherds Island

Mundens Island

Albernacles-point

Johnsons Bay

Shafsburyes Harbour

Kings Bay

Ruperts Harbour

Viners Point

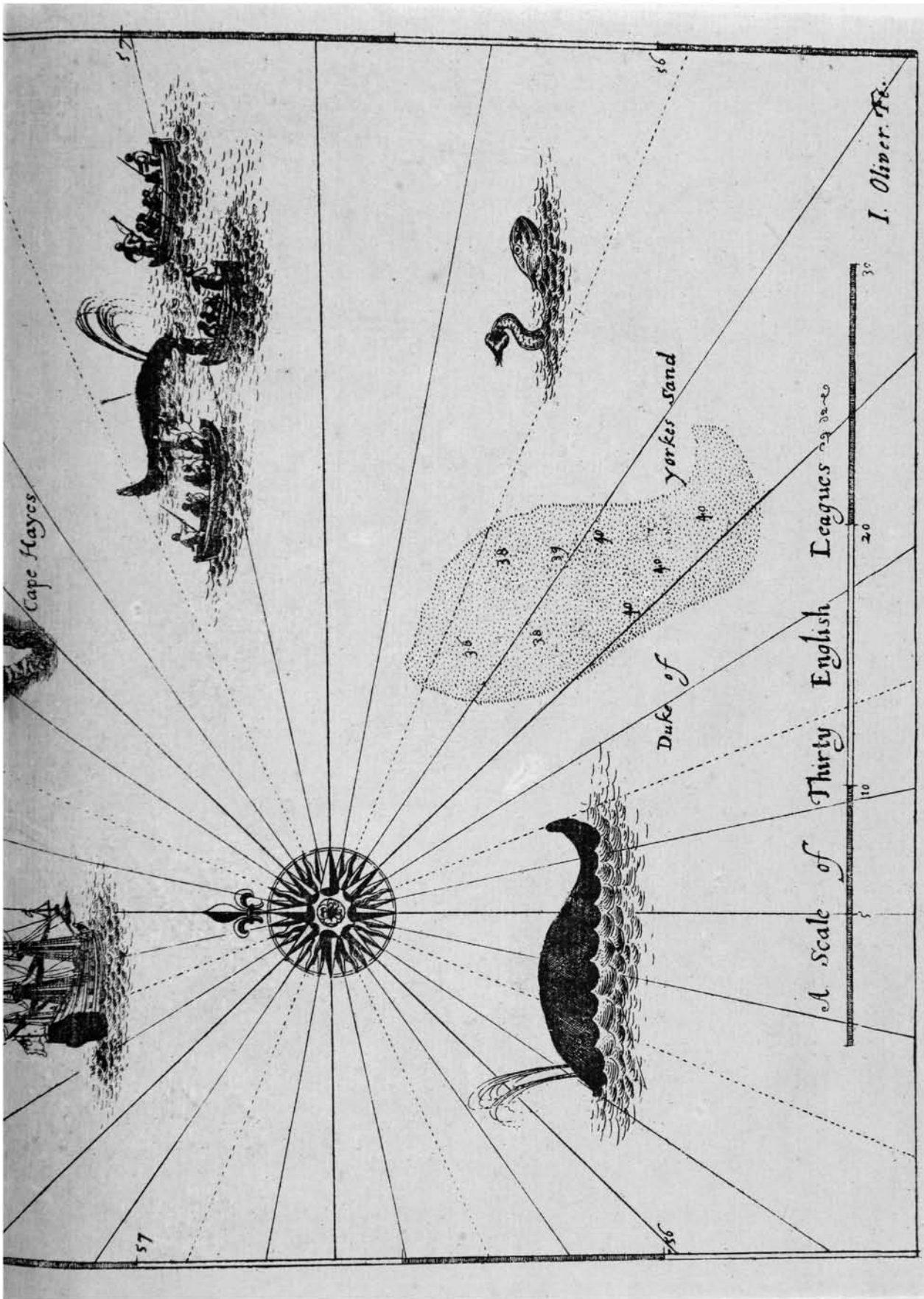
Cranon Point

59

58

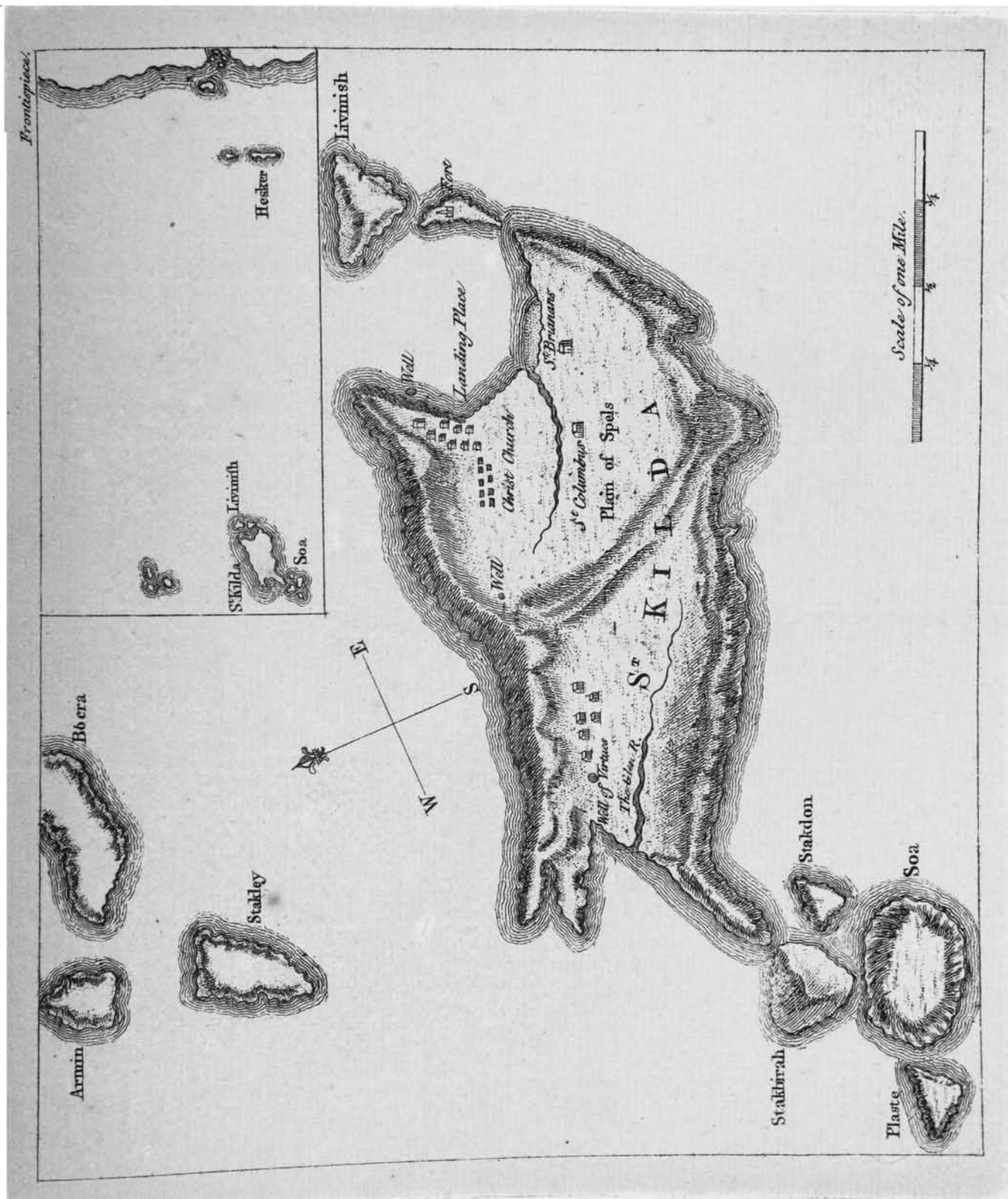
59

58



ENGRAVED BY J. HALL, LONDON

From Sellers's Atlas 1670.



FACSIMILE BY J. N. VAIT I. ALING, W.

From Micauiays History of St. Kilda London 1764

