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EARLY SPANISH CARTOGRAPHY OF THE NEW WORLD.

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE WOLFENBUTTEL-SPANISH MAP AND THE WORK OF DIEGO RIBERO

Great value attaches to old maps as sources in the study of History. They often indicate, by mere touch, a story of exploration or discovery, concerning which the written documents are silent. Portuguese discoveries along the northeast coast of America are vastly better recorded on early maps than either in extant official documents or in the personal narratives of the explorers themselves.

"Historians, geographers, explorers, and travelers," says Kohl, "have sometimes laid down on their maps and charts certain facts of which they omit to speak in their reports and books, finding it easier to speak to the eye than to the ear; rather to convey the information they wish to impart, by using the brief and compact delineation of the map, instead of the diffuse and combersome phraseology of the book."

It is cause for regret that so few maps of the early years of great geographical discovery have come down to us. Numerous references in the literature of the period bear witness that those extant are but a remnant of the many which were then constructed. With scarcely an exception

2 Harris: The Discovery of North America, pp. 375 seq. Mention is here made of these references.

It may here be stated that the words chart and map in this paper are used as synonymous. There is historical and scientific reason for employing the former when speaking of coast and marine geography, and the latter when speaking of land geography.
the original maps, that is the coast sketches made by pilots, captains, and professional cosmographers, who accompanied the early exploring expeditions, have been lost or destroyed. Extant maps, for the most part, are derivatives, into which numerous *de visu* sketches and descriptive records have entered.

These, very naturally, do not possess equal merit. Inaccurate surveys, careless transcriptions, intentional falsifications, preconceived and often erroneous geographical notions, enter in part, as determining factors into the quality of the chart-maker's product. There were numerous practical and theoretical difficulties with which the chart-makers had to contend, and these difficulties were very tardily overcome. Such facts should not be overlooked in the study and interpretation of old maps. Despite the many defects, through their legends, their pictures, their geographical nomenclature, through the delineations of coast lines, old maps possess a value as sources above that which historians have generally ascribed to them. Both as geographical and as historical documents they are indeed worthy careful study, yielding, on critical examination, most interesting and profitable results in both fields.

Very naturally one would expect to find the greatest activity in charting the newly found coasts, in those countries most directly interested in maritime exploration, and among their map products to find those of greatest importance which were draughted during the period of discovery. Yet in this connection the following briefly stated facts are worthy of note touching the cartographical interests

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8 This of course was due to the comparatively primitive state of nautical science.
4 It is especially noticeable in the spelling of the names. He who undertakes to decipher the geographical names and legends on these early maps finds himself repeatedly confronted with perplexing problems.

Santa Cruz says that the Portuguese were in the habit of constructing false maps for sale to foreigners, while those for use at home were more nearly correctly drawn. Víde Navarrete: Opusculos Vol. I, p. 61 seq. We learn from the report of the Badajos Junta of 1624 that many maps were submitted in evidence which purposely contained errors. Víde the interesting extracts from the records touching the deliberations of the Junta in Blair and Robertson: The Philippine islands, Vol. I, pp. 165-222.

6 Note especially the survival of the Ptolemaic ideas; the idea of the existence of a strait through which one might pass from the Atlantic to the Pacific; the idea of an Asiatic connection of the New World, et al.
and influences of the several European states:—The Juan de la Cosa map is the only one of great importance known which was draughted in Spain during the first thirty years after Columbus opened the way to the new regions in the west. Portuguese influence during this period is most strikingly pronounced in maps extant which lay down the new coasts. Although native Italians were among the most prominent explorers and chart-makers who served the kings of Spain and Portugal, the Italian cartographers at home exhibited a tardy interest in adding these new coasts to their world maps, but after the middle of the sixteenth century their work came to be of first importance. It is further noteworthy that the Germans, although occupying an inland country, through their interest in the new scientific studies, particularly geography, and mathematics as applied to astronomy and navigation, exerted an influence upon the cartography of the New World during the early years of the sixteenth century, unsurpassed by any other country of Europe. French cartography is comparatively of late origin, exhibiting from the first both Spanish and Portuguese influence, while the important cartographical documents of the Low Countries and of England belong to the late sixteenth century.7

The evolution of New World cartography is but incidentally the theme of this paper. Its primary purpose is to direct attention to some of the more striking facts in the development of Spanish cartography until the appearance of its best type—that which may be called the Sevillan, and to consider this best type as we find it exhibited particularly in the Wolfenbüttel-Spanish map, which document hitherto has been but briefly mentioned.8

2 Harrisse: Discovery of North America, p. 580 refers to it as "Wolfenbüttel Map B" (should read A), and quotes a few of the names which appear for the first time on this map. Biggar: Voyages of the Cabots and Corte-Real in Revue Hispanique, 1903, p. 493 refers to its important Labrador legend.
3 Stevenson: Maps illustrating early Discovery and Exploration in America, 1903-1906, No. 8. A few copies of the map in size of the original were reproduced in this series and in the accompanying text it was briefly described.
At a date much earlier than the discovery of America the science of navigation, and what pertained thereto, including chart-making, was taught in the principal ports of Spain and Portugal. "From the time when the memory of man runneth not to the contrary," reads a cédula of Ferdinand and Isabella referring to the long existence of laws regulating the affairs of a school of Basque pilots at the port of Cadiz, which laws, by this cédula of March 18, 1500, received royal confirmation.

At other ports, such as that of Palos and Seville, there could scarcely have been less activity. Strangely enough, the work of these early Spanish schools has practically all disappeared save as some of its features may have been incorporated into later and yet surviving charts.

In the oldest extant map which exhibits any considerable part of the new lands discovered in the west, we have the work of a Biscayan chart-maker and that of one who perhaps found employment in his early years in the port of Cadiz.

It is possible that the Juan de la Cosa map gives us a fair example of an early Cadiz or Palos type of map-making; it certainly does not belong to that which I have called the Sevillan type although draughted at "Puerto de Santa Maria" where the distinguished pilot made his home for some years.

Were an earlier type to be found than that represented by the work of Juan de la Cosa it doubtless would greatly magnify the insular character of the new discoveries. It appears to have been the early belief of Columbus that he had "found many islands," and his word doubtless had a determining influence in the first efforts to chart the new regions. We probably have in part a survival of an early Spanish theory and map-type in the Munich-Portuguese

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9 Navarrete: Disertación sobre la Historia de la Náutica, p. 357.
10 An interesting and helpful monograph could be written on the early Spanish schools of chart-makers. No attempt has been made at a systematic presentation of this subject.
11 The most satisfactory reproduction of this map is that issued in 1892 by Canovas Vallejo y Traynor. A new issue is proposed for the series edited by Edward L. Stevenson under the auspices of the Hispanic Society of America.
chart of about 1502, as also in the King chart of about the same date.

The insular theory seems not to have been generally held in Spain or in Portugal after about 1500. Although Spanish maps of the first twenty years of the sixteenth century, as I have said, are wanting to prove the assertion, the fact is abundantly attested by other evidence. Portuguese maps, for example, furnish proof positive that after the Corte-Real voyages there was a prevailing belief in the existence of a continent lying between the ocean which stretches to the west of Europe and the ocean stretching to the east of Asia or Cathay.

We know that the Spanish sovereigns on the return of Columbus were interested in acquiring detailed information concerning the geography of the new discoveries and in the charting of the same, though it does not appear that they at once formulated a policy which called for royal supervision in the construction of such charts. Official Spanish maps are of later date. "Forward to us immediately the map which we asked you to send us before your departure, complete, and write thereon the names," was the request sent by the Queen to Columbus in September 1493, which perhaps was the mere expression of a personal desire to be well informed concerning the new acquisitions and that too from the best source. He was not called upon to keep secret his knowledge; on the contrary he and not the sovereign was to say whether the information was to be generally known. "If you do not wish us to show the map to any one", said the Queen, "you should write so."

The decade following the first voyage of Columbus was the period in which Bishop Juan Rodriguez de Fonesca

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12 In part reproduced in Kunstmann's Atlas. It may be found in size of the original in Stevenson: Maps illustrating early Exploration and Discovery in the New World, New Brunswick, 1903-1906, Number 2. A reproduction of the King Chart may be found in Nordenskiold: Periplus, Plate XLV. To these charts, exhibiting the New World as insular in character, may be added the Lenox Globe, described by De Costa in the Magazine of American History, September 1897; the so-called Da Vinci Gores, described by Major in Archologia, Vol. 40; the Jagalonicus Globe, a remarkable and little known globe, described by Tadeus Estreicher in Bulletin International de l'Académie des sciences de Cracovie, Mars 1900.

18 Vide Harrisse 1. e. p. 402.
exercised a general supervision over all matters pertaining to colonial and maritime affairs. Though imperious, selfish, and jealous of Spanish interests in most of his dealings, it is hardly probable, as has often been asserted, that an effort was made to keep secret a knowledge of the location of the discoveries and of their extent. It could not have been done had it been desired. Information accumulated rapidly which both official and clandestine explorers brought back from trans-Atlantic voyages and this information was incorporated into the work of the chart-makers who with great freedom plied their trade in the principal ports, selling their copies to their countrymen or to foreigners who carried them to their distant homes.\(^14\)

The loss of Spanish charts on which the discoveries were sketched, can not be attributed either to an early or a late state policy of enforcing secrecy concerning the discoveries.\(^15\)

Not the least important reason for their disappearance, and there are many reasons, is the fact that maps of the new regions were soon out of date and became therefore practically worthless.\(^16\)

A systematic supervision of all matters pertaining to the Indies began in 1503 with the establishment of the Casa de la Contratacion.\(^17\) In the organization of this Indian House provision was made for all things necessary \(\text{(todos los aparejos)}\) to the proper transaction of business connected with the affairs of the new possessions. Its pilots were recognized as especially skillful. Its chart-makers had superior facilities for their work, being at all time supplied with the latest geographical information.\(^18\)

\(^{14}\)Christopher Columbus sent his own map to Palos to be copied, on request of Angelo Trivignano, Secretary of the Venetian Legation in Spain. Véase for a letter of Trivignano, dated August 21, 1501 in Harris: Christophe Colomb, Vol. II, pp. 116-124.

\(^{15}\)There was doubtless, at times, certain information which both Spain and Portugal desired to keep secret concerning new discoveries. It is certain that it never was a general and a fixed policy to keep all knowledge of the discoveries secret.

\(^{16}\)It was not an uncommon practice to alter the date of maps, where originally given. An interesting illustration may be found in the case of the Malollo map of 1527 which was altered, though we know not when, to 1587. Véase the reproduction in Stevenson: Maps illustrating early discovery and Exploration, Number 10.


\(^{18}\)Bancroft: Central America, Vol. I, p. 283, gives some of the details concerning the organization of the Casa.
It could not have been to enforce secrecy that, as Linages tells us, the official charts of the Casa de la Contratación were kept in a strong box, the keys of which were entrusted to the pilot major and to the cosmographer, for we find that an ordinance of July 12, 1512, authorized the pilot major, then Juan Díaz de Solís, to make and sell, at a fixed price, copies of the official map to any pilot who wished to purchase.

The number and the variety of maps must have rapidly multiplied in the early years of the sixteenth century, and the Casa must have had a rich store of such documents. Prompted by the fact that numerous errors had crept into the maps offered for sale, and also by the commendable desire to have all maps, particularly those passing as official record the latest geographical data, a royal order was issued August 6, 1508, for the creation of a padrón real, an official pattern or standard map. To this end the most skilful pilots of the realm were to be organized as a commission, over which commission Amerigo Vespucci, recently appointed pilot major, was to preside. It was ordered that this pattern map should include "all lands and islands of the Indies discovered to date and belonging to the crown." All official pilots were commanded to use it on their voyage, under penalty for violation, and were to record thereon "all new lands, islands, bays, harbors, and other things worthy of being noted." On their return to Spain this was to be handed over to the pilot major, oath being required as to the truthfulness of the report, and he with the official cosmographer was to consider the

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19 Veitía Linages: Norte de la Contratación de las Indias occidentales, lib. II, cap. xi.
20 Veídes Muñoz MSS. Vol. xv, fol. 105 for a copy of the ordinance. It appears, however, that that part of the ordinance, which granted a monopoly privilege to the pilot major to sell copies of the official maps was not strictly observed. The padrón real, we know, was counterfeited and sold as if official. Veídes Muñoz MSS. Vol. x, fol. 123 for reference to an application by the pilot major for redress. Munoz MSS. Vol. xlv, fol. 2 gives an interesting dialogue by Ferdinand Columbus touching the subject of restrictions which the pilot major attempted to impose upon pilots and masters. This is translated by Harrisse, Discoveries, p. 264.
23 Veídes Navarrete as in note 21.
advisability of inserting in the large standard map of the hydrographic office such data as had been gathered. If we now possessed a copy of such pattern map or maps, those bearing a genuinely official character, we should be supplied with detailed and graphic information concerning the progress of discovery. But these standard or pattern maps have likewise disappeared, though we possess not a few examples of Spanish cartographical work which have at least a semi-official character, and perhaps are imperfect copies of official maps. Not the least interesting of these is the Wolfenbüttel-Spanish map.

Confusion of data was the inevitable result of the great accumulation of information gathered somewhat promiscuously.

A pattern map to be useful had to be truthful since confusion of claims and political complications could easily result from inaccurate reports.

In 1515 Spain seized Portuguese vessels which had crossed the Line of Demarcation and entered the region of Spanish jurisdiction, and Portugal retaliated by seizing Spanish ships. To avoid further conflict between these two countries a junta of pilots was called to correct the maps, and to make the necessary surveys that future differences might be avoided. Among those participating in the work of this junta of 1515 we find the names of Sebastian Cabot, the Pinzons, Juan Vespucce, Antonio Mauro, and that of the pilot major, Juan Diaz de Solis. Kohl thinks it not improbable that we have in part, the work of the

24 "It was evidently a plane chart, traversed by the line of demarcation, such as it had been settled between Spain and Portugal in 1494, drawn at a distance equal to five degrees of longitude west of the westernmost of the Cape de Verde islands; but at first with no indication of the degrees of latitude, except as such could be derived from its equator and tropic of cancer, as in La Cosa's great map. Afterward it was crossed with latitudinal, and later still, also with longitudinal lines." Harrisse: The Discovery of North America, p. 259.

This conjecture of Harrisse is almost a perfect, though brief description of the Wolfenbüttel map, which map Harrisse had not seen, although he had very briefly described it.

25 Harrisse: Decades. II, lib. i. xii.

26 Spain employed as pilots, captains, and cosmographers, men of different nationalities, perhaps for the information they were thought to possess as well as for their special skill. Vide for a partial list, Harrisse l. c. pp. 261-262; also the biographical notes at the end of the volume.
junta, or of a Spanish pattern map prepared under the auspices of Solis, in the map of 1519 by Veconte Maiollo, and that on the Munich-Portuguese map of about the same date we find the New World laid down from the Portuguese standpoint.27

The success of the Magellan expedition led to new political difficulties by opening a western route to the Indies of the east. The Cortes conquest of Mexico with other Spanish advances in exploration, quickened in general the spirit of New World adventure. In short throughout the decade following the meeting of the junta in 1515, whose work appears to have amounted to very little, there had been many new discoveries, all of which had been charted with varying degrees of accuracy, and most of this information had found its way into the hydrographic office of the pilot major. Not a few maps of large size appear to have been drawn in this period by non-official chart-makers, such as those executed by Garcia de Torino, a copy of which we probably have in the Turin-Spanish map of about 1523.28

Again in 1524 a junta of pilots and others who had knowledge of the Indies both east and west met at Badajoz and Yelves to undertake the adjustment of Spanish and Portuguese rival claims affected by the Magellan and other expeditions.29 The position of the Line of Demarcation was the first point of vital importance for this junta to settle. Gomara says there were many days spent by this commission in examining the globes and marine maps which had been brought to Badajoz.30 If we had the

27 Kohl: Die beiden altesten Generalkarten von Amerika, p. 80. No superior piece of map study has ever been published than this work by Dr. J. G. Kohl, appearing in 1880. It has been an invaluable reference work in the preparation of this paper.

28 The two maps, referred to by Kohl, and in part reproduced by him, as well as the Maiollo map and the Munich-Portuguese map have been reproduced complete, and in size of the originals in Stevenson: Maps illustrating early Discovery and Exploration. Numbers 4, 5, 9, 11.

29 Vide the reproduction of this map in size of the original with a brief description, in Stevenson: Maps, No. 6.

30 An excellent account of this conference may be found in Blair and Robertson: The Philippine Islands, Vol. I, pp. 165 seq.

31 Gomara: Historia de las Indias, Cap. 100.
charts there exhibited by the representatives of the two nations, they would scarcely prove to be of much scientific value, since both parties were bent on a policy of deception and, in support of their respective claims, presented maps that were either antequated or were purposely falsified. If the results of the conference were not alike satisfactory to all, the Spaniards, at least, were now agreed that this line, as Gomara tells us, should extend through Punta de Humos, on the Marañón, and Punta de Buen Abrigo, on the Laplata, and that it should extend to the westward of the Moluccas which would place these islands under the Spanish flag.  

Such is about the position of the line as we find it on the maps of the Sevillan type.

Learning that the existing charts were contradictory and uncertain, a revision, for a third time, was ordered by the Emperor October 6, 1526. Over the junta, which he appointed, Ferdinand Columbus was called to preside. Although this son of the great discoverer was a chart-maker of some distinction and was pilot major, Kohl is scarcely warranted in attributing the Weimar-Spanish map of 1527 to him, merely because he was the junta's presiding officer, though the map he thinks was the direct outcome of the conference and hence the new official map. An order of the Queen makes it very certain that the new and corrected map, if constructed before 1533, was the work of Diego Ribero. There is, however, good reason for thinking that in the four

81 Gomara 1. c. Cap. 100.

82 Vide Herrera: Decades, III. lib. iv., cap. xi.

83 Vide Harriese 1. c. p. 266 where the order of the Queen is given. From this it appears that the chart was not constructed, since the order is dated May 20, 1535. It reads in Harrisse translation "Don Fernando Columbus: You are well aware that my lord the Emperor, by one of his edulas dated from Grenada, on the sixth day of the month of October, in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-six, charged you with ordering from Diego Ribero, our pilot, and other individuals, a sailing chart which should embrace all the islands and continent now discovered, or to be found hereafter . . . . ."
extant Sevillan maps draughted shortly after the conference of 1526 and bearing in two cases the name of Diego Ribero we have a near approach to a royal standard map if not virtual copies of one. Neither of them, however, bears the official attest though each gives evidence of having been based upon information furnished by the Casa de la Contratacion. Of these, the Wolfenbüttel map has the most detailed geographical nomenclature, indeed a richer nomenclature than has any other map of the first fifty years after the Columbus discovery.

The oldest Spanish maps of importance which have come down to us belong, then, to the third decade of the sixteenth century, and of these there are no less than seven, all of considerable size. Arranged in what I take to be an accurate chronological order they may be designated as the Turin-Spanish, the Salviati, the Mantuan, the Weimar-Spanish, the Weimar-Ribero, the Propaganda-Ribero, and the Wolfenbüttel-Spanish.

All clearly possess at least a semi-official character, but exhibit shades of differences, the last five being strikingly similar. All belong to what I have called the Sevillan type, a type which persists to the end of the century, repeatedly modified, however, through an incorporation

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54 This map may be found in the Royal Library of Turin, Italy. It is 201 by 100 cm. in size, is unsigned and undated, but is probably the work of Grada de Torino. Internal evidence seems to warrant our fixing its date at 1523.

55 A manuscript map of the world on parchment 200 by 93 cm. in size, and is preserved in the Laurentian Library of Florence, Italy. It is neither signed nor dated, but appears to have been drawn before 1526. Twice on the map the coat of arms of the Salviati appears.

56 This map belonging to Marquis D. Rosa Castiglioni of Mantua, Italy, is 213 by 81 cm. in size. It resembles very closely the Ribero maps. A reproduction of a small part of the map may be found in Raccolta di Documenti e Studi, Pt. iv, Vol. II, Tav. III.

57 A world map 216 by 86 cm. in size. It is in the possession of the Grand Ducal Library of Weimar, Germany. It is dated 1527 and is signed merely "vn Cosmographo de Sf Magestd.

58 This world map, the work of "Diego Ribero Cosmographo de su Magestad" is dated 1539. It is 217 by 89 cm. in size, and is preserved in the Grand Ducal Library of Weimar.

59 This map is framed and hangs in the Museum of the Propaganda, Rome. It is signed, as the former, by Ribero. It has been reproduced by Griggs of London, though much reduced in size.

Numbers 1, 2, 4, 5, in the order here given were issued in 1903-1906 by the author of this paper under the title "Maps Illustrating early Exploration and Discovery in the New World"—twelve maps, each in size of the original.]
of the results of successive discoveries. Three of them are dated, two bearing the name of Diego Ribero and are dated 1529; the third of 1527 purports to be the work of a Cosmographer of his Majesty, (vn cosmographo de Sv. Magestad).

The Wolfenbüttel map is one embodying the most important features of the type, but is neither signed nor dated. It is probably not of later date than 1530, and may have been drawn as early as 1527. So striking is the resemblance in coast outline and nomenclature to the signed work of Ribero that it at once suggests his authorship. It would add no little interest to the document were we able to determine this point. In the spelling of its geographical names it follows Ribero far more closely than it does either of the others mentioned. Its landscapes closely resemble the landscapes of the Propaganda Ribero. It exhibits, however, additional geographical information, but we know that the work of that distinguished chart-maker did not end with that which he has dated 1529, as he continued his scientific activities until his death in 1533.

There appears to be but little known of the life of Diego Ribero. It is certain that he was a native of Portugal where he probably acquired his great skill as a scientific chart-maker. No earlier reference to him has been found than that recorded by Navarrete wherein the statement is made that he was entrusted with the construction of charts for the Magellan expedition, and it is implied that he did his work under the direction of Reinel.40 As early as 1523 we find him referred to as "Cosmografo, mestre de hacer cartas e astrolabios e otros ingenios, con 25000 de salario."41

In 1524 he was summoned as "Consultor" (Scientific expert) to attend the Junta of Badajoz, and to supply the necessary globes, charts, and instruments for the determination of the important geographical questions which might come before that body such as the determination of the Line of Demarcation. In this same year he assisted the Genoese

40 Navarrete: Coleccion IV, p. 155.
41 Mufio MSS. LXXV, 213; LXXVI, 308.
Ambassador Martin Centurione, in the preparation of a Spanish edition of Duarte Barbosa's description of the East Indian region. When in 1525 Da Loaysa undertook his South Sea expedition he had with him charts which Ribero had constructed. So far as we have knowledge he never visited the New World, though it appears that he was a practical seaman, for in 1525 he is referred to as "Piloto de Su Magestad." He was on intimate terms with Ferdinand Columbus, who during the absence of Sebastian Cabot on his La Plata expedition, was entrusted with the office of Pilot Major. Ribero was selected as Columbus' assistant and had assigned to him the place of examiner of pilots in which work he was assisted by Alonso de Chaves.

In 1526 the Emperor Charles V, directed that a new standard map should be constructed and he commanded Ferdinand Columbus that he should entrust the work to Diego Ribero and certain other designated cosmographers. Not only was he an expert in the construction of globes, charts, and nautical instruments, but from Navarrete we learn that he was the inventor of a "Bombas de achicar" (ship pump) and that the Emperor rewarded him for this with 6000 mrs.

Of the signed work of Ribero which has come down to us we have the two maps of 1529. If the Wolfenbuttel map is not the work of his hand, there is good reason for affirming it to be a direct copy of a map drawn by this very distinguished chart-maker.

While the other Sevillan maps to which I have called attention include the greater part of the world, are covered with numerous compass lines, have numerous compass roses, and have also the degrees of latitude and longitude

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42 Oviedo in Ramusio III, p. 189 refers to Ribero as a writer stating that he had prepared a work on Cosmography.
43 Navarrete: Colecticon V, 255. Also V, 270 where the charts of Ribero and Nuño Garcia are compared.
44 Munios MSS. LXXVII, 185; LXXXVIII, 181.
45 Herrera I. c. III, 294; IV, 30.
46 Oviedo l. c. II, 149. It does not appear that this chart was constructed. Vede ante, p. 378 n.
47 Navarrete: l. c. I, p. CXXIV.
indicated though omitting all parallel and meridian lines save the circles, the tropics, and the equator, the Wolfenbüttel map includes only the western half of the world, that is, the Americas, and the Molucca Islands with a small part of the neighboring mainland, omits the compass lines and the compass roses, and all indications of graduation save that the circles and the equator are drawn.

The map is richly colored and is remarkably well preserved. Though its colors are mellowed with age, its legends and its geographical nomenclature, partly in red and partly in black according to the practice of early chart-makers, can easily be read with but few exceptions. The numerous landscapes are rather conventional, most of them being enlivened with pictures of animals, either birds or monkeys.

It is drawn on two large parchment sheets, the one 70 by 83 cm. the other 58 by 83 cm., and so constructed as to admit a perfect adjustment. The two artistic wind heads in the upper and the lower corners on the left, there being none on the right, seem to argue that the map-maker had designed a world map, of which the Old World part, if completed, has been lost. Only the regions of Spain’s new discoveries and possessions appear.

Very little is known of the history of the chart, a fact which the author of this paper received from Geheimrath Otto v. Heinnemann, former Librarian of the Wolfenbüttel Grand Ducal Library, in which library this valuable document is preserved. In that part of the printed catalogue of the library titled “Zugabe zur zweiten Abteilung die Augusteischen Handschriften” it is entered as “104 A und B (olim 94 und 95) Aug. fol., 16 Jahrh. (um 1525). Zwei Bll. 3891, 3892.” The catalogue reference, containing a very brief description of the two parts, concludes with the following note:—“Ein Facsimile der Karte A habe ich seiner Zeit zur Weltausstellung nach Chicago geschickt, von wo es nie zurückgekehrt ist: wahrscheinlich hat sich ein Liebhaber gefunden, der es hat mitgehen heissen.”

To the present Librarian, Professor Dr. Gustav Milch- sack, who has shown a most courteous and cordial interest
in this reproduction, under whose direction the map was photographed, and who kindly corrected the manuscript copy of the legends and geographical names sent to him some months since, very sincere thanks are here expressed.

Though the map is not graduated, we can easily determine the author's belief as to the latitude and the longitude of all places recorded by a comparison with the signed Ribero maps on which maps the graduation is clearly indicated. Where coast indentations vary, the differences are but slight. Inaccuracy in geographical location, it should be noted, both for latitude and longitude, is an error common to all early maps of the New World. The extent of the error, though varying with the chart-makers, is in general more marked for longitude than for latitude, and is the greater for each in the higher latitudes. Error in latitude on the Wolfenbüttel map does not appear at any point to exceed about five degrees and in general is less than two degrees; error in longitude varies from about two degrees on the west coast of the Gulf of Mexico to nearly twenty degrees in the Labrador regions. Resulting from this last given fact, the latitudes being very nearly accurate, we have a too rapid trend of the coast to eastward and consequently a too great lengthening of the Atlantic coast line. Herein is exhibited one of the most striking features of the Sevillan map type. The plane construction of the map, in which construction the degrees of latitude and of longitude are practically of the same length, will not account for this error. Given the location of the lands of the Corte-Reals and of Labrador as they appear on the earliest known Portuguese charts, which are from fifteen to twenty degrees too far east, and the position of Florida on early maps

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48 It should not have been a difficult matter to determine latitude with a very near approach to accuracy in that early day. Instruments, however, were wanting with which to determine longitude, hence the remarkable errors of the time, which appear on the charts, and hence the disputes which in particular occurred between Spain and Portugal arising from the inability to fix geographical position in longitude with any satisfactory measure of certainty.

49 This error of location in longitude appears very striking on such maps as the Cantino and the Canecio, also on their derivatives, the Waldseemüller maps, the Munich-Portuguese map of about 1519, and on most of those of the Lustiano-Germanic type.
with its longitude more nearly accurate, the error in trend could have resulted, in part at least, from the attempt to connect the two regions of earliest discovery after the later exploration of the intervening coast line, which exploration did not take place officially until after 1520. It, however, is not insisted that this point is one of great weight, though it was doubtless a contributing factor to the error.

To what extent Captains, pilots, and cosmographers employed the compass in determining the direction of the coast trend, how extensive was their knowledge of magnetic variation and how far the map-makers were influenced in their work by the scientific fact of declination it is not easy to determine. Herein, it appears to me, we have one of the most interesting problems in early map construction, in the solution of which the scientist and the historian can well unite their efforts.

In the construction of such maps as the Wolfenbuttel it does not clearly appear that the fact of declination received consideration. On the contrary the rapid eastward trend of the Atlantic coast might well be due to a belief that the magnetic meridian and the true meridian were one and the same, whereas we know that the declination of that day on the east coast of North America was several degrees to the west, and that it still is from 0 to 50 degrees or more.

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80 Pedro de Medina in his "Arte de Navegar." Valladolid 1545 expressly denies the fact of variation. Vide Gilbert: Loadstones and Magnetic Bodies, 1898, p. 261. This work first appeared in 1600.
81 Assuming that the early explorers did not generally take into account the fact that the magnetic meridian and the geographic meridian might differ, and differ greatly (this point has not been as fully investigated as it should be), it is easy to see how the coast which had been charted from the records of compass bearings should run too rapidly eastward as one passed in the general direction from south to north.

The portolani which lay down the Mediterranean, support the theory here advanced. On all it will be found that points on the eastern Mediterranean coast are relatively and often actually too far to the north from five to six or seven degrees. This suggests an eastward declination of the needle, if the compass was employed in determining coast contours and directions. We can not easily determine the amount of declination for various early periods, but we know that the declination in the Mediterranean regions was to the east. The errors we find on the early maps are retained for centuries. For example, the errors appearing on the Carignano chart of about 1300 are about the same for the east Mediterranean as they are on the Verrazano map of 1529.
82 Off the northeast coast of Greenland on the Buysch map we find the legend "Here the ship's compass does not hold nor is a ship bearing iron able to turn and depart." The origin of the legend is not definitely known. As here placed, it is probably to be attributed to an early explorer who observed the needle's great declination.
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Most of the early explorers undertook to determine the exact location of their discoveries in latitude and longitude. In their written records, as we know, they very frequently designate in degrees the points touched, and these records, in so far as we can interpret their geographical reference and fix the location, often exhibit errors of the same character as do the extant maps. Columbus’s reference to the location of Guanahani, the first reference to the latitude of a locality in America, places it nearly four degrees too far to the north, and his reference to the location of the island of Saona, which he determined by an eclipse of the moon, September 14/15, 1494, places it eighteen degrees too far to the east. These, however, exhibit what I may call some of the extremes of error in location.

According to Gomara “the Spanish commissioners and cosmographers,” members of the junta of 1524, “expressed in their report to the Emperor the judgment that in future, on all Spanish maps, the line of demarcation should be indicated.” The Wolfenbüttel map lays down this line as determined by the Spanish members of the junta. This, it should be noted, is not the papal line of 1493. Strange confusion has crept into many of our histories concerning this point. In the adjustment of international boundary questions between Spain and Portugal, the papal line does not enter after 1494; on the contrary it is the line as determined by the treaty of Tordesillas of that year which invariably is in question in all disputes involving claim to the newly found territories. In the last four

Vide the interesting work by Gilbert: The Loadstone and Magnetic Bodies, first printed in 1600, re-issued in translation in 1893, especially Book IV on Variation. Bauer: Principal Facts of the Earth’s Magnetism, especially pp. 1-56. There is much here which from an historical standpoint is especially interesting. Wolkenhauer: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kartographie und Nautik des 16. bis 17. Jahrhunderts, Inaug. Diss. Universität, Göttingen, Munich. This is a very suggestive monograph. Kretschmer: Die italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters pp. 67 seq. with suggestive references.

According to the Papal Bull of 1493 this line was to be drawn one hundred leagues west of the Azore Islands. The language of the Bull is so indefinite that disputes could easily arise, since the Azore Islands occupy, from extreme east to extreme west, more than six degrees of longitude.

The Bull may be found in Thacher: Christopher Columbus, Vol. II, pp. 93 seq. The legend extending across top and bottom of the Weimar-Ribero map states that it was drawn according to the capitulación of the treaty of Tordesillas 1494.
hundred years there have been numerous attempts to determine with scientific accuracy its longitude. Admitting all the difficulties of the problem, none, it seems to me, has reached a more satisfactory conclusion than has Dawson. He does well to suggest that there are but two inquiries concerning its location which can yield any results of historical interest, the first raises the question as to its location on the modern map, and the second the question as to its supposed location by the Spanish and the Portuguese governments. If Dawson is near the truth in his conclusion that on the modern map it would coincide with the meridian of 45° 40' then it would pass more than seven degrees seaward of Cape Race. On none of the early maps is it so drawn. On the contrary, as it appears on both Spanish and Portuguese maps it would more nearly coincide with the meridian of 60°. Its location therefore, as invariably laid down on Spanish as on Portuguese charts, deprived Spain of a considerable territory which by treaty actually belonged to her. The Wolfenbüttel map represents it as passing through Labrador and to the east of a large island which can be none other than Cape Breton Island, this island being here for the first time clearly and definitely indicated.

Beginning with the region called "Tiera Del Labrador" which extends northward from latitude 60°, a continuous coast line is represented as far as 54° south latitude where the Strait of Magellan is correctly represented. There is nowhere along this coast north of latitude 54° the suggestion of a strait through which one might pass from "Oceanus Occidentalis" to "Magnus Pelagus" and to "Provincia de Malvca." The map was drawn about the time the theory of an Asiatic connection between the New World and Asia was receiving favorable consideration, and the idea of the existence of a strait was for the time, at least,
given over by the chart-makers. There, however, is nothing to indicate that our chart-maker believed the New World he has sketched was a part of Asia.

A study of the geographical and historical records of the map may conveniently begin with this "TIERA DEL LABRADOR." It cannot be doubted that in this part of the map the author has intended to represent the country we now call Greenland, although it is made to extend nearly four degrees too far southward, and more than fifteen degrees too far eastward. Early descriptions assure us of the identity, as do the records of the earlier and the contemporary maps.

Following the records of the Cabots we learn that the coast of Labrador (Greenland) was visited by them in 1498, which coast they followed from about 67° 30' on the east, to about 63° on the west where, blocked by the ice, they turned their course westward, crossing Davis Strait. Though we have earlier cartographical record that this country was discovered by the English, our map gives us the first definite information of the origin of the name. The Weimar Ribero makes record merely of the fact that "The

The theory that the New World was a part of Asia was not generally held by the early explorers. Some of them expressed such belief but in doubtful terms. Columbus himself wrote particularly of islands discovered on his first voyage; in his second he compelled the officers of his vessel to swear, it appears against the conviction of some, that Cuba was a continent; in his third when he discovered the mainland near Paria, and beheld the mouth of the Orinoco, he expressed the conviction that the mighty river came not only from an immense region at the south but from one wholly unknown; in his fourth he made search for a strait through which he might pass to the waters of India, but failing in this his belief concerning an Asiatic connection, it appears, was confirmed.

For the earliest map indication of a belief in a land connection of America and Asia vide v. Wieser: Die Karte des Bartolomeo Colombo über die vierte Reise des Admirals, 1893. The Columbus maps here described were discovered by v. Wieser not long since, and were thought by him to have been copies of maps sent by Christopher Columbus from Jamaica in July 1503. It can not be said, however, that we have here a representation of the prevailing belief of the chart-makers of the first quarter of the sixteenth century. About 1525 the idea of an Asiatic connection came into favor perhaps through the influence of Cortes or of Peter Martyr, and the idea persists to a greater or less extent throughout the remaining years of the century. Vide Harrisse Discovery of North America pp., 281-284.

It seems to have been conclusively proven by H. P. Biggar, in his paper "The Voyages of the Cabots and of the Corte-Reals to North America and Greenland, 1497-1503" in Revue Hispanique, 1908, pp. 485-593, that in the Cabot voyage of 1498 the coast of Greenland was visited, though the contrary opinion has been generally held.
English discovered this country. It produces nothing of any value." The Propaganda Ribero adds to the legend that "it was discovered by the English from the city of Bristol." The Wolfenbüttel legend, more explicit, reads: "The land of Labrador which was discovered by the English from the city of Bristol and as he who first sighted it was a farmer from the Azore islands, this name remains attached to that country."

The region in the interior is represented as mountainous, but along the coast, which is thickly dotted with islands, they may be icebergs, there does not appear a single name. Jean Alfonse, in writing of Norway and Labrador, says that they are one land and that "they are both mountainous regions in which live many kinds of wild beasts." He further states "that the coast of the mainland (Labrador) is not at present inhabited nor explored on account of the excessive cold and also of the long nights."

West of "TIERA DEL LABRADOR," and separated from it by a great gulf or bay is "TIERA NUEVA DE LOS BACALLAOS." The bay can be none other than Davis Strait though there is scarcely the suggestion of an opening to the north. Along the coast appear names apparently given in part by the Cabots and in part by the Corte-Reals. Islands are numerous, two of which are particularly interesting in that they suggest, through their names, the date of their discovery. These are "S: Juhan", the 24th of June, and "S: p" (S: Pedro on the Reinel map) June 29th. A third, "y. de los bacallaos," bearing the same name as the country, and probably to be identified as the present Bacalieu Island, suggests the locality where the codfish were observed as particularly abundant. "Sebastian Cabot him selfe," says Peter Martyr, "named the landes Baccallaos, because that in the seas thereabout he founde so great multitudes of certeyne bigge fysshes much like unto tunies (which..."
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name, after passing through a French transformation. Its mountains, its forests, and its animals are represented in such character as to exhibit the prevailing opinion concerning the region.

Newfoundland is represented as a part of the mainland of Labrador, just as the author has joined the two early names in the legend "TIERA NUEVA DE LOS BACALLAOS." We are able, it seems to me, to identify certain large indentations along the coast running to westward, as Placentia Bay and Cabot Strait or the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. In this great gulf to the south of "BACALLAOS" a large island is represented. It is one of the most striking features of the map. To this island, lying between 46° and 49°, the name "y: de s: Juhan" has been given. Although relatively too large, it can be identified as Cape Breton Island, unless we should make it also include Nova Scotia, a point suggested by the width of the strait on the west. We have further interesting reference to this island in the early accounts of the voyage of Gomez, to which reference is made below.

To the west and south of "TIERA NUEVA DE LOS BACALLAOS" lies "TIERA DE ESTEVEAM GOMEZ," a region which appears to extend from about 50° to 40° north latitude. A legend here reads "The land of Estevam Gomez which he discovered in the year 1525 by command of His Majesty. It is well suited to yield breadstuff and wine in great abundance." Gomez was a Portuguese seaman who, after leaving his native country, was made pilot of the King of Spain in 1518, the same year in which Sebastian Cabot was made Pilot.
Major. In 1519-1520 he was with Magellan, commanding the San Antonio. On the eve of the success of that expedition in its search for a strait, he deserted Magellan and returned to Spain where he was held under suspicion until the arrival of the Victoria from its voyage around the world, when he again received favor of the King. Wishing to offset the results of the Magellan expedition and to make common endeavor with Ayllon and Cortes in search for a strait farther to the north, he received, in 1523, a commission and a grant of 750 ducats from the Emperor to undertake such search. His departure was delayed until February 1525 by the Congress of Badajos of which Congress he was a member. Peter Martyr says he expected to find a passage to China “between Bacallaos and Florida.” Gomara reports that “Gomez sailed along quite a large space of the country which had been navigated by no Spaniard before him,” a statement which is confirmed by Herrera, who says that between Florida and Cape Breton “no Castilian vessel had sailed.” So far then as we have knowledge, that section of the Atlantic coast was first officially visited by Estevam Gomez in the year 1525. Galvano says that he first went to the Island of Cuba, and that he then sailed northward. Oviedo’s record in his Sumario is that he “went to the northern parts, where he discovered an extensive country which is continuous with that called Bacallaos, and con-

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60 The agreement includes the statement: “You propose to undertake the discovery of Eastern Cathay, concerning which you hold opinions and reports giving ground for making discoveries as far as our Molucas Islands.” Vide Documentos Ineditos de Indias, Vol. XX, pp. 74-78.

61 Herrera: Decades, III, lib. vi, cap. i.


63 That this coast had been visited before Gomes explored it, at least by clandestine expeditions, can no longer be doubted. The charts affirm it and their record can not well be considered mere conjecture. The land discovered by the Corte-Real in the north was very early believed to be connected with the Antilles and the land discovered by Cabral. In a letter written October 18, 1501, by Pasqualigo to the Venetian Signory referring to discoveries in the north, the statement is made that “They believe that it is connected with the Antilles, which were discovered for the Spanish Realm, and with the land of the parrots recently found by the ships of (the King of Portugal) which were on their way to Calicut.” Other reference of similar import could be cited.
continuing westward he reached 40° and 41°, more or less."

Alonzo de Santa Cruz, in his *Islario General del Mundo* gives an account of the discoveries of Gomez rather more detailed, which, taken in connection with the Wolfenbuttel map, is especially interesting. He says: "Passing beyond the islands of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, toward the sea, there is a great bay called the Bay of the Britons because every year the Britons come to fish in that bay. . . . Passing the said bay more to the west and near a point of land called Cape Briton the (coast) begins to extend toward an island stretching eastward called Sanct Joan which is 56 leagues long by 20 leagues wide. This island, as certain pilots state, is not in that part of the sea but is within the bay which we call the Bay of the Britons, and in many sailing charts, when that land was first discovered, it was so represented, until Estevan Gomez brought that information which differed in some respects from the opinion entertained concerning the position assigned to the island within the bay. He said that it was joined to the land where it now is. The statement should not be contradicted except where Estevan Gomez says that in passing he saw much smoke and signs that it was inhabited. There is between the island and the mainland a passage called the Canal of Saint Julian from five to six leagues wide. It is said to be of good appearance with many trees, and rivers which empty into the sea. There are around many islands uninhabited. It extends from 46° to 48°. The longest day is fifteen hours and two-thirds."

From "Tierra de los bretones," which is the first name on the west coast of the great gulf above mentioned, to "C: de arenas," the sand cape, which is about the latitude reached by Gomez, nineteen names are inscribed, and with some degree of certainty one is able to identify a few of

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28 Most interesting charts, supposed to have been based upon the Gomez expedition, appear in the "Islario" of Santa Cruz. *Vide* Die Karten von Amerika in dem Islario General des Alonso de Santa Cruz Cosmografo mayor des Kaisers Karl V, mit dem Spanischen original-texte und einer kritischen Einleitung, von Frans R. v. Wieser, 1908, plates I-IV.

24 The name "once mil virgines" appears on the Maiollo map of 1527, in the region here under consideration, also on plate II of The Wieser "Islario."

33 *Vide* Harrisse 1. e. pp. 237-238.
the localities. For the greater part of the distance, between the two points named, the trend of the coast is almost directly east and west, which fact may be easily accounted for if the coast were laid down from compass bearings, the declination of the needle not being taken into account.

One of the most conspicuous indentations along this coast is named "R: de s: Maria," called Rio de las Gamas on the Santa Cruz map of 1542, and Rio Grande on certain others. It seems to represent the Penobscot bay filled with islands. The cape to the west is called "C: de muchas yslas."

There is a large element of conjecture in the results of every attempt to identify places along this coast until we reach "R: de s: antonio" where we probably have come upon a recognizable locality. It will be noted that it bears the name of the vessel which Gomez commanded on the Magellan expedition. In a description of the Atlantic coast, the best of that early day which has come down to us, and which appears to have been taken from the official map of Alonso Chaves, now lost, Oviedo says that "the Rio de san Antonio is in 40° north latitude. The river stands to the coast in a line directly from north to south. Although the coast runs north to the mouth of this river, it then begins to trend to the northeast, and a quarter east, for more than forty leagues." Gomara emphasizes the importance of the river by giving to one of his chapters the title "Del Descubrimiento del Rio de San Antonio." One is led by such references as these and by the location of the river on the maps to think the "R: de s: Antonio" none other than the Hudson. Accepting the latitude, as given by Oviedo, as the one reached by Gomez, we are brought into the vicinity of Delaware Bay and Cape Henlopen for the terminus of his discoveries, or as appears on the map to "C: de arenas."
To the south of "Tiera de Estevam Gomez" lies "Tiera del Licenciado Ailom." The name somewhat altered in form has place for many years on the maps. It does not appear from the written record that a very extensive section of the coast was explored by Ayllon nor do the maps tell us anything to the contrary. The results of the expedition, so far as we know them, being of such comparative insignificance, it is remarkable that it should have been thought fitting to give his name to a section of the Spanish country. His discoveries, however, belong to a period in which renewed effort was being made to find a strait along the Atlantic coast of North America and to explore a region claimed by Spain but not yet officially entered. Because of this, if for none other, they would be given prominence. Into the perplexing problems touching the purpose, the course sailed, the landfalls of the three expeditions which have been attributed to him between 1520 and 1526 it is not essential here to enter. In the first of these expeditions, made in 1521, it appears that the landfall was in latitude 33° 30' at the mouth of a large river. Ouexos who commanded one of the vessels, having joined the expedition on its course through the Bahama Islands, testifies that but one point was visited, to which they gave the name St. John the Baptist. Two names appear on our map, for each of which argument has been advanced that it marks the landfall. "C: de s. elena," according to Herrera was the point first sighted,  

78 Ayllon came to Hispaniola with Ovando. He became one of the auditors of that island, and acquired considerable wealth. Having associated with himself Diego Caballero, and securing a license for his undertaking, he sailed from the port of La Plata in a caravel under command of Gordillo with directions to proceed northward until the continent was reached.  

79 The Welmar-Spanish map of 1527 simply refers to the discovery in the brief legend: "tierra del licenciado ayllon." The Weimar-Ribero legend records this as "The country of Ayllon which he discovered and returned to settle, as it is well suited to yield breadstuff, wine and all things of Spain. He died here of disease."  

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commission necessarily implies an earlier discovery by him, since there is here a reference to Florida. He, however, made little of his office of Adalantado and his son who succeeded him after 1521 apparently thought still less of the new region. Not until after the exploration of de Soto in 1538 do we find the name Florida coming into prominence. On many maps after this date the name is applied to the entire Atlantic coast region as far north as the French claims. The "isla florida" of the Turin-Spanish map is unquestionably a reference to the Ponce de Leon discoveries, but no other name is given on that map in the region so designated.

It is not possible, with certainty, to locate either his landfall of 1512 or of 1521. He appears to have ranged the coast in his first expedition from about latitude 30° on the east to 28° on the west, and on his second visit to have confined his exploration to the west coast. Between the extreme points mentioned for the first voyage twelve names are recorded on our map, some of which are clearly to be attributed to Ponce de Leon. "R: Florido" suggests his landing place, on the east coast, which is located in latitude 29°. Passing southward, he doubled Cape Canaveral which he called "C: Corientes," discovering and naming the "Martires," thence passing up the coast he anchored in a bay which perhaps is the bay long retaining the name here given "b: de Juhan Ponce." His second voyage, not until 1521, is reported to have been undertaken for the purpose of planting a colony and of ascertaining whether this new country was actually an island.

There appears to be some confusion about the date. 1512 seems to be the more probable. The commission tells of "The agreement which was entered into by our command with you, Juan Ponce de Leon, to go to settle the Island of Benify and the Island of Florida which you discovered by our command" and it is dated "Valladolid the twenty-sixth day of September of the year one thousand five hundred and twelve." Vide Coleccion de Documentos Ineditos de Indias Vol. XXII, pp. 82,83. Herrera: Decades I, gives a very detailed narrative of Ponce de Leon's first voyage.

In 1521 Ponce de Leon undertook anew to determine whether Florida was an island, and also to plant a colony. His letter to the Emperor Charles V is quoted in translation in Winsor: Narrative and Critical History of America, Vol. II, p. 234. The explorer died from wounds received on this expedition.
or was joined to the main land which had been visited by Pineda and Cortes. There is no reliable record telling just how far northward he sailed. Navarrete reproduces, in his Coleccion a small map which, near latitude 28° according to the Sevillan cartography, has the inscription, "Hasta aqui descubrió Juan Ponce." The Turin-Spanish map, as above stated, calls this peninsula "isla florida" but doubt clearly existed in the mind of the map-maker as to its being an island, the coast on the north not being drawn, while it omits the gulf coast as far as "Rio del Spu sto." The Weimar-Spanish map makes interesting reference to the discovery of this coast by Garay in the legend "deinde aqui descubrió F. de Garay," which, slightly altered in form and reading: "dende aquy commenzo a descubrir Francesco Garay" appears on the Navarrete map near the legend referring to Ponce de Leon.

When in 1519 Francisco de Garay, Governor of Jamaica, sent out his expedition of four ships under command of Don Alvarez Pineda it was to seek for a western passage to the ocean in which were the Molucca Islands. This passage, per chance, lay beyond the point on the west coast reached by Ponce de Leon in his first expedition, though perhaps in its vicinity. To the legends referring to his expedition both in the Navarrete maps and in the Weimar-Spanish map reference has already been made. It appears that the discoveries of Pineda began at a point marked on our map as "R de s: Juhan" near the present Appalache Bay. Here then, we may say, begins "TIERA DE GARAY." For four or five months this fleet under command of Peneda, followed the north coast of the Gulf of Mexico carefully noting the configuration of the land, the harbors, the rivers, the Indian villages and other objects of interest. Late in August "Panuco" was reached where the fleet fell in with the expedition sent out by Cortes, and it was therefore

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87 Vide Navarrete: Coleccion, III, 148, for a tracing of the map.
89 The Weimar-Ribero legend reads:—"All along this coast and that of the Licentiate Ayllon, and the land of Estevam Gomes, there is no hope of finding gold as in New Spain since it is too far away from the tropics."
prevented from further advance. Whether Pineda retraced his outward course as he journeyed homeward we can not be certain. It has generally been assumed that it was on this return voyage the "R: del Spu sto" (Rio del Espiritu Santo) was discovered and named. Of the exact date of the naming, doubt exists; that the Mississippi river is meant is, however, reasonably certain. Between the "R: de nieves" and "Panuco" which places mark the limits of the Garay expedition, there are twenty-five names inscribed, many, if not most of them, owe their origin to this expedition. The configuration of this coast in the Sevillan chartography must rest upon the records of the charts which, according to the rules of the Casa de la Contratacion were turned over to the hydrographic office in Seville by the explorers themselves, and there are none others to which we find allusion than those prepared at the time of the Pineda discoveries.

The location of the legend, "TIERA DE PANFILO DE NARBAES" on the Wolfenbüttel map suggests that it was drawn as early as 1527. The Spanish conquistador here referred to, at the instance of Diego de Velasquez, governor of Cuba, had undertaken in 1520 to capture Cortes and his companions, but became himself a captive of that most daring adventurer, though he was released within a short time. Having some acquaintance with the Mexican coast, gained through his early experience Narbaez, received from the Emperor in 1527 the authority to conquer and govern with the usual concessions, the country from "R: de palmas" to the Cape of Florida.

A map of date so early as the Wolfenbüttel could make no detailed record of the Narbaez expedition which set out in 1527 and none of the names along the coast can be attributed to him. The legend above given is so placed as to suggest a knowledge on the part of the map-maker of

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91 The charts of the century are a sufficient answer to the argument which has been recently advanced in opposition to the statement that "Rio del Espiritu Santo" is the Mississippi.
92 Vide Buckingham Smith: North America MSS., 1500-1560, p. 91, for the request and the grant.
a purpose of Narbaez to begin his conquest at “R: de palmas” or at some point near it, that is, in the region earlier visited by him. There is nothing to suggest a further acquaintance with his plans.

No geographical boundary lines mark the extent of the regions to which names have been given on these early charts. In most instances it was but a general notion concerning territorial limits which existed in the minds of the chart-makers. The course followed, and the extent of the most important explorations along the coasts, so far as we have knowledge of them, are the chief factors which determine the boundaries as they are set down in this study, though convenience in presentation has sometimes suggested the regional limits.

If “Nueva Espana” may here be made to include the region from “Panuco,” north of which point it does not appear that Cortes extended his expedition, to “Darien,” it would embrace a considerable part of the west gulf coast, especially the Gulf of Campeche, also Yucatan, Honduras, and Central America. The legend, liberally translated, tells that “it was called this because all things brought from Spain can be produced here, and wheat is harvested in great abundance.” If any part of the coast from “Panuco” to “Cotoch” (C. Catoche) on the northeast coast of Yucatan was visited before 1517 there seems to be no authentic record of it. In February 1517 Diego Velasquez, then governor of Cuba, sent out Hernandez de Cordoba with three ships to explore the region to the west. His pilot, Anton Aliminos, had been with Columbus on his fourth voyage when he touched a point on the north coast of Honduras to which he gave the name Cabo de Casinas, a

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83 To the northwest of Florida on the Weimar-Spanish map of 1527 is the legend “Tierra que sera va apoblar panfilo de narbaes”—“Land which Nanfilo Narbaes is going to colonize.” Knowing that Narbaes sailed in June 1527 Kohl thinks this map must have been drawn about that time. It is therefore the oldest extant map, that is at reliable, showing the east coast of the United States, unless the Salviati may (undated) should be accepted as such.

84 “Dixo se asi por q se dan asciandodas las coasa q lleuan de spafia y se cose yatrico en mucha abundacis”.

Ribero writes:—“New Spain, so called, because it contains many things which are found in Spain. Much wheat was transported thence and in such quantities that it could be re-shipped to other parts. There is here much native gold.”
name changed by Solis and Pinzon to Cabo de Fonderas and given on our map as "C: de honduras." Thence Columbus sailed eastward. Aliminos gave counsel that Cordoba on his expedition of 1517 should explore the region northward or westward of the point touched by Columbus, which counsel being followed, land was first sighted on the northeast coast of Yucatan. This the natives called Conex Catoche or "Cotoch." Westward coasting brought them to "de larazo" (S. Laarzo, now Campeche) from which point, after an encounter with the natives, the course was turned homeward. On the way thither they entered "R: de largatos" where they burned one of their ships.

In April 1518 Juan de Grijalva started with four vessels on an exploring expedition to this western region. Landing first at the island of "cocumel" he followed the coast as far as "Panuco," or near it, and in the autumn returned to Cuba. There is good reason for thinking that most of the names appearing along this part of the coast, on maps before 1530, were given during the expedition of Grijalva, and that they were laid down on maps which were the work of Aliminos who had served as pilot for Cordoba, in which capacity he also served for the expedition of Cortes in 1519. None of these maps is extant. Among the interesting names appearing on our map are "p: deseados," where Grijalva anchored, a name not given on the other Sevillan maps referred to. This was first thought to be a harbor, but on further investigation Aliminos gave it as his opinion that it was a strait and that Santa Maria de los Remedios, that is Yucatan, was an island, "and it was so laid down on the maps thereafter," says Diaz. Herein we have the explanation of the insular character of

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96 It is interesting here to compare the Munich-Portuguese map of 1519 (circa), with the Wolfenbüttel. The names do not agree, but as much of the coast is laid down on the former, which is a Portuguese map, as was visited by Cordoba.
97 This name was given by Grijalva.
96 It appears that the Spaniards of the Cordoba expedition did not understand the native word "tectetan," meaning "I do not understand." Thinking this to be the name of the region they fashioned the word into Yucatan. Vide Egli: Nomina Geographica, "Yucatan."
96 Diaz: Historia Verdadera, cap. x.
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the region from the east. In the following year, that is 1502, when on his fourth voyage to the New World, Columbus left the coast of Cuba, July 24, sailing southwest he touched the north shore of Honduras at "c. de honduras." Thence directing his course eastward he passed the headland marking the turn on the coast to southward to which he gave the name "C: de gracias a dios." At "cargay" (Cariay) he repaired his vessels. On reaching "cerabaro" (Carambaru) he learned from the natives that he was on the border of a rich gold bearing country, and he made effort to ascertain the facts. Some weeks later, and for a considerable time he found himself compelled to remain within the mouth of the river "bela" (Belem) because of storms, and while here he undertook, though unsuccessfully to plant a colony. At "Varaga" (Veragua) he had further word from the natives concerning the gold mines of the country. This name, as we know, in time became that of a province, and furnished a title name for the family of Columbus. His explorations could not have extended much beyond "Retrete." Concerning his discoveries along this coast he says in his report that he had with him sea charts which made it apparent that the Honduras coast, he had discovered, was connected with the Pearl coast which he had visited on his third voyage. These charts are not now known but they must have found their way to Seville and have served as the foundation of such maps as the Wolfenbüttel.

In 1508 Diego de Nicuesa was commissioned to conquer and settle the entire coast from "C: de gracias a dios" to the Gulf of Darien. To this region which he visited

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104 Vide Harrisse 1. c. p. 684 containing a brief statement with references.
106 This point was reached by Columbus September 12, 1502, after long contending against storm and ocean currents. The southward trend of the coast seemed to him to give promise that the sought for strait would soon be found. The name is retained to the present day.
107 Columbus gave the name "Belem" in honor of the coming of the Three Kings to Bethlehem. He entered the harbor January 6, 1503.
108 September 28, 1556, Philip II issued a decree at Ghent giving to Luis, grandson of Christopher Columbus, the title Admiral of the Indies and Duke of Veragua with an income of 7,000 ducats.
the name Castilla del Oro was given which name in 1513 was transferred to the coast land east of the Gulf replacing here the name Nueva Andalusia which had been given in 1508. The name "acía" (Acia), marking the port where Balboa in 1516 had constructed his vessels which were carried piece by piece to the Pacific coast, and "nobre de día" (Nombre de Dios) are names which yet appear on the maps.

The name "CASTILLA DEL ORO" on our map, seeming to mark the country included between "Darien" and the "Golfo de Paria" is one long retained on Spanish maps. Between the points designated, thirty-five coast names appear, some of which names can not now be read. It is reasonably certain that Columbus was the first to sight any part of this north coast, when in August 1498 he made a landing near the island "la trinidad." His chart of the region seems to have been in the hands of most of his successors. Before two years had passed, the entire coast here included was visited and charted by such expeditions as that of Alfonso de Hojeda, Juan de la Cosa, and Vespucci in 1499, of Pinzon and De Lepe in 1500, and of Rodrigo de Bastedas in 1500. From the last given date until the time of the construction of our map there were numerous explorations of this north coast of South America, though most of the names given are traceable to the earlier voyages.

A very striking and interesting feature of the Wolfenbüttel map is its representation of Lake Maracaybo. Though a gulf is properly located at this point on the coast on earlier

109 Marks the site of a settlement made by Nicuesa in 1510.
110 In a royal decree of 1513 the name Castilla del Oro was given to the region over which Pedrarias d'Avila was appointed Governor. This was to include the region assigned to Alonso de Hojeda in 1508, that is from Cabo de la Vela to the Gulf of Darien, to which the name Nueva Andalusia had been given, together with the lands of the isthmus. The governor of this territory soon extended his authority to the South Sea Coast and in 1518 the official residence was established at Panama.
111 This was the region visited by Columbus on his third voyage.
113 Touching the coast of Paria they followed it as far as "quaquibocoa" (Couflubacoa).
114 From Paria to a point south of "G: de S: agostinho".
115 From Cumana, near the "Golfo de Paria" to a point west of "darien."
as well as on contemporary maps, none of them give us anything like a representation so nearly accurate as we here find of the Lake. The name "Golfo de venezuela," the last part of the name as here given being somewhat indistinct, does not appear on any of the other Sevillan maps referred to. Across the lake itself is the explanatory name "anaguada" designating a flooded or swampy region, and extending from the lake westward is the name "estrecho de lago venezuela." The brief legend below "CASTILLA DEL ORO" reads "Esta es laguernacion de la grañ a fa ffectable compania de los bel zeres."\[116\]

Along the stretch of coast between "Golfo de Paria" and the turn to southward of the coast line marked "C: de S: Roque" forty-five names appear. This coast was first visited in 1499 by the Hojeda expedition referred to above. There are many extant maps drawn before the Wolfenbüttel map, on which it is sketched, of which the one drawn by Juan de la Cosa in 1500 is the oldest known. The maps of Cantino and of Canerio, which follow within three years give a much better presentation. Very many of the names are merely descriptive, to which no special historical significance seems to attach, as "R: Salado," "R: dulce" which is probably the mouth of the Orinoco, "arboledas," "Aldea," with other names of similar character.

The "RIO DE MARANOM" is especially prominent, with a descriptive legend which reads "The river Maranom which the knight diego dordaz is going to settle: this river is very large and extends twenty leagues into the sea and here it is said they get fresh water."\[117\] It was

\[118\] Ribero’s legend reads:—"THE GOLDEN CASTILLE so called because here much gold is found. The Indians are more warlike than are those of Santo Domingo and of other parts because they use poisoned arrows. Here there is a village called St. Martha, where large quantities of gold are found in the earth. Here the Germans have their territory from the Cape de la Vela to Cumana, from 140 to 150 leagues.”

\[119\] "RIO DE MARANOM aqui vs asa apoblar el comendador diego dordaz: este Río es muy caudaloso por quo astando 50 leguas ense mardis que toman aqua dulce.”

The Ribero legends reads:—"All along this coast from the river (of) sweet (water) to the Cape of San Roque nothing of any value has been found. This coast was explored once or twice since the discovery of the Indies but since no one has returned thither. The River Marañon is very large and ships enter it for sweet water and twenty leagues in the sea they take fresh water.”
Vicente Yanez Pinzon who, in January 1500, first entered the mouth of this river, and his report says he explored it for a distance of thirty or forty leagues. He called it the Great Stream of Paricura, as he had learned from the natives that the north bank of the river was called Paricura, or "costa de paricura." On this expedition he had first sighted land near the northeast angle of South America to which he gave the name Rostro Hermoso, a point which has sometimes been identified as "C: de S: Roque," though there exists reason for thinking it was farther to the west, perhaps the headland on the northwest shore of "baya hermosa." The earliest positive information we have of "C: de S: Roque" we get from a report of the expedition of three ships which were sent out by the Portuguese King in 1501 for the purpose of following up the discoveries of Cabral of the preceding year, which expedition we find recorded as the third of Amerigo Vespucci. It appears from the Saint's name given that the discovery was made August 16th.

The name "El Brasil" is inscribed on our map as if the intention were to make it include the entire section of the continent east of the Line of Demarcation, that is Portuguese South America, just as "MVNDVS NOVVS" appears to be the name given to the entire continent. Brazil is an early name doubtless suggested by the discovery of the red dyewood and has no connection with the Atlantic island variously placed in the Atlantic Ocean on early maps. It was first applied somewhat indefinitely to the new land discovered in the south and was employed very much as the name Papagalli, Isla de la Vera Cruz, Terra Sanctae Crucis, and even America itself. The name was long given to at least as much of the coast as was included between the extreme eastern angle of South Amer-

118 Ribero says: "The land of Brasil. Here there is nothing of value except the brasill (wood) which costs nothing except the cutting and carrying to the ships which the Indians do for very little. They eat the flesh of their enemies. Here the King of Portugal has at Pernambuco a factory where there is a large quantity of brasill (wood) collected for shipping on board vessels which come for that purpose."

119 Vide Bourne; Spain in America, chap. viii, on "Amerigo Vespucci and the naming of America."

120 Vide Scaife; America, Its Geographical History.
ica, that is "C: de S: Roque" and the mouth of the La Plata, that is "trra de Jo. de Solis." It was doubtless Cabral who first sighted the east coast south of "C: de S: augustinho," and the account of his expedition of 1500 says it was at a point called by him, "monte pasual" (Monte Pascual) thus honoring the festival near which the discovery was made. Thence he sailed ten leagues northward as far as Puerto Seguro, says Ramusio, from which point he departed on his voyage to the East Indies. This Puerto Seguro must have been near the locality where we find "R: de S: Jorge."

Between "C: de S: Roque" and the "Rio de Parana" thirty-five names appear, which with but few exceptions must have been given before 1517. The evidence is most convincing that Vespucci during his third voyage of 1501, as he designated it, was the first to explore the coast south of "monte pasual," and that he reached that most southern point which we find designated on the Canerio chart as Rio de Cananor but given on the Wolfenbüttel as "R: de la cananea," and yet appearing on the modern map as Cananea. Considerable interest centers in many of the names here given. From the many saints names which are recorded and from the order in which they are given we have the suggestion that they mark the progress of some one of the early expeditions. From the north, southward we find among other names "C: de S: Roque" (August 16th), "C: de S: augustinho" (August 28th), "S: hieronimus" (September 30th), "Baya de todos Santos" (November 1st), "Sierra de S: lucia (December 13th), "Po de S: Sebatian (January 20th). "C: frio" marks a sharp turn in the east coast of Brazil. It must have early attracted the attention of explorers by reason of its prominence, as it appears on the earliest map, and is yet retained as Cabo Frio. "R: de la India" Kohl thinks represents the Bay of Rio de Janeiro, and he notes that the name Janeiro does not appear on any of the early maps,

122 Vide Stevenson: Marine World Chart of Nicolo de Canerio Januensis, section on "South Continental Region-South America."
while Humboldt thinks the name could not have been given before 1531.\textsuperscript{123} Southy says that it was given as early as 1516.\textsuperscript{124} There is no record by which to determine with exactness, this point, yet it is an interesting fact that it appears for the first time on the Wolfenbüttel map and in the form "R: de Janeyrio."\textsuperscript{125}

That this coast was visited many times during the first quarter of the century is very certain. To but one or two of these visits can allusion here be made.

It seems probable that Juan Diaz de Solis and Vicente Yafiez Pinzon in the expedition of 1508-1509 passed well to the south along this newly found land, though to what point can not be determined.\textsuperscript{126} In Solis' second expedition of 1515–1516 he left Spain with a commission to circumnavigate South America and reach the west coast of Castella del Oro.\textsuperscript{127} Touching first the Brazilian coast in the vicinity of "C: de S: Roque" he followed it to the mouth of the Rio de la Plata which he entered. To the cape on the north shore he gave the name "C: de S: Ma" (Santa Maria). The name "terra de Jo de Solis," here given in his honor, marks the present Uruguay, which last name we also find appearing as "huruay," and designating a river, on the Wolfenbüttel map.

It was but a short time after the second expedition of Solis, which ended in his death at the hands of the natives, that the Maiollo map was draughted including the South American coast from Honduras to the mouth of the Rio de la Plata. It is a chart of much significance by reason of its date, 1519, by reason of the many names given, and by reason of its coast configuration which is made to terminate at the south with the "C: de Maria" of Solis.\textsuperscript{128} Only on the Wolfenbüttel map and on those signed by Ribero do the two islands appear at the mouth of the Rio de la

\textsuperscript{123} Ghillany: Der Ritter Martin Behaim, Vorrede.
\textsuperscript{125} Varnhagen: Historia geral do Brasil, Vol. I, p. 19 thinks the name indicates a discovery in January.
\textsuperscript{126} Documentos Ineditos de Indias XXII, 5-18.
\textsuperscript{127} Herrera: Decades, II, ii.
\textsuperscript{128} Stevenson: Maps No. 4.
Plata, islands which have disappeared if they ever existed. "ysa: de Roderigo alvarez" honors the name of a pilot who accompanied the expedition of Sebastian Cabot on his voyage of 1526, and "y: de Xpont Jaques" does honor to a Portuguese explorer who, in 1526, sailed along the east coast of South America with a fleet of six ships.

"EL GRAM RIO DE PARANA" is given special prominence, having an accompanying legend which briefly touches the important historical incident of Solis' visit and death, the visit of Sebastian Cabot, and makes brief reference to the geographical significance of the region. This legend reads: "The mouth of this river Juhan de Solis discovered in 1515 and here the Indians killed him. And afterwards Sebastian Cabot entered here and he has been here more than two years. They went up the river to Riva about two hundred leagues. The river is 5, 6, 7, and 8 leagues wide and has many different kinds of fish. Those who came (here) say there is much gold." 

Here but few names are inscribed.

"TIERA DE PATAGONES" is made to include practically the entire southern extremity of "M V N D V S N O V V S," the east coast of which had been visited many times before the draughting of the Wolfenbüttel map. No part of the west or Pacific coast is given, the ocean line being made to terminate with the western opening of the Strait of Magellan, or "estrecho de fernam Magelhaes." Twenty-nine names are given along the coast south of "R: de carcarana," the principal tributary of the Rio de la Plata, on which river Cabot constructed a fort giving it the name "S: espir-

129 Winship: Cabot Bibliography, xlvi and the references.
130 Varnhagen 1. c. I, p. 37 says that Christovao Jaques in 1526 established a Portuguese Factory at "Pernambuco."
131 "La boca deste Rio descubrio Juhan de Solis el ano de 1515:--esqui lomastaro los Indios:--fs despues entro aqui Sebastian gaboto fs estono en el mas de dos anos fs subieron el Rio a Riba obra de: 200: leaguas es el. Rio ancho de : 5.6.7. fs 8. leaguas fs de muchos fs diversos pecados disentos q ven ieron q ay alli oro porende ollos nolo truxeron."

Ribero's legend reads: "This land was discovered by Juhan de Solis in the year 1515 or 1516. Sebastian Cabot is now there in a fort which he has constructed. It is very well suited for producing breadstuffs and wine in great abundance. The river is very large and abounds in fish. It is thought there is much gold and silver in the interior."
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The story of his voyage need not here be related. We find in Navarrete’s Coleccion a statement that he had with him a number of parchment maps reputed to be the work of Nuño García by which he directed his course, and we also know that Diego Ribero had been entrusted with the construction of charts for the expedition according to models which the Reinels had supplied. The Sevillan maps, to which I have referred are the oldest extant which unmistakably lay down the Magellan discovery. That our chart-maker wished to call especial attention to the success of the expedition is exhibited in the two ships he has here drawn with the subscribed legend “voy amaluco.” If Estevam Gomez carried back to Spain with him a chart of that southern region, it could hardly have recorded a strait, since he deserted his commander before completing the passage. It could hardly have been before 1522, on the return of Sebastian del Cano that charts were brought to Spain recording the great geographical discovery. Upon such reports as were then rendered, our Sevillan charts must have been modeled. Along the south coast of the Strait six names are given, including the significant name “Tierra de los fuegos.”

The Turin-Spanish map lays down about six or eight degrees of the Pacific coast of South America, north of the Strait of Magellan, indicating by the legend “Tierra de dezember” the point whence Magellan set sail for his cruise across the Pacific, and the extreme northern point which he reached before his venture into the open sea. Not until 1526 does it appear that this west coast was followed to the “rear of Nueva España,” as was the expression often employed in referring to the west coast of Central America. Near a decade passed before we find positive evidence re-

187 Magellan’s course is usually marked too far to the south. There is a good chart of his course in the Pacific in Stanley: First voyage around the World by Magellan, in Hakluyt Society publications, No. 52, p. 173; also in Winsor: Narrative and Critical History of America, Vol. II, p. 610.

188 Guevara, a Captain in the expedition of Loayza, sailing in 1525. During a storm in June 1526 he was separated from the other vessels of the fleet as he passed out into the Pacific through the Strait of Magellan. He sailed northward, without taking careful observations of the coast, and in July arrived off the coast of “Guatemala provincia.”
corded on the maps that the entire contour of South America had become known.\textsuperscript{139}

The Wolfenbüttel map exhibits the Pacific coast of the New World from "R: ciego" in "Guatimala provincia" to "po. y. provincia de la cibdad de chinchax" which province or city marks the southern limit of Pizarro's government of "PERU." "Chinchax" or Chincha, according to the natives, was the name of a rich city and province in the interior. Between the points designated, thirty-six names are given. Not all of these can be traced to their origin, but they were given between the discovery of Balboa in 1513 and the expedition of Pizarro in 1527, within which period we know of many expeditions along that particular section of the coast or along parts of it. There is some reason for thinking that a part of the coast had been laid down on a map by Columbus as early as 1504 from data he derived from the natives. The oldest known chart which has sketched any part of it is one, in the main of Portuguese origin, of about 1519, representing, off the coast in Mar del Sur, an exploring party in open boats, probably drawn from Balboa records.\textsuperscript{140} This was a promising region for the Spanish adventurers and gold seekers, and it is not strange that within so short a time after it became known we have it so well charted.

Of the islands represented in "OCEANUS OCCIDENTALIS" (sic) little can here be said. To trace the origin of each of the names, near one hundred and twenty, would give undue length to this paper. Only the island "y: de verde" and "Myadas" in the north Atlantic give evidence of the influence of early tradition. With but few exceptions the names recorded are yet retained. Each of the seven islands of "ISLAS DE LAS ACORES" has the name given before the discovery of the New World. The location of the Canaries is indicated in the legend, "ISLAS DE LAS CANARES," though individual names are omitted, while the "ISLAS DE CABO

\textsuperscript{139} On many of the early maps this coast is conjecturally laid down. \textit{Vide} such maps as that of Maioollo 1527, the Verrasano map of 1529.

\textsuperscript{140} Stevenson: \textit{Maps, No. 5}. 
VERDE" appear with five names. In the "ISLAS DE LAS LVCAYS" and "ISLAS DE CARIBES" there is an attempt at a grouping of the New World islands. "Cuba" and "Haiti" with their neighboring smaller companions are laid down with relative accuracy, though exhibiting in their latitude and longitude the common errors of the Sevillan maps. In the Gulf of Mexico, along the coast of Yucatan, of Honduras, and of Venezuela more than forty island names appear.

On the extreme left of the map a section of the mainland of "LA CHINA" is represented, and near this, to the southeast, the "PROVINCIA DE MOLUCA," "GILOLO," with many islands lying within "SINUS MAGNS." At the time the map was drawn, the Moluccas were attracting particular attention. Magellan had reached them by sailing westward from Spain, and the word of his discoveries, and of his death, had been carried back to Spain by Sebastian del Cano in his vessel the Victoria. The quarrel between Spain and Portugal, over the possession of the Indian islands of the east began with the arrival of the reports of this expedition. The Congress of Badajos of 1524 could not adjust the difficulties, since it could not definitely settle the perplexing geographical question respecting the exact location of the Line of Demarcation.

The Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494 had directed that this line should be drawn 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde islands from pole to pole but nothing was therein said concerning its extension around the world. Dawson interestingly suggests that the Line of Demarcation was not intended to be a terminus ad quem, but a terminus a quo, that Spain was to be limited only by the eastward progress of Portugal and that Portugal was to be limited only by the westward progress of Spain.141 The point concerning the extension of the line to the remote east did not therefore become a practical one until Magellan reached the Molucanas.142

The Riber maps lay down the Moluccas as belonging to Spain, placing them between the Line of Demarcation, 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands, which line is also made the prime meridian, and the meridian 180° to the west, that is within the Spanish hemisphere. Measurement will show the Wolfenbüttel and the Ribero maps to be practically identical with respect to the location of these eastern lands. That some uncertainty existed in the minds of the map-makers is curiously exhibited in the duplication of the coast line of "GILOLO."

The "ysa de los ladrones" is laid down, this being the locality where Magellan had his first unpleasant experiences with the natives, and we also find the "baxos de S: Lorence" where the Europeans were at first cordially received but where Magellan lost his life in a conflict with the natives.

On the 11th of February, after months of hardships, the one remaining vessel, the Victoria, under command of Sebastian del Cano, left the island of "timors" on the homeward voyage, reaching San Lucar, September 6th, 1522. A new period of discovery now opened, a new type of world map now made its appearance, of which type the Wolfenbüttel-Spanish map is an unsurpassed example.

Great care has been exercised in the following pages to give a correct reading of the legends and names to be found on the map. That some of the words have been misinterpreted is possible. Some of the legends, as given by the chart-maker, are scarcely intelligible, and the translations in some instances are conjectural. One can not be certain in all cases of the spelling of the geographical names. The scope of this paper has not permitted the printing of a detailed consideration of the origin of the several names, more than six hundred, which appear on the map. The names and legends are, however, printed here in full, those in red being printed in italics.
TIERA DEL LABRADOR
La cual fue descubierta por los Ingleses de la uilla de bristol e por q el q dixo el lauiso della era labrador de las islas de los acares le quido este nóbre.

TIERA NUEVA DE LOS BACALLAOS
Esta tierra fue descubierta por los portoguesos noyen ello cosa de provecho mas q los bacallao q es pescado muy bueno. Aquí seper diero los corte Reales.
y: de la fortuna
y: de la tormenta
S: Juhan
S: po
y: de los saualos
c: hermesso
b: de las gamas
y: del fuego
yaleos de las aves
C: de Marco
y: de frey lula
b: de S: ciria
y: de los bacallao
C: despera
R: de las paras
C: Russo
C: de s: Palos

TIERA DE ESTEVAM GOMEZ
La cual descubrio el año 1525 por maldado de su magestad estienda des puesta para dar pa es hemoq muchís abudancia
y: de S: Juhan
Tierra de los bretonos de la bueata
Golfo
Montanas
Arenales
R: de S: Maria
C: de muchas ylas
y: de S: Juhan
playas
R: de los Indians
S: Juhan baptista
R: de buena madre
Montana X de sierras
Montanas
R: de s: Antonio
b: de s: Xpoval
C: de arenas

TIERA DEL LICENCIADO AILLOM
R: de S: tiago
C: de S: Juhan
playa
b: de S: maria
R: del spu sto
C: Trafaigar
Arboledas
R: del prinsips
C: de s: Roman
R: Jordam
S: elena
C: de s: elena
C: Gruesso
R: solo
Marbaza
Arricifes

TIERA DE GARAY
R: solo
R: Florida
R: de corrientes
C: Roxo
R: salado
Canico
Playa
b: de Juhan ponce
ataliya
Motas
R: de la conception
C: escondido
Buque

TIERA DE PANFILO DE NARBAEZ
C: de +
C: simco
Tra de gigantes
R: deloro
playabaxa
anejados
R: escendido
Malibrigo
C: bravo
tesa Costa
R: de palmas
R: hmosso
arboledas
Montes

NUEVA ESPANA

Dixo se asi por q se dan ezcrian-
todas las cosas q lleuan de españa
y se cose yatrigo en mucha abun-
dacía.
Panuco
terra de pauos
C: Roxo
ya: de lobos
playa
angla de racones
S: po y. S: pablo
terra llana
almeria
torre blanca
playas
Villa Rica laniesa
Villa Rica
S: y: de olina
R: de vanderas
pö: de gada
R: datuarado
Roca partida
Sierras de S: martin
R: de guasacalco
salinas
Rambla
la Rambla
de S: anton
R: de palmas
R: des boca
R: de grijatua
terminos
R: de cristianos
Golfo dulce
S: gilos buena vista
pö: de las higuerras
C: des-puntas
R: de allados
pö: de cauallo
R: de pechí
pö: de lucal
Triumfo de la+
mítan
R: de pdidos
Sierra de S: xpual
C: de honduras

decam arena
pö: de arcifes
Mar del la tierra
Cartago
de laorosa
de labioura
C: de gracias a dios
G: de isleos
cargay
cerabobo
Arboleda
bela
taragua
pö: bello Retrete
acla poco nobre dedia
darion
dabay

CASTILLA DEL ORO

Esta es lagouer nacion de la grafi
a fa fz ao ble compafia de los bel
zeres.
Caribana
Capataca
montana alta
Cartagena
laca
pö de Zamba
R: Grande
aldea
S: martu
gochire
Ramada
seturna
C: la vela
quankibacoa
pueblo de p. lanoato
Golfo de venezuela
moriana de Paraguana
C: de S: Roman
terra de provincia
Paraguohua
Tucurucá
Golfo Triste
R: —
y: de guaymacara
C: moro de la ha—ca
ca—
—evh—acoa
C: de la codera
R: de las viedras
R: de
Macarapana
——

Macarapana
——
pö canches
Golfo de Parla
aruca Provincia
R: de Vya— pary

RIO DE MARANOM
Aquí us aora apoblar el comendador
diego dordaz este Rio es muy
caudalossa por quo astando 20
leguas enla mardiz que toman
aqua dulce.
anogados
palmas
R: sallado
R: de canoaas
Monto espesso
R: dulce
tierra llana
pô baxa
R: de labara
arrechiffes
R: Verde
R: salado
arboledas
R: baxo
aldea
C: blanco
furna
Mantanas
R: de la buelta
Aldea
R: baxo
Rio de la buelta
firm granda
c: blanco
Costa de lasas
arbolado
R: de pascua
Visto de loxos
costa de paricura
Maranom
R: de la treinidad
C: del costa
C: del monte
caleta
furna
R: de vicente yaez pincon
C: Negro
baya apracelada
anglo de la aguada
baya hermosa
Tierra del pauro
playa del praceil
arboledos
C: de S: Rogue

EL BRASIL
C: de baxos
paramambuquo
C: de S: agostinho

R: del lago
R: de de S: francisco
baxa barilles
pô Real
S: hieronimo
baya de todos santos
montanas
R: de los cosmos
R: de las estrellas
R: de S: Jorge
monte pascuau
R: de las Ostias
p: de barbora
Baxos de los pargos
baya del salvador
Sierra de S: lucia
C: frio
R: de Janeyrio
R: de la India
R: de estremo
pô de sebastian
R: de la cananea
R: de S: francisco
y: de S: catalina
pô de los patos
R: de los negros
C: de S: ma'
ttra de Jo de solis
S: Salvador
R: negro
huruay
ysa: de Roderigo alvares
y: de xpont Jaques

MVNDVS N O VV S

EL GRAM RIO DE PARANA
La boca deste Rio descubrio Juhan
de solis el afio de 1515:—esaqui
lomataro los Indios:—fz despues
entro aqui sebastian gaboto fz
estono en el mas de dos anos fz
subieron el Rio a Riba obra de :
200 : leguas es el Rio ancho
de : 5.6.7.fz 8 leguas fz de
muchos fz diversos pescados
dizentos q venieron q ay alli oro
porende ollos nolo truxeron.
S: ana
Paragua
ypitin
El gram Rio de parana
S: esperitos

TIERA DE PATAGONES
Toda esta torra descubrio Fernam
de magallaes el afio de 1520 :
Donde allo el estrecho por donde
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Po: y provincia de la ciudad de Chinchay:

PERU PROVINCIA
MAR DEL SVR

Pl: de S: Roque
S: Roque de S: antonio
S: clara
Samojata
S: Xrenol

(Islands in north Atlantic.)

y: de verde
Maydas
y: de Jo estevez

ISLAS DE LAS ACORES

y: de flores
Fayal
S: Jorge
pico
S: migel
Graciessa

ISLAS DE LAS CANAREAS

OCCEANVS OCCIDENTALIS

ISLAS DE CABO VERDE

S: antoni
S: vicento
S: lucia
S: niculao
S: tyago

ISLAS DE LOS LVCAYOS

Baxoes de babueca
ammanna
canana
Mayas guana
ya baque
yuagua
Guanahany
cigatyo
yucayonne
bahama
bimini
Roques
la bermuda

ISLA DE CARIBES

boca del drago
la trinidad
tabago
la granada
barbados
vycente
S: lucia
matenino
dfnica (dominica)

marigalante
Deseada
el antigua
Labarda
S: bartolome
elanguila
Sombrero
Anegada
las virgines
passaje
po Rico
Zecheo
C: Roxo
ya daneyuana
al barrom
S: +
S: paual
lafmenos
roondnda
y: de aves
Monserate
guadalupe

CUBA

c: de corrientes
Guaniguariano
ya de pines
Jardin de la Reyna
Jardin del Rey
C: de +
S: tiago
p: de palmas
p: de mayci
trenidad
y: de lobos
Camariora
Xapua
canan
havana
C: de S: anton

jamayca
Elngrillo
bituotas (livoras?)
oristan
bayaces
navaca

Haiti
C: deltiburon
ya baque
altovelo
la beata
S: domingo
S: Catalina
Saona
lamona
C: de higuey
po de plata  
po: trino  
po: Real  
vaquimo dagua  
cubana  
S: niculas  
guan  
(Islands in the Gulf of Mexico.)  
y: de sacrificios  
lasaera  
trangulo  
alcacoranes  
Tortugas  
Martires  

(Islands east of Yucatan.)  
y: llana  
todos  
s. see  
S: fr  
lasaro  
lapartida  
cocumel  
amazones  

(Islands east of Honduras and on coast of Venezuela.)  
elescudo  
y: de la stinientos  
de la canao  
S: adres  
S: catalina  
la serrana  
yes: de mezzo  
cativa  
tortuga  
yes: fuerte  
yes: dabaru  
yes: de stuardo  
yes: de arenas  
elaguja  
los mojas  
aruba  
curacaut  
Boynari  
Los Roques  
yeleo  
laochilla  
pucia guarl  
cubagua  
y: blanca  
Margarita  
frayles  
testicos  

LA CHINA  
cantam (The picture of a city emphasizes the importance of this place.)  
Mataoi  

ysa danquenejaga  
aguada a prim  
aqua de de s: tiago  
R: de la ascencion  
baxos de los Ramos  
C: de pescadore  
R: de la sal  

Recife daguada  
baxos de s: Lorenzo  
C: de branca teineira  
entrada de s: Roman  
yas de los ladrones  
PROVINCIA DE MALVCO  
polaguan  
cubu  
caylon  
hunhan  
y: de negro  
bobol  
macagua  
culuan  
Marcelagos  
cagayan  
quepit  
cubuqu  
S: ma  
taquima  
canela  
candicot  
carragan  
Po  
colo (The meridian of 180° on the Ribero maps passes through this island.)  
Sangil  
teruenate  
mavatedorg  
motil  

GILOLO  
machian  
bachan  
tenedo (?)  
bur  
ambon  

SINVS MAGNS  
Mulua  
timors  
ataffuffuz  
Insule hee q rubro scribite sunt. s. prouincia de maluco gilolo scm (secundum) Joannes sebastiano del cano tali longitude situantur qui prime nauis gariofilorum plena que a maluco uenit. itiden que primitus orbem circujuit dux fuit scm (secunda) navigatione quan ano 1520. 1521. 1522 fecerat.
THE WOLFENBÜTTEL-SPANISH MAP. REDUCED.
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