

Hans Egede and the Frobisher Strait

By Ib Rønne Kejlbo

Abstract

Descriptions and maps from Martin Frobisher's expeditions in the 1570's, which were sent out to find the North West Passage, aroused confusion in the cartographical production because the Frobisher Strait was reproduced as a sound intersecting Greenland. Hans Egede observed this inconsistency in 1723 when searching for the strait in order to reach the east coast.

Introduction

In the 1570's Martin Frobisher tried to find the North West Passage, and during his expeditions several locations were named. However, for centuries there were doubts as to the exact placing of Frobisher's discoveries. In 1861-62 the American Charles F. Hall found a solution of the problem (*Stefansson*, 1938, p. 240-49). In the region now called Frobisher Bay he found ramparts that hinted at European origin. Furthermore, he found relics of a kind that made it justified to presume that they were remnants of the first great British attempts to find the North West Passage. Prior to this, however, Frobisher's discoveries had aroused great confusion in the cartographical production. Thus the Frobisher Strait was reproduced as a sound intersecting Greenland. This inconsistency with the actual conditions was observed by Hans Egede in 1723 when he was looking for the strait in order to reach the east coast.

Martin Frobisher's expeditions and maps

The attempt made in 1576 by Martin Frobisher to reach The East Indies by going north of America was in itself nothing new. It had been tried several times before. But from Frobisher's



Fig. 1. Map drawn on the basis of M. Frobisher's expedition 1575, 1576 and 1577. The Frobisher Strait is placed between America and the western part of Terra Septentrionalis. Reproduced after Richard Collinson: *Frobisher Three Voyages*. Hakluyt Society, Series I, vol. 38. London 1867. 39 x 22 cm.

Fig. 1. Kort tegnet på grundlag af M. Frobishers ekspeditioner 1575, 1576 og 1577. Frobisher Strædet er anbragt imellem Amerika og den vestlige del af Terra Septentrionalis. Gengivet efter kortbilag i Richard Collinson: *Frobisher Three Voyages*. Hakluyt Society, Series I, vol. 38. London 1867.) 39 x 22 cm.

expeditions in the 1570's evidence has been found which, for the first time since the Norsemen colonised Greenland and navigated the surrounding seas, there is reasonable justification to believe that a landing was made on Greenland. Frobisher's landfall of Greenland in 1576 is also referred to as the rediscovery of Greenland. 1). It is further remarkable that cartographic material on Greenland is available from Frobisher's expeditions. This is the first map material we have, drawn up by people who had visited Greenland. 2)

It has often been stated that Frobisher navigated after the Zeno map 3) Probably this is not quite accurately expressed, and it was more likely the Zeno-influenced Mercator map from 1569. This is confirmed by an item on "Bill for Maps and Nautical Instruments" from Frobisher's first voyage reading: "For a great mappe universall of Mercator in prente 1 £6 s. 8 d". (Collison, 1857 p. x.).

What conceptions did Frobisher and his men have of the land masses of the earth, especially of the northern regions? This is described by George Beste who joined Frobisher's second and third voyages. He divides the earth into six parts: *Europa*, *Affrica*, *Asia*, *Terra Septentrionalis*, *America* and *Terra Australis* (Collison, 1857, p. 33). The more detailed description of Terra Septentrionalis is by and large identical with Mercator's and Ortelius' map and

descriptions of this area, thus Beste states that "*Terra Septentrionalis*" is separated from "*Asia*" by the "*Scythian Sea*" and from *Europe by North Sea about Iselande*", in old days called "*Mare Congelatum*" (the frozen sea). As something new, however, he states that *Terra Septentrionalis* is separated from America by the *Frobisher's Strait*.

It is known that the travels made by Frobisher did not lead to the discovery of the North West Passage but instead to the first known and described landing on Greenland after the Norsemen. Admittedly, the Corte-Real expeditions — whose goal also was to find the North West Passage — made a landfall of Greenland in 1500-1502, but due to heavy ice masses, Corte-Real was unable to get ashore.

On the 17th of June 1576 the English captain Martin Frobisher put out to sea with his vessels "*Michaell*", "*Gabriell*" and a pinnace, in order to find the way to India by going north of America. Already off the Shetland Islands the expedition met with bad weather and the smallest vessel sank. The "*Michaell*" returned to England but the "*Gabriell*" continued and at lat. 60°N they sighted South Greenland. They were, however, navigating after a Zeno-influenced chart, so it was natural for them to presume that the land observed was the Frisland shown on the Zeno map. This conception had most serious consequences for the appearance of the map of Greenland. Well into the 18th century Greenland was shown as being cut through by the Frobisher Strait as a result.

After the landfall of Greenland the voyage went on toward the west and the Baffinland area was explored. From here "gold" was brought home. After the third voyage, however, it proved to be pyrite. The finding of "gold" arose enormous interest for Frobisher's voyages. The North West Passage became of minor interest, and the main importance was now to explore the visited land *Meta Incognita*.

Frobisher's second voyage (1577) took the same route as the first one and more "gold" was brought home. Finally, on his third voyage (1578) Frobisher succeeded in getting ashore on Greenland and took possession of Frisland (Greenland) for the Queen of England under the name *Weast England* (Collinson, 1857, p. 232). The eskimoes they met were applying various tools and implements that hinted at European culture, leading Frobisher and his men to presume that the eskimoes had been in connection with white people, (Collison, 1857, p. 233), Norsemen?

Again the course was set for *Meta Incognita*, but the expedition went astray and found themselves in a strait, called "*Mistaken Straights*". fig. 2. However, the ship's officers were more interested

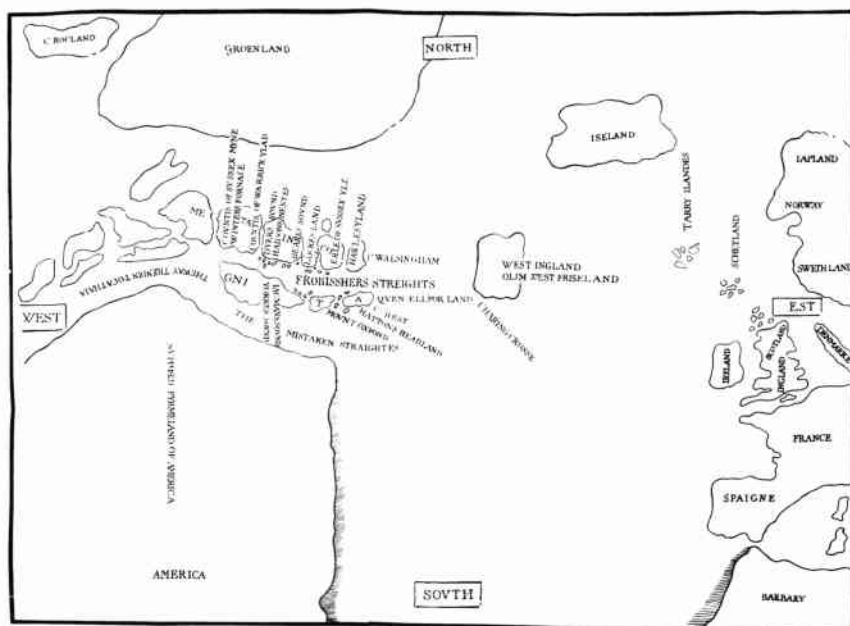


Fig. 2. Map drawn after M. Frobishers expeditions 1575, 1576 and 1577. Meta Incognita including the Frobisher Strait is placed between Greenland and America. The map is the probable reason for ("ancestor to") the close relationship to Greenland. Reproduced after Richard Collinson: *Frobisher Three Voyages*. Hakluyt Society, Series I, vol. 38. London 1867. 39 x 29 cm.

Fig. 2. Kort tegnet på grundlag af M. Frobishers ekspeditioner 1575, 1576 og 1577. Meta Incognita med Frobisher Strædet er anbragt imellem Grønland og Amerika. Kortet er sandsynligvis "stamfader" til Frobisher Strædets nære tilknytning til Grønland. Gengivet efter kortbilag i Richard Collinson: *Frobisher Three Voyages*. Hakluyt Society, Series I, vol. 38. London 1867. 39 x 29 cm.

in the "gold" than in the North West Passage, which, according to George Beste, Frobisher could have discovered by sailing through this strait (*Collinson*, 1857, p. 242).

As previously mentioned Frobisher sailed after a zeno-influenced map on which Greenland is shown in a much too northerly position. On the *Zeno map* the southernmost point of Greenland is thus placed in $65^{\circ}30'N$, while on Mercator's map from 1569 in approx. $66^{\circ}N$, but both maps have the southernmost point of Frisland in approx. $60^{\circ}N$, a position fairly well in accordance with the southernmost point of Greenland, Kap Farvel ($59^{\circ}46'N$).

Frobisher's determination of the latitude of Frisland corresponds exactly with the southern coast of Greenland. Thus, from the second voyage it is reported: "We made the land perfect, and knew it to be Freeseland. And the height being taken heere, we founde

oureselves to be in the latitude of 60 degrees and a halfe, and were fallen with the southernmost parte of this land" (Collinson, 1857, p. 124–25).

The description given of the land furthermore corresponds to the southeast coast of Greenland. Particularly the description of the huge southeast coast of Greenland. Articularly the description of the huge quantities of drift ice which makes landing extremely difficult. Frobisher was not the only one who had trouble with the ice masses. Corte-Real mentions them too. They forced many later expeditions to give up further attempts of disembarking on the east coast of Greenland.

Iceland considering the low latitude of 60° compared with Iceland's it is rather unlikely that Frobisher's "Frisland" is Iceland 63°0'N. Nor do the descriptions of the navigation conditions and the appearance of the land correspond to that of Iceland. It is natural to presume that "*West Inghland olim West Friseland*" (Frisland of the Zeno map) on the map fig. 2 corresponds to southern Greenland⁴).

Is it possible to conclude on the basis of available literature that the cartographers of that time had any reason to place the disputed Frobisher Strait at or near Greenland? As to the position of the Frobisher Strait George Beste states "... *and that land uppon hys right hande as hee sayled westward, he judged to be the continente of Asia, and there to bee devided from the firme of America, whiche lyeth uppon the lefte hande over against the same*" (Collinson, 1857, p. 72).

Michael Lok states⁵) that Frobisher Strait is located between two continents, but does not refer to any names.

On the basis of available material there would appear to be no reason for the cartographers to place the Frobisher Strait together with Greenland. The strait is said to be located between America and Asia or between two large continents, but there is not one word about Greenland in connection with the Frobisher Strait!

Considering the alternating cartographical location of Greenland in the periods prior to Frobisher's expeditions however, it must be recognized that the strait has been difficult to place correctly in relation to Greenland whose different locations appear from the following examples:

Greenland as the north eastern point of East Asia. Johs. Ruysch' World Map (Rom Ptolemy of 1508).

Greenland connected with Western Europe. Nicolas Deslien's map of 1541.

Greenland stretching from Asia across the polar cap as Clavus imagined and as can be seen on Mercator's double cordiform world map 1538.

On other maps the name of Greenland is omitted. One understands well that the cartographers of that time had difficulties in locating the strait on the basis of available literature, and the cartographic material from the expedition does not facilitate matters.

As to the cartographic material we have two maps which presumably give information from the expeditions. The maps show us how Frobisher's map-makers conceived the places discovered during his expeditions. The maps were first published in: "*A true discourse of the late voyages of discoverie, for the finding of a passage to Cathaya, by the Northwest, under the conduct of Martin Frobisher, Generall: Devided into three Bookes*". (London, by Henry Bynnyman, 1578). The map-maker is presumed to be James Beare who joined Frobisher's expeditions (Stefansson, 1938, p. 2).

On one of the maps, fig. 1, Greenland does not appear at all, the northern zone lies near Nicolas Linna. Frobisher Strait is placed between America and the western part of Terra Septentrionalis. *Meta Incognita* is placed correctly north of *Bacalaos* (=New Foundland).

On the other hand, on the second map, fig. 2, which shows a strong Mercator-influence (1959)⁶, Greenland is reproduced twice (as *Grocland* and as *Groenland*). The map-maker has here placed *Meta Incognita* between *Groenland* and *Supposed Fynneland of America*, and we have perhaps here the "ancestor" to the narrow attachment to Greenland of the Frobisher Strait.

The placing of the visited locations is not as bad as might be presumed at first glance. The southern point of Greenland, shown on the map as the island "*West-Ingland olim – West Frieseland*" is fairly well placed in relation to Iceland and Western Europe and also to the discovered countries around Baffinland, although the longitude grading is very misleading, first and foremost what is wrong is the placing of Mercator's two Greenlands:

Groenland especially the position of *Groenland* north of *Meta Incognita* is fatal. It is very understandable that later cartographers, looking at such a map very easily placed the Frobisher Strait near the part of the map named "Groenland", which in fact does not represent Greenland. It is *West-Ingland* which does so but that was not easy for the cartographers of that time to know.

John Davis' expeditions and maps.

Although Frobisher had rediscovered Greenland he believed it to be Frisland. From Davis' reports, however, it appears, that he was

well aware he had discovered Greenland. He states thus: "*In my first voyage not experienced of the nature of those climates, and having no direction either by Chart, Globe, or other certaine relation in what altitude that passage was to be searched, I shaped a Northerly course, and so sought the same toward the South, and in that my Northerly course I fell upon the shore which in ancient time was caled Groenland....*" (Markham, 1880, p. 205).

Elsewhere Davis says: "*Groynland (by me lately named Desolation)*" (Markham, 1880, p. 219). It was John Davis' intention to pursue the English efforts to find the North West Passage after Frobisher. On 7th of June 1585 Davis left Dartmouth with two vessels "*Sunshine*" (50 tons) and "*Moonshine*" (35 tons) and on 20th July 1585 they sighted Greenland. Davis now sailed southward, rounded the southern point of Greenland and continued along the west coast northward to *Gilbert Sound* (The Godthåb area), On 1st August they continued to Cumberland Gulf, which Davis believed to be the strait leading to China. Because of the lateness of the year they returned "*with notice of good successe for this small time of search*". By now Davis believed that he had found the North West Passage, and the following year, 1586, Davis had no difficulty in arousing interest for equipping a new expedition. Because of severe ice conditions this second expedition became of minor importance for the geographical exploration of Greenland. On his third voyage, Davis reached as far north along the west coast as to the Upernavik area, where a mountain in lat. 72°12'N was named "*Hope Sanderson*" after the patron of the expedition. Through Davis' expeditions and the publication of their findings in the Hakluyt Society around the year 1600, a new era commenced for the knowledge of Greenland.

Davis' own map is apparently lost⁷). Nevertheless we do not lack knowledge of Davis' cartographic concept of the navigated areas and how he interpretes the location of the Frobisher Strait. In "*The Worldes Hydrographical Discription.*" London 1595, he reports: "*How far I proceeded and in What forme this discovery lieth, doth appeare upon the Globe which M. Sanderson to his very great charge hath published, for the which he deserveth great favour and commendations. Made by Master Emery Mullineux, a man well qualited of a good judgment and very experte in many excellent practises in myselfe being the onely meane with Master Sanderson to imploy Master Mullineux therein, whereby he is now growne to a most exquisite perfection*". According to Markham =1880, p. XXXIII) Davis' discoveries are recorded on "New Map", fig. 3, exactly as on the Mullineux globe. By comparing the text on "*New*

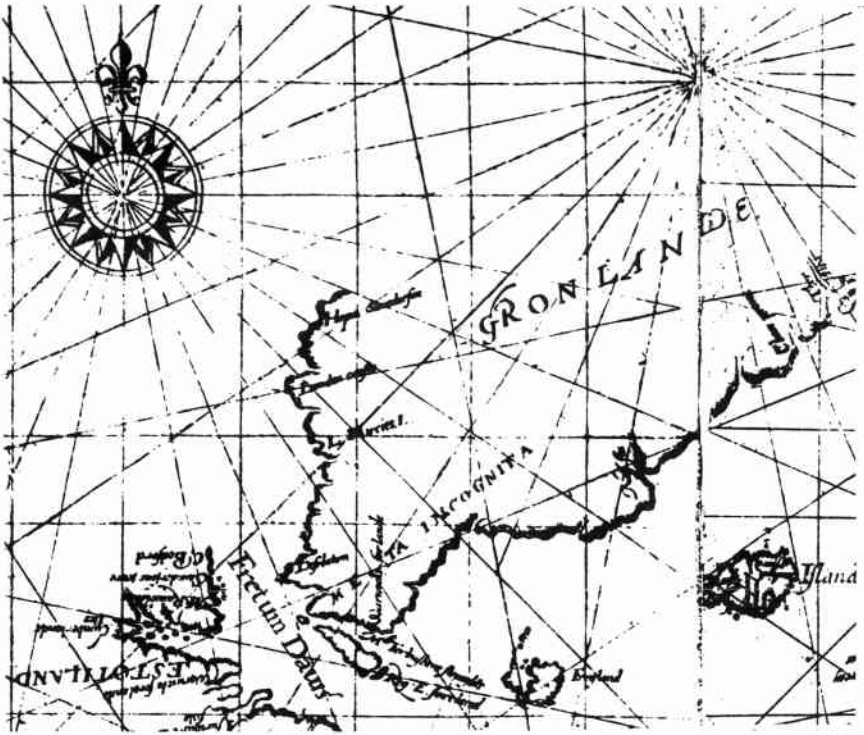


Fig. 3. Section of "The Map of The World" A.D. 1600 (New Map). Frobisher Strait is seen at the south coast of Greenland.

Fig. 3. Udsnit af "The Map of The World" A.D. 1600 (New Map). Frobisher Strædet er indtegnet ved Grønlands sydkyst.

Map" with a passage in Edward Wright's "Certain Errors in Navigation" it is presumed that Wright is the author of the map (Markham, 1880, p. XXXIII). On "New Map" the Frobisher Strait is located directly at the south coast of Greenland, and the southern part of Greenland bears the designation "Meta Incognita". South of the Frobisher Strait lies *Reg. E. Foreland* (a name given it by Frobisher), and to the southeast lies *Freyland* ("Frisland" on the Zeno map). The location of the strait on this map in relation to Frisland corresponds exactly with the description from Frobisher's voyages and maps, but the great difference lies in the location of the Frobisher Strait directly along the south coast of Greenland and in the name "Meta Incognita" for southern Greenland. The reason for Davis placing the above names wrongly was undoubtedly the missing determination of longitude for Frobisher's discoveries. If the contours southeast of the Frobisher Strait named "Freyland" (=Frisland) cover the Greenland discovered by Frobisher, then

Freyland forms a counterpart of Greenland, on the map shown as *Gronlande*. While the west and the south coast of Greenland show a mixture of Frobisher's and Davis' names, those from the east coast are taken from the strongly zeno-influenced Mercator map. The northeastern part of the map is based on Barent's discoveries and expedition in 1596. Davis' interpretation of Frobisher Strait, as it appears on "New Map" and on the Mullineux globe with Frobisher Strait as a water between South Greenland and Reg.E. Forland proved of very little importance to the cartographical development of the configuration of Greenland, but it can e.g. be seen on Jodocus Hondius' world map from 1608.

The Stockholm Chart

Davis was very important for the exploration of the North Atlantic particularly because he initiated the systematical exploration of these regions, as also pointed out by Markham. Davis produced maps of the areas in an inspiring way for later explorers, for example Hudson and Baffin, Baffin was thus able to take his starting point as far north as at Upernavik (Hope Sanderson). Indirectly, Davis' work became of the greatest importance for the Danish exploration of Greenland. The English pilot James Hall, who was sent out to rediscover the old "crownland" with the Danish King Kristian IV's expedition in 1605, presumably had joined or in any case had a good knowledge of Davis' discoveries, a knowledge which to a very great extent contributed to the success of the expedition and became the basis for the Danish exploration of Greenland henceforth.

The aim of the Danish King Kristian IV's expeditions in 1605, 1606 and 1607 as well as Frederik II's unsuccessful attempt, (*Christian Aalborg*, 1568, *Allday* 1579 and *Mogens Hegneson* 1581) was not to find the North West Passage, but to renew the connection with the old crownland, Greenland. At that time it was assumed that Norsemen were living in the settlements, Western Settlement (Vesterbygden) and Eastern Settlement (Østerbygden), and the many foreign expeditions in the Greenland waters arouse Danish fears that other nations would settle in Greenland.

How Kristian IV got in contact with the expedition's pilot James Hall from Hull remains unexplained, but it is likely that Kristian IV's brother-in-law, James I, has been the connecting link (*Gosch*, 1897), p. XXXI).

From Hall's expeditions for the Danish king we have 4 maps, preserved in British Museum, London. One of them is a survey chart showing the navigated areas from approx. lat 66° to 68°35'N on

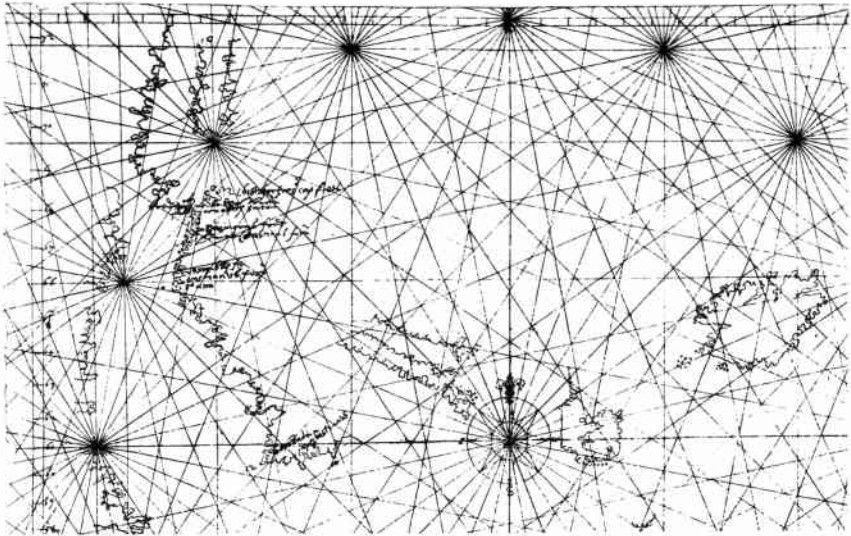


Fig. 4. Section of the Stockholm Chart. *Meta Incognita* with Frobisher Strait – none of them named – are found northwest of the compass rose. The place-names indicated along the west coast were all named during Hall's expeditions: *Christin Friesses cape*, *Brade Ransons ford*, *Bavhouse sound*, *Arnolds Sovnd*, *Prince Christianvs Forde*, *Cvninghams ford*, *Henririk Romles ford*, *King Christianvs forde* and *Queene anns Cape* (Gosch, 1897, p. 18). Only *Cape Desolation* which is indicated southernmost together with *Cape Christianus* originates from Davis' expeditions.

Fig. 4. Udsnit af Stockholmkortet. *Meta Incognita* med Frobisher Strædet – ingen af lokaliteterne er benævnt – ses gengivet nordvest for kompasrosen. De anførte navne på Grønlands vestkyst er alle stednavne, som blev navngivet på Halls ekspeditioner: *Christin Friesses cape*, *Brade Ransons ford*, *Bavhouse sound*, *Arnolds Sovnd*, *Prince Christianvs Forde*, *Cvninghams ford*, *Henririk Romles ford*, *King Christianvs forde* og *Queene anns Cape* (Gosch, 1897, p. 18) Kun *Cape Desolation*, som står anført sydligst sammen med *Cape Christianus*, stammer fra Davis' ekspeditioner.

the west coast of Greenland. The three others are detailed maps showing the most important fjords. These four maps are the first detailed maps of Greenland areas based on real observations (reproduced in Gosch, 1897).

Thus Hall's maps comprise only the areas visited, but on an anonymous, hand-drawn map, the navigated locations are indicated in a greater area of Greenland, fig. 4.

The map, (fig. 4), in cartographical circles referred to as the Stockholm Chart, is now preserved in *The Royal Library*, Stockholm. It is a waxing map, divided into degrees of latitude as well as of longitude, but only the latitudes are numbered, with an interval of 1° from 44° to 72° N. Lengthwise the chart comprises the area around the Shetland Islands and to somewhere west of Davis Strait. It is reproduced on paper on which the water-mark depicts a bunch of grapes. The coastal configuration has first been

drawn with a lead-pencil and then with black ink, whereas place-names and a few islands off the west coast have been drawn — apparently by another — in reddish ink. The four numbers: 10, 12, 16, and 27 are written in black ink. The two coastlines in the northwestern corner represent part of the coast of Greenland and are drawn in pencil.

The configuration of the Westgreenland coast and the western side of the Davis Strait is a reproduction of the regions navigated by Davis. Only little imagination is needed to see that the contours placed around the compass rose between Greenland and Iceland are reproduced after Frobisher's *West-England* (Greenland) and *Meta Incognita* with the Frobisher Strait. A comparison with James Beare's map shows that it is Frobisher's discoveries that have been drawn here, fig. 2. On the compass rose E and W have peculiar enough been placed opposite the true points of the compass.

The Stockholm Chart has been well described by Professor *K.J.V. Steenstrup* (1886) and discussed several times later e.g. by *C.C.A. Gosch* (1897) and *Miller Christy* (1897). Gosch's theory of the origin of the map is that it is presumably a corrected copy of a lost map — possibly Davis' — drawn and adjusted by Hall after his return to Copenhagen. Miller believes, however, that the map has been drawn before 1605 on the basis of English maps, and that only Hall's place-names have been added after his return from Greenland. In my opinion, Miller's theory is most probable, primarily because the place-names have been added with another type of ink.

A comparison between "New Map" (=the Mullineux globe), fig. 3, and *the Stockholm Chart*, fig. 4, does not favour the theory that Davis is the author of both maps. On "New Map" e.g., the Frobisher Strait is placed south of the southern point of Greenland, and Reg. E. Foreland is placed south of the strait. On the Stockholm Chart the Frobisher Strait lies within the area that must be characterized as Greenland proper. As we know from Davis (70) that he had joined the team drawing up the Mullineux globe (identical with New Map), it seems reasonable to conclude that the Stockholm Chart has no direct connection with Davis' map.

The drawing of the Stockholm Chart must however have been influenced by Hall's expeditions. This appears from the place-names which have been added, though some are spelled and placed otherwise (some are even missing) than in Hall's reports and four maps. The only place-name not originating from Hall's expeditions, but from those undertaken by Davis, is the southernmost one: *Desolation*.

The southern part of Greenland is drawn twice, namely the area



Fig. 5. Section of Hessel Gerritsz' map on which Frobisher's discoveries, e.g. "Quine Elizabeths forlandt", are placed southeast of Greenland. Reproduced after a copper engraving in: Gerritsz' *Descriptio ac delineatio geographica detectionis freti*. Amsterdam 1612.

Fig. 5. Udsnit af Hessel Gerritsz' kort, hvorpå Frobishers opdagelser f.eks. "Quine Elizabeths forlandt" er placeret sydøst for Grønland. Gengivet efter kobberstik i Gerritsz' *Descriptio ac delineatio geographica detectionis freti*. Amsterdam 1612.

around *C. Desolation* and *Frisland* (Southgreenland). It is the first known map that points to the existence of the Disko bay, as the interruption of the coastal contours around lat. 69°N could well correspond with this bay.

Maps like "the Stockholm Chart" became of great importance and were fatal for the development of the Greenland map. Gradually, this type of map developed to show a through-going sound, apparently due to the contours of the Frobisher Strait on "the Stockholm Chart" type being prolonged westward and thus intersecting Greenland. An intermediate stage is seen on *Hessel Gerritsz' map* from 1612⁸⁾, cf. fig. 5. On *Joris Carolus' map* from 1634, fig. 6, the intersection has been completed.

Joris Carolus' map

Joris Carolus⁹⁾ from Enkhuizen was employed by *Noordsche Compagni* that sailed to Greenland also, and already in 1626 he made a map of Iceland, Greenland and the northeastern part of America. It is a drawing on parchment entitled "*Niuwe Pascaert van*

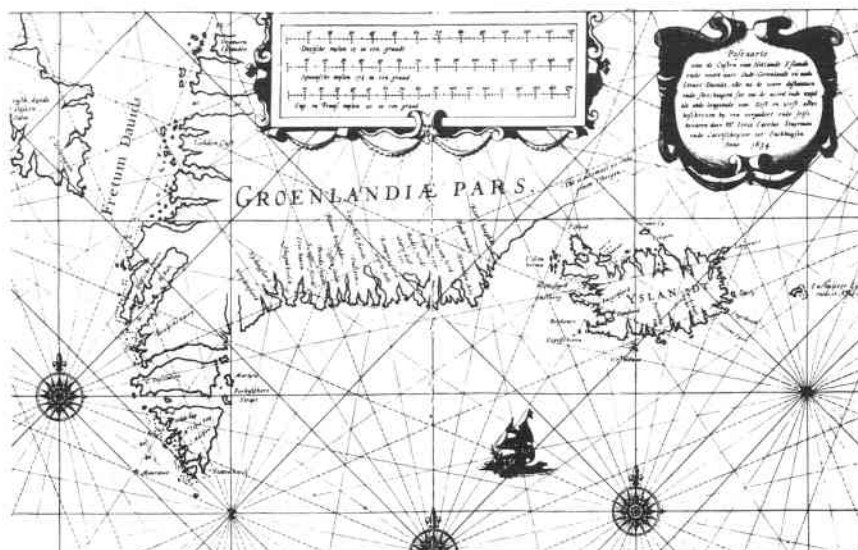


Fig. 6. Section of Joris Carolus' map from 1634. Reproduced after copperplate in Carolus' "Het nieuw vermeerde Licht", Amsterdam 1634.

Fig. 6. Udsnit af Joris Carolus' kort fra 1634. Gengivet efter kobberstik i Carolus': "Het nieuw vermeerde Licht", Amsterdam 1634.

ijslant" today preserved in *Algemeene Rijksarchief Gravenhage*. Carolus' map from 1634, fig. 6, is by and large a repetition of the map from 1626. The Greenland coasts however are shown to continue somewhat farther northward although the whole of Greenland is not reproduced. The map from 1634 was published in his atlas: "Het nieuw vermeerde Licht", Amsterdam 1634.

For the next century Carolus' map was the prototype for Dutch cartographers. No doubt his basic material had been a Mercator map adapted to the recent discoveries with resulting distortion for the configuration of the Greenland sea coast, cf. for example the southern part of Greenland.

It is rather unlikely that the numerous fjords on the south east coast of Greenland, reproduced in such detail, are the result of a geographical investigation. More likely, they can be related to the myth of Eastern Settlement. Ten of the names are given in a Dutch version, undoubtedly taken from Willem Barentszoon's now lost Dutch translation of Ivar Baardsen's description of Greenland. The Dutch names do not fit with other versions, nor do they fit with the English translation after Barentszoon's manuscript, which Purchas had printed in 1625 (*Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, III, London 1625, p. 518 ff) (*Bjørnbo & Carl S. Petersen*, 1908 p. 13).

The location of these fjords and names were repeated for

centuries on all Dutch charts and have contributed strongly to the conception that Eastern Settlement was to be found on the east coast.

It was believed furthermore, that there were still descendants of the Norsemen living along this coast and speaking the Nordic language. The apparently good resemblance to the fjords as they are drawn to-day is a coincidence. It must be taken for granted that if they had really been investigated by the Dutchmen, the fjords would have appeared with Dutch names.

As seen on Carolus' maps, there are now two sounds intersecting Greenland, but only one of them, namely the southernmost one, is named: viz. *Forbischers Straet*. Why Carolus placed two straits on his maps is not immediately obvious. Perhaps the tendency not to draw the bottom configuration of the fjord, but instead to let the sides of the fjords stand unconnected as some cartographers did on their maps of Greenland at the beginning of the 17th century, inspired Carolus to let some of the fjord sides continue farther on towards the other coastline, thus creating some sounds on the map?

Furthermore, it is presumable that J. Beare's map cf. fig. 2, influenced Carolus. Here "*Meta Incognita*" lies south of "*Groenland*" from which it is separated by a sound and "*Meta Incognita*" itself has been intersected by "*Frobisshers Streights*". This is in accordance with Carolus' map, where in fact the southernmost sound is Frobisher Strait.

The northernmost of the two sounds on the Carolus map type was named very late. G. van Keulen's map about 1720 is the first one showing the name Bear-Sound, undoubtedly inspired by Frobisher's "*Beares Sound*" from *Meta Incognita*, named after James Beare. Perhaps *Beares Sound* is the forerunner of present-day *Bjørne Sund* in the Godthåb district.

Two things make Carolus' maps of importance in a cartographic sense:

1. It is the first time we have a map with two fully drawn sounds intersecting Greenland.
2. It is the first dated map with the peculiarly placed names from the times of the saga on the east Greenland fjords.

Henceforth this becomes the general conception in cartographic circles. It forces people occupying themselves with the Eastern Settlement to place it on the east coast resulting in many unsuccessful expeditions to this area. Not until Gustav Holm's expedition by umiaks along the east coast during the years 1883-84, was it discovered that Eastern Settlement was in fact not situated here. The following years Joris Carolus' map was reprinted in Dutch atlases. As these were published in great numbers and almost

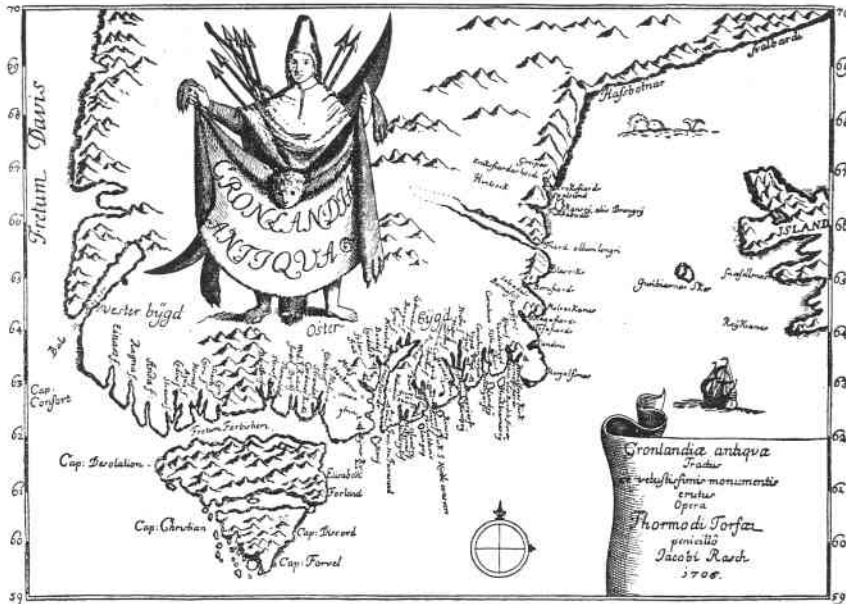


Fig. 7. The "Gronlandiæ antiquæ" of Torfæus and Rasch, reproduced after a copperplate in "Gronlandia antiqua seu veteris Gronlandiæ descriptio. 1706. 21 x 28,6 cm.

Fig. 7. Torfæus' og Rasch' "Gronlandiæ antiquæ", gengivet efter kobberstik i "Gronlandia antiqua seu veteris Gronlandiæ descriptio. 1706. 21 x 28,6 cm.

dominated the market the presumption that the Frobisher Strait intersected Greenland consequently became still more widespread.

Some examples to illustrate the distribution of the Joris Carolus' map type:

Isaac la Peyrere: Map illustrations to "Relation du Gröenland. Paris 1647".

Jan Janssonius: reproduces Carolus' map almost truly in many atlases e.g. "De lichtende Columne of the Zee-Spiegel. Amsterdam 1652".

Gerard van Keulen: in his atlas Greenland is reproduced almost correctly after Carolus, e.g. "De lichtende Zeefakkell 1722".

Carolus' map and nordic cartographers

Influence from the Carolus type of map can be seen also on maps made by nordic cartographers. Thus: "Gronlandiæ antiquæ/Tractus/exvetustissimis monumentis/erutus/Opera/Thormodi Torfæi/penicill/Jacobi Rasch/1706", fig. 7. In translation the title reads: The extension of the old Greenland explored after the oldest written documents by Thormod Torfæus¹⁰⁾ and drawn by Jacob

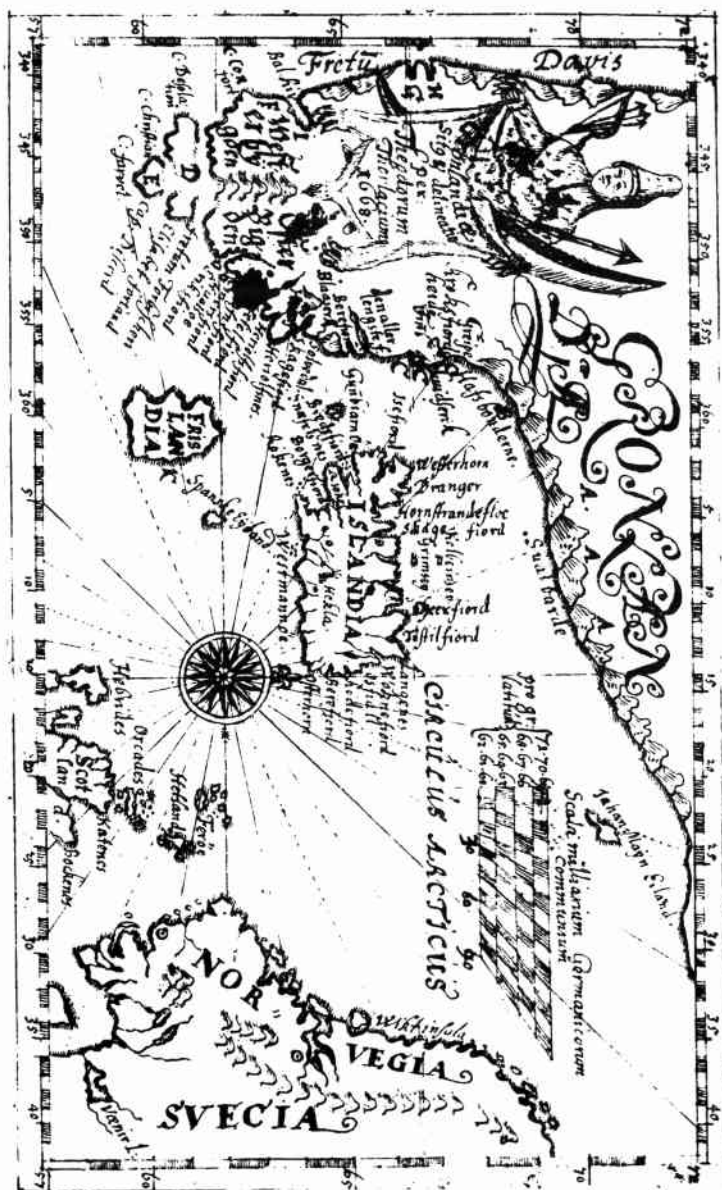


Fig. 8. Thorður Thorláksson's "Grönlandiæ", 1668, reproduced after Thorláksson's hand-drawn map in his: "Grönlands Beskrivelse", 1669. The Royal Library, Copenhagen, G.K.S. 2881, 4^o. 21 x 12,4 cm.

Fig. 8. Thorður Thorlákssons "Grönlandiæ", 1668, gengivet efter Thorlákssons håndtegnede kort i hans: "Grönlands Beskrivelse," 1669. Det kongelige Bibliotek, G.K.S. 2881, 4o. 21 x 12,4 cm.

Rasch 11). It was published as a map illustration to "*Gronlandia antiqua seu veteris Gronlandiæ descriptio*", Copenhagen 1706.

Before the publication of the map "*Gronlandia Antiqua*" in 1706, a disagreement had arisen between Torfæus and Rasch, because Rasch had changed so much in Torfæus' original that Torfæus could not acknowledge the map (*Torfæana*, 1777, p. 140). The original map that Torfæus requested Rasch to copy was based on information from the medieval Icelandic manuscripts and also on two maps. The latter refer to Torfæus on the back of the map "*Gronlandia Antiqua 1706*", as follows: ... *partim mappæ Geographicæ Theodori Torlaciviri in hisce versatissimi, partim mappæ Hydrographicæ, Amstelodami excusæ, Anno 1666*".

There can be no doubt that one of the maps used by Torfæus is "*Grönlandiæ/situs & delineatio/per/Theodorum/Thorlacium/1668* (210 x 124 mm) Fig. 8. found in Thordur Thorláksson's "*Grönlands Beskriffvelse*", 1669¹²). As to the second map mentioned by Torfæus: "*Hydrographicæ, Amstelodami excusæ, Anno 1666*" Nissen writes (1958, p. 146): "*I am most inclined to presume that this chart can be related to the one published by Pieter Goos in Amsterdam 1666, "Pascaert van Europa Als mede een gedeelt vande Cust van Africa*". In this presumption Nissen is undoubtedly mistaken. The map referred to by Torfæus must be: "*Ex mappa/Hydrographi/ca, Amstelo/dami excussa/Anno 1666*", fig. 9, which is also found in Thorláksson's "*Grönlands Beskriffvelse*". The title alone stated by Torfæus indicates that it must be so, cartographically it is revealed by the characteristic drawing of "*Bals Rivier*", as well as by the two straits and the two large islands to the south¹³). Note for example also the three islands in the southernmost strait. If, however, a comparison is made between *P. Goos*: "*Pascaert van Europa Als . . .*" and *Torfæus*' "*Gronlandia antiqua, 1706*" one would be fortunate to find any similarities.

Thorláksson does not state the original to "*Ex mappa hydrographica Amstelodami excussa Anno 1666*". But he might have copied it after the Doncker's map. (Strongly influenced by Carolus): "*Pas-caerte van Groenlandt*". It does not appear directly that he has used Doncker's map, which, in view of the configuration and naming of Greenland, is almost a copy of Carolus' map from 1634. Nevertheless I think there is reason to believe that Thorláksson has copied Doncker's map and not another of the many Netherland cartographers who nearly all copied Carolus' map from 1634. Thus Doncker published an atlas in 1666, an issue of "*De Zee-Atlas Ofte Waterwaereld*" (re Doncker and his atlas, see Koeman, 1970, p. 152–189) including the above-mentioned "*Pascaerte van Groenlandt . . .*". On the cartouche of this map a

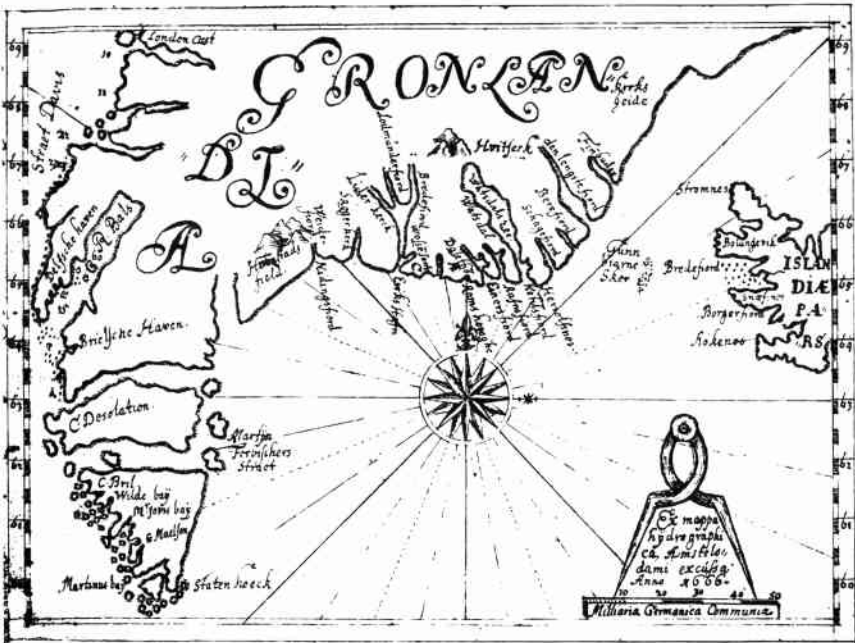


Fig. 9. Thordur Thorláksson's "Ex mappa hydrographica Amstelodami excussa Anno 1666", reproduced after Thorláksson's hand-drawn map in his "Grönlands Beskrivelse", 1669. The Royal Library, Copenhagen, G.K.S. 2881, 4^o. 16,2 x 22,1 cm.

Fig. 9. Thordur Thorlákssons "Ex mappa hydrographica Amstelodami excussa Anno 1666" gengivet efter Thorlákssons håndtegnede kort i hans "Grönlands Beskrivelse", 1669. Det kongelige Bibliotek, G.K.S. 2881, 4^o. 16,2 x 22,1 cm.

person is reproduced that is almost identical with the person on Thorlákssons cartouche.

On his map "Ex mappa hydrographica1666", Thorláksson has named the southernmost of the two straits intersecting Greenland as Frobisher Strait and is thus in accordance with Carolus. On his map from 1668, however, Thorláksson gave this name to the northernmost strait and it was reproduced like this on Torfæus' and Rasch' map in 1706. Likewise they placed Eastern and Western Settlement respectively in the western and the eastern part of the Frobisher Strait.

The name material on Torfæus' and Rasch' map is given in the schme, p.

Hans Egede's expeditions 1723 and 1724

Torfæus' and Rasch' map "Gronlandia Antiqua" 1706 was of great importance for the Danish-Norwegian "rediscovery" of Greenland, as Hans Egede knew of this map when working out

plans for his missionary work in Greenland. *Hans Egede* (1686–1758) was a Norwegian vicar in Vågan in Norway, when, in 1710, he suggested that a mission should be established in Greenland among the presumed descendants of the Norsemen. Hans Egede conceived the idea of becoming a missionary as early as 1708 when he came to think of the Christian Norsemen in Greenland of whom he had read in "*Norges Beskrivelse*" 164214) (*Hans Egede's Relation* 15. Juni 1722). This old work is presumed to have inspired him, but his geographical conception of the country originated from Torfæus' "*Gronlandia Antiqua*" 1706. This work is almost the only literary reference in the "Relations" he forwarded to Bergen and Copenhagen from Greenland. The reason, however, he came to Greenland at all is probably less due to literary sources than to the fact that he was inspired by reports he had heard from seamen in Bergen who sailed to and from Strat Davis.

An important innovation in the literature concerning Greenland appeared a few years before Hans Egede reached the country, namely *Lourens Feykes Haan's "Beschryving van de Straat Davids"* 1719 (second edition 1720). The description was illustrated by excellent coastal profiles and it is known that among the Dutch maps and logbooks procured by Det bergensiske Kompagni was a copy of Haan's work. It is also known that a copy was onboard one of the ships taking the Egede-mission to Greenland.

Hans Egede drew some excellent maps of Greenland which are described later on. Regarding his education in map-making, both *Bobé* (1944, p. 19) and *Ostermann* (1940, V.I. p. 239) say that he was educated in land-surveying and map-making before his departure. We do not know however, where he got his knowledge of surveying, nor the extent of it. Probably, Hans Egede had received lessons in taking the altitude of the sun by means of the quadrant. Thus he writes sometimes "I" when telling about determinations of the sun's altitude e.g. on March 11th 1724: "Here I took the sun's altitude again by means of the quadrant". It is difficult to know how much Hans Egede was able to master working with the quadrant and making his own determinations of the latitude, as the steerman Seehuusen states the same latitude in his log, but here he writes "we" (*N.K.S.* 1293, 1294 and 1294 b, fol.).

As mentioned already, Hans Egede suggested a mission to Greenland as early as 1710, but the departure did not take place until 1721. By then he had obtained the support of the Danish king Frederik IV and also of a company in Bergen. On July 3rd in the year 1721, Hans Egede arrived at the region which was to be the place for the foundation of the mission. The place chosen was *Bals Revier* which is shown on Thormod Torfæus' and Jacob Rasch' map

1706, fig. 7. Thus the first permanent settlement was started after a period of 300 years during which no Europeans had lived in Greenland. In the same year, on July 9th, the building of a house was initiated on an island in the mouth of the fjord. The site was called *Haabets Hafvn* (harbour of hope), (*Hans Egede* 1725, p. 9.). Later, in 1727 the colony left the island and settled on the mainland and the town of Godthåb, the main town in Greenland, was founded. If Egede had hoped to find Norsemen in this location – on the Torfæus and Rasch map called *Vesterbygden* – he was disappointed. Indeed, it took some time before he even found any traces of them, not until April 1723, when he learnt from some Greenlanders that far up the Ameralik Fjord some ruins could be seen of Norsemen houses (*Hans Egede* 1725, p. 74).

Hans Egede made several reconnaissances in the Godthåb area. On July 18th and 19th (*Hans Egede*, 1925, p. 86) Egede was told by some Greenlanders who lived several days' journey south of the colony that in their district many ruins of stone-built houses made by the Norsemen were to be found. Hans Egede believed, which was quite naturally from his knowledge of Torfæus' and Rasch' map (fig. 7), that the ruins were remnants of the southern part of *Vesterbygden* (Western Settlement).

Almost simultaneously he received orders from the *Missionskollegiet*¹⁵) to send out vessels and people to search for *Østerbygden*. He decided to join the expedition himself, undoubtedly inspired by the information regarding the southern remnants from the Norsemen. No doubt the main reason was the wish as expressed by himself: "To reach Eastern Settlement the shortest way via the so-called *Forbissers Straet* as drawn on the charts." (*Egede*, 1738, p. 100). Just the hope to reach Eastern Settlement and meet the Norsemen whom he presumed were living there must have been the real motivation for his joining a troublesome and exhausting journey like this.

The expedition started rather late in the season, namely on August 9th 1723. It comprised of Hans Egede the steerman Erich Larsson¹⁶) and a crew of 9 men and two barges¹⁷). Going south, they investigated the countryside and local settlements, and on August 22nd, after having investigated *Aggelusuach*, the Agdluitsoq fjord. (*Bobé*, 1925, p. 415), Hans Egede wrote (1724, p. 22, 1925, p. 97). that all ruins he had seen so far were remnants of the Western Settlement. He knew neither then nor later that these were remnants of the Eastern Settlement. The mistake is probably due to the cartographic material: The Torfæus and Rasch map on which *Østerbygden* (the Eastern Settlement), was placed on the east coast of Greenland.

He travelled south, almost to Nanortalik about lat. $60^{\circ}8'N$.¹⁸⁾ The southernmost determination of latitude was made the day after having started on the return journey, stated to be $60^{\circ}20'N$. (Hans Egede, 1724, p. 27, 1925, p. 98). Thus, Hans Egede had been very near the southernmost point of Greenland, $59^{\circ}46'$, and the expedition had reached about 4° south of the starting point, *Håbets Ø*, to where they returned on September 14th, 1723, without having observed the Frobisher Strait.

Already the following year Hans Egede started another reconnoitring expedition, this time toward the north. It comprised of 20 men, among them the steerman Cornelius Seehusen¹⁹⁾. The crew occupied two barges. Whereas the previous expedition had started late, this one started very early, on February 22nd. The expedition reached so far north as lat. $65^{\circ}56'$ (*Hans Egede* 1724, p. 87, 1925, p. 117). After having sailed into Evighedsfjorden, Kangerdlugsuatsiak (*Bobé*, 1925, p. 417) Hans Egede decided to return. He was then only two days' sailing from Nepisene (*Hans Egede*, 1724, p. 96, 1925, p. 120), but the weather was too bad to continue. He arrived home safely on March 21st. after having been away for well over 4 weeks. He was disappointed that he had not reached Nepisene, where he had heard that foreign vessels moored in summertime to trade with the Greenlanders.²⁰⁾

Hans Egede's map 1724

Cartographically the two expeditions resulted in a most interesting map of part of the west coast, drawn by Hans Egede. It is remarkable in that it is the oldest, known map of an area of Greenland made by a man living there. It has the title: "*Carta ofver Grønlands Vesterside, 3de Grader/Sønden for Colonien og 2de Grader/ Nordenfor/Colonien forfaret ved Hans Egede/Missionær A^o 1724*". In translation: (Map of the Greenland western side, 3 degrees south of the colony and 2 degrees north of it, made by Hans Egede/missionary A^o 1724). The map which is now preserved in Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen²¹⁾ was at first sketched with a pencil and then drawn in with Indian ink. The map frame is 39 cm high and 30 cm wide. Hans Egede forwarded the map to the Danish king Frederik IV on June 17th 1724 and as the second expedition — the one to the north — was completed in March 1724, the map must have been made during the period March-June 1724 same year.

The map is divided into two, a left half with cartographical relation to the south-going travel and a right half with relation to the northern coastline investigated in 1724. Thus the right part is a continuation of the left part but with some overlapping, as part of *Balls Revier* and *Ameralik Fjorden* can be seen on both halves. The

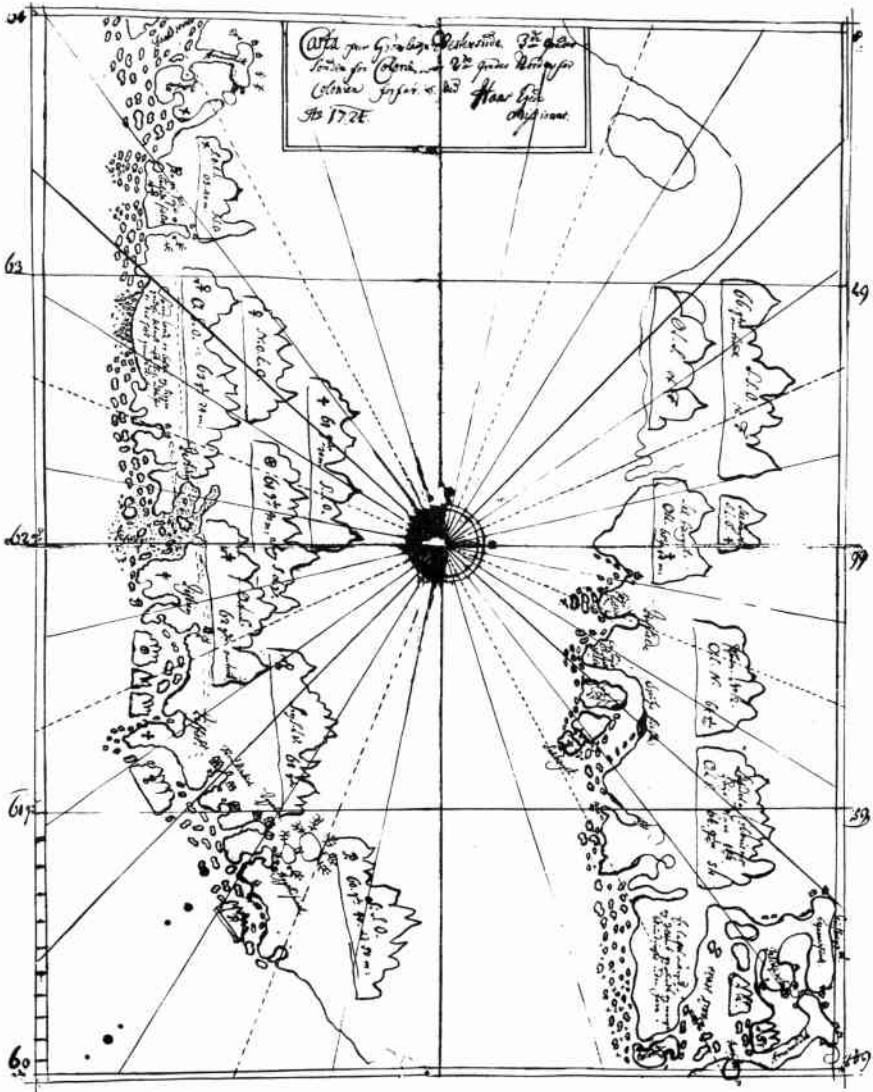


Fig. 10. Hans Egedes "Carta over Grønlands Vesterside... 1724", reproduced after his hand-drawn map which illustrated his "3. Relation". Preserved in State Archives, previously in the Royal Library, Copenhagen, N.K.S. 1962 c. 4^o. (Cf. note 21). 39 x 30 cm.

Fig. 10. Hans Egedes "Carta over Grønlands Vesterside... 1724", gengivet efter hans håndtegnede kort, der tjente som bilag til 3. Relation. Opbevares i Rigsarkivet, tidligere Det kongelige Bibliotek N.K.S. 1962 c, 4^o. (Se også note 21). 39 x 30 cm.

overlapping does not show the same cartographical reproduction of identical areas, and on the left part the area is graded between $63^{\circ}40'$ and 64° against 64° — $64^{\circ}20'$ on the right part.

It seems peculiar that only the area housing the colony has not been more consistently reproduced. Thus, on the left map, the Ameralik Fjord has almost an east-west run as compared with a southwest-northeastern direction on the right map. It was in this fjord that Hans Egede first observed ruins from the time of the Norsemen.

As to grading, the map has no degrees of longitude only of latitude, viz. the left side: 60° , 61° , 62° , 63° and 64° . The right part — the one referring to the north-going expedition — bears the latitudes: 64° , 65° , 66° , 67° and 68° . Curious enough, on this side they are turned upside down. The degrees 60° — 61° are divided into 11 sections.

The reports²²⁾ from the two travels have $60^{\circ}20'$ as the southernmost latitude and $65^{\circ}16'$ as the northernmost one. In spite of this Hans Egede has drawn in a more sketchy way the continuation of the coastline partly towards the south — which almost touches latitude 60° N and then continues farther on to the east coast — and partly a northern one sketching the island of Disko and Disko bay.

Obviously the map is based on observations made during the two journeys, some of them appear on the map as coastal profiles.

This hints at a certain influence from Lourens Feykes Haan's: "*Beschryving van de Straat Davids*"²³⁾. This work came into the possession of the Bergen local authorities. Thus it was reported to the king on March 10th 1721 (*Bobé* 1944, p. 54) that a copy of Haan's "*Beschryving van de Straat Davids*" would be handed over to the ship leaving for Greenland. This means that Egede must have known of Haan's work, but there is no visible evidence that he used it when drawing his map of the west coast.

Hans Egede's coastal profiles are reproduced in a larger scale than the rest of the map. They have been furnished with marks similar to those placed on the respective localities, so that it is possible to find the positions of the profiles on the coast. Eleven of the fourteen profiles bear latitudes.

There is not great agreement between the latitudes indicated on the map and those stated by Erich Larssøn, Cornelius Seehuusen, and Hans Egede in their logs. In these they fully agree and record the following latitudes:

$60^{\circ}20'$ (Aug. 27), $61^{\circ}4'$ (Sept. 4), $61^{\circ}42'$ (Sept. 6), $62^{\circ}32'$ (Sept. 10), $62^{\circ}49'$ (Sept. 11), 63° (Sept. 10), $63^{\circ}24'$ (Aug. 11),

Table 1: Text and latitudes of the coastal profiles

Left side corresponds to the journey in 1723:	Right side corresponds to the journey in 1724:
P.	
S.S.O./60 gde. 40. til 50 m:	<i>Landet og Coloniens / Høje Vhare</i> <i>Iste O.t.S. 64 gder. (24)</i>
♀	
S. og S.t. V. 61 gde	<i>Vharen Nr. 2/) O. t. N. 64gde (24)</i>
†	
O.t.S./ 62 gde omtrent	<i>Salbierget /S.t.O. (25)</i>
⊕	
61 gde 40 m: S. og S.t. V.	<i>Salbierget / Ost. 65 g. 14 m:</i>
+	
61 gde 20 m S.S.O.	<i>O.t.S.N.F.</i>
♀	
O.S.O. 63 gde 24 m:	<i>66 gder omtrent S.S.O.N.F.</i>
♀	
N.O.t.O.	
S.O.t.S.	
S.S.O./ 63–40 m:	

63°24' (Sept. 13), 64°50' (Febr. 25–26), 65°12' (Febr. 29), 65°56' (March 11).

In the second edition of his "*Relations*", Hans Egede (1738, p. 112) has only kept two of the latitudes and the southernmost one has been changed from 60°20' to 60°10' without giving any reason, but with the addition: "*saa vi deraf saae, at vi icke havde været langt fra Huken*"²⁶). In translation: (so from this we understood that we had not been far from Huken).

Table 2: Place-names and text of the map

Left side, from the south:	Right side, from the south
<i>Aggelusuack</i> (27)	<i>Colonien</i>
<i>Iggalick</i> (28)	<i>Præstefiord</i>
<i>Tunulliabich</i> (29)	<i>Amaralich</i>
<i>Iisfield</i> (30)	<i>Er lafvø Land / og slemø grundø og mange / blindringer uden fore.</i>
<i>Iisbiørg</i>	<i>Baals revier</i>
<i>Iisbiørg</i>	<i>Pesichsiarbm.</i> (35)
<i>Sand=land, er lafvø og ligger / gandske betacht med Iis, udenfore / er det heelt grundø (31)</i>	<i>Ujarachsuack</i> (36)
<i>her er høye og / tachede fielde</i> (32)	<i>Iisbiørgø</i>
<i>Præstefiord</i>	<i>Salbiørgø</i>
<i>Amaralick</i> (33)	<i>Høje klipper</i>
<i>Baals revier</i> (34)	<i>Spitze fielde</i>
	<i>Er høye / taggede / Fielde</i>
	<i>Iisfielde</i>
	<i>Høye fielde</i>

Small drawings of houses show the ruins of the dwellings of the Norsemen. Furthermore, there is a symbol for forest, particularly marked just south of 61^o where Egede was informed of a dense scrub with birch, willow, and juniper berry. Egede had got this information of an area with a growth of trees from the Greenlanders. He commented on the probability of this: "Dertill med saa strider det og icke heller imod dend gamle Grønlandske Beskrivelse, som formelder om Skove på dend Øster Side af Grønland...". In translation: (So it is, and it does not conflict with the old Greenland description telling about woods on the eastern

side of Greenland...). Hans Egede did in fact on all later maps of the east coast, make a vigorous symbol of woods along this coastline.

On Hans Egede's "*Carta ofver Grønlands Vesterside1724*" one looks in vain for the Frobisher Strait through which, before departing for the south-lying region, he had plans of taking a short cut to the east coast where he believed Eastern Settlement was situated.

Some of his reflections while searching for the Frobisher Strait appear in his travel report. Thus on August 15th., 1723, he presumed he was near the Frobisher Strait, a presumption he based on observations of huge ice masses in the sea. To make it clear for the Greenlanders what he was looking for and believed to be near, he drew a sketch of the strait as he had seen it on the charts, but none of the Greenlanders knew of such a strait.

On August 22nd, Egede left the Agdluitsoq Fjord (*Bobé*, 1925, p. 415). So far, he had observed no strait and decided therefore to continue for a couple of days more to investigate whether the Frobisher Strait could possibly be found (*Egede*, 1724, p. 22, 1925, p. 97). On August 25th, Egede gave up travelling farther south, as he found it hopeless to search for this strait, of which the local people had no knowledge, and he decided to return. After his return when he had corrected the grades and again ascertained that he had been quite near the southernmost point, he commented on the diverging locations of the Frobisher Strait and the Bear Sound on the existing maps. He continued that he had not seen, nor received information from the "wild people" to confirm the existence of these straits. He concluded therefore that they did not exist at all. A conclusion he further strengthened with the remark that these straits were not mentioned at all in the reports from the Norsemen (*Hans Egede*, 1925 p. 103).

Egede's considerations lead to the cartographical result that Frobisher Strait and Bear Sound were omitted on his map. It is remarkable because it is the first map on which Frobisher Strait, after its introduction into the cartographical world, had been deliberately omitted, an omission due to an individual, geographical investigation of the region.

Grønlandiæ Antiquæ

The maps Hans Egede made later (37) showing most of Greenland were — as far as the west coast was concerned — based on "*Carta ofver Grønlands Vesterside1724*" and on the investigations prior to it. The same applies to the map Hans Egede forwarded to Missionskollegiet as illustration to a proposal which has now disappeared: "*en ny Vej og et nyt Middel til Østerbygdens*

Rekognosering" (In translation: a new way and new means to the reconnaissance of Eastern Settlement) (Bobé, 1944, p. 245). The remnants of the map, fig. 11, of which only half is intact, are preserved in the Map Room of the Royal Library, Copenhagen. On the half showing most of east Greenland there is a cartouche with the following title: "Nova Delineatio./GRØNLANDIÆ ANTIQVÆ/ Hvis Westerside 1723 og 1724./fra 60 og indtil 67 grader er bleven/ perlustreret og langs Landet og inde / i fiordene flittig recognoseeret af / Hans Egede, første Kongelig / Danske Missionair udi / Grønland. / Kiöbenhavn A. 4. Januarij / 1737." (In translation: "Nova Delineatio/GRØNLANDIÆ ANTIQVÆ/ of which the westernside in 1723–24 from 60 to 67 degrees has been visited and in the districts and along the fjords diligently reconnoitred by Hans Egede, first Royal Danish missionary in Greenland. Copenhagen A. 4th of January 1737"). Coloured handdrawing, paper, total measurements of the existing half: 298 x 480 mm (width x height) with grading 281 x 449 mm, map without grading 276 x 433 mm.

Bobé (1944, p. 245) states that the map was dedicated to the chairman of the Missionskollegium, J.L. Holstein. As seen above, it does not appear from the title that the map was dedicated to J.L. Holstein. Bobé says furthermore that there is a duplicate of the map.

This "duplicate" has a Latin title, almost a translation of the Danish title on the map from 1737: "*Grønlandiæ Antiquæ/ Nova Delineatio/Cujus Pars Occidentalis/per/Johannem Egede/Missionarum Grønlandorum/primum /Anno 1723 et 24, etc./perlustrata/est.*" Coloured handdrawing, 590 x 480 mm, with grading 554 x 422 mm without grading 528 x 404 mm, paper of same type as the map from 1737. Water-mark: Coat-of-arms-with fleur-de-lis and roman numeral VI. be referred to in this paper as the map from [1739].

All place-names and legends found on Hans Egede's map [1739] (original ortography):

In the left corner:

NB: *Fiordenes Navne paa den Vestre Süide aff/Grønland har i fordum tid været efterskrevne:/1 Lysu Fiord, 2 Hafti-Fiord,/3 Toar-Fiord. 4 Leiru Fiord. 5 Hornafiord./6 Agnata Fiord. 7 Lodins Fiord. 8 Straums=/Fiord. 9 Anda Fiord. 10 Ragna Fiord./11 Einars-Fiord, med sine Kircker og/Closterer.*

Off the west coast:

Fretum Davids

The northwestern corner:

Pars Americæ Septentrionalis [lis]

The west coast has the following names (from north) *Vaigat, Disco, Christians-Haab, Nordbay, Sydbay, Nepisene, den afbrendte Loge/Salen, Fiske Vog, Ujaraksuak, Baals-revier, Got/Haab, Amarakik-Fiord, Fiske-Fiord, Iis-vog, Cap. Conf., Torngarsuit, Tunnu-lärbik, Kakortok. Her findes et Vand/som om Winteren/er ganske syden/des heedt/*

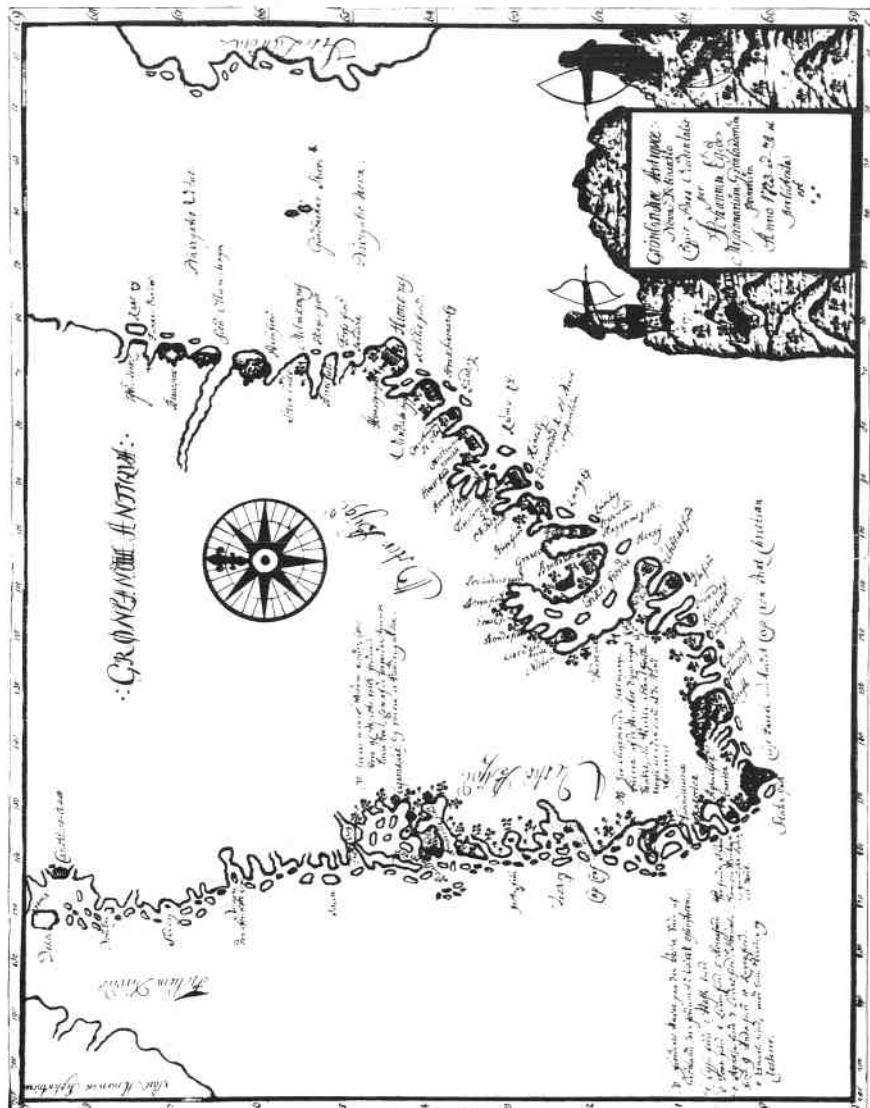


Fig. 12. Hans Egede's hand-drawn and coloured "Grønlandiæ Antiquæ" [1739] reproduced after the original map found in Royal "Grønlandiæ Antiquæ" Copenhagen. 55,4 x 42,2 cm. The cartouche illustrates a shooting competition with bows and arrows between a Norseman and a Greenlander. This motive Egede has from an Eskimo myth which is known in several versions. The scene of the competition, a mountain, was since then called Pisigsarfik which means the Shooting Place (Rink, 1866, p. 206).

Fig. 12. Hans Egedes håndtegnede og kolorerede "Grønlandiæ Antiquæ" [1739] gengivet efter originalkortet i Det kongelige Biblioteks kortsamling. 55,4 x 42,2 cm. Kortets kartouche illustrerer en kappestrid på bue mellem en nordbo og en grønlænder. Motivet har Hans Egede hentet fra et eskimoisk sagn, som kendes i flere versioner. Fjeldet hvorpå bueskydningen fandt sted kaldtes efter den tid for Pisigsarfik d.v.s. Skydepladsen (Rink, 1866, p. 206).

Agluitsok, Onartok, Staten huch, Cap Farvel nu/kaldet /Cap Cron Printz Christian/

On the east coast (from the north):

Hvid-Serk, Rans-Ey, Funke-bunder, Blaa-serk, Fiord Olkum-lengri, Beru Fiord, Solva daler, Melrakkanes, Skagen-Fiord, Barne Field, Torfs Fiord, Sandvik, Hiorts-nes, Hvarsnipa, Vandala bygd, Ketilds-Fiord, Hrakbiarnar-Ey, LundEy, Coenobium/St: Olaj, Coenobium/Moniale/ Thermæ Hvars Fiord, Hornaf, Slets Fiord, Rump-Ey, / Templum/ Chatedrale/Gardense, Ottundar/Fiord/ Einars Fiord:/K: St: Nicol:/consecratum. /Burafjord, Lang-Ey, Lumbey, Fosso, Fosse-Sund, Granevik, Brattalied, Hafgrims Fiord, Lovundurs Fiord, Borga fiord, Erars-fiord, Bondafiord, Lairdals/ Kircke, Midfiord, Indre vik, Yttre vik, Dyrnes/K. Herey, Eriks-Fjorder, Utibliks Fiord, Isafiord, Strandef., Kola Fiord, Dyra-Fiord, Steins F., Thorvalds F., Bergth.

The two legends written on Greenland run as follows: (the northernmost):

NB: Her ere mange skionne Fiorder, hvor / vore gl: norske Folck fordem / haver boet, som af de forfaldne Huuse / og rudera er kiendelig at see.

(the southernmost):

NB: Her iligemaade sees mange / rudera af de Norskes bygninger / Saavel som Kircker iblant hvilcke/nogle ere i den stand at de hand / repareris.

At eastern map frame: *Iis = Landia.*

Hans Egedes map [1739] is now preserved in the Royal Library Copenhagen. Thanks to a grant from Ny Carlsbergfondet, it was incorporated in the map collection when Dr. Lauge Koch's great collection of Grønlandica together with many maps of Greenland was given to the library in 1939. Lauge Koch had bought the map from the antiquarian bookseller Volmer Rosenkilde, Copenhagen, who had bought it in Germany. In 1960, Volmer Rosenkilde told me that, it had been for sale in Munich 38) and a happy inspiration made him ask whether this map and other things he had bought originated from the library at Wernigerode. An investigation showed this to be so. Count Ernst of Stolberg was the owner of the famous princely library at Wernigerode at the time when Hans Egede is presumed to have drawn the map [1739]. Count Ernst, a cousin of the Danish king Kristian VI, was an eager collector of books and initiated the copying of many manuscripts. Among other works, he possessed the manuscript of "*Grammatica Grønlandica per Johannem Egede concepta*" (Rosenkilde, 1934, p. 73). That he made Egede draw a map of Greenland is probably because he visited Copenhagen several times and was greatly interested in "the mission to the heathens". *Kristian Nissen* (1958, p. 178) cites Bobé's statement that we have here a copy of the original map. He adds for his own account that it can be taken for granted that the whole of the original map has had exactly the same appearance and been furnished with the same place-names and texts as the copy which was drawn and texted very typically by Hans Egede's own hands. Consequently Nissen is undoubtedly right in advocating that Egede made the map, a claim proved by the hand-writing which is Egede's. It is not correct, however, that the

map from 1737 had exactly the same appearance as the map [1739]. From the half which remains of the 1737 map it is clear that only the degrees from 59–67° northern latitude are covered, whereas the map [1739] covers an area from 59 to 69°.

It is thus somewhat doubtful whether the half of the 1737-map that has disappeared also showed the island of Disko. Without having visited the island, Hans Egede placed it between 67 and 68°N on the map from 1724 and between 68 and 69° on the map from [1739]. Also the grading is different, viz. the existing half of the map from 1737 is graded 339°–3(55)° from west towards east, a total of 16°. The whole map must roughly have covered 32°. For comparison the map from [1739] is graded in 200° from 5 to 205°. Neither is the scaling identical, the map from 1737 is approx. 1:2.000.000, whereas the map [1739] is approx. 1:2.7000.000, both figures having been calculated on the basis of the indicated latitudes. Nor is it correct that the maps correspond as to place-names (cf. table 3).

Furthermore, there are variations in the actual placing of the names. Thus *Blaa Serk* is placed south of *Fiord Ollumlengri* on the 1737 map, but north of it on [1739], and *Vandala Bygd* is placed on a more northerly situated peninsula on the 1737 than on the [1739] map. Also Rans Ey is placed differently on the two maps.

On the basis of the above differences between the two maps it must be presumed that the [1739] map is no true copy of the map from 1737 as suggested by Bobé. Furthermore, it has been established that the map from 1737 did not have exactly the same picture as the map from [1739] as presumed by Nissen. As to the west coast the half of the map from 1737, which has disappeared, covered practically only that part of the coast which Egede navigated himself in 1723 and 1724, i.e. the area he reproduced on his map from 1724. Unfortunately, we are not able to ascertain whether the disappeared half of the 1737 map showed the same direction of the west coast as the map from 1724, or whether it had a slightly easternward curving the map [1739].

In other words, the one map is no more original than the other one.

Aftegningen over Baals Revier . . .” (Map of Baals Revier).

The map of the Greenland west coast from 1724 and those of the greater part of Greenland from 1737 and [1739] are all hand-drawn and were not published until this century. Hans Egede saw, however, two of his other maps duplicated. One was a detailed map of Godthåbsfjorden, and the other a somewhat revised edition of the [1739] map.

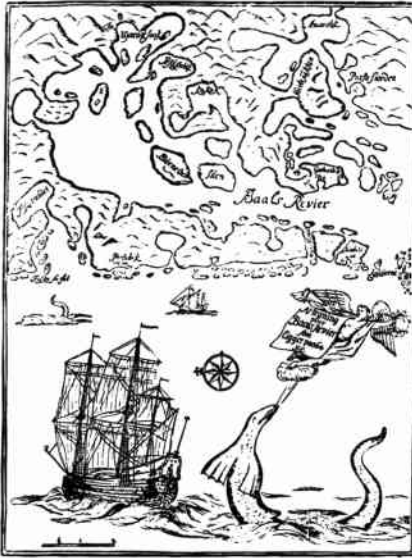


Fig. 13. Map of Baals Revier (the Godthåb area) signed: H.E. reproduced after a woodcut in Paul Egede's: *Continuation af Relationerne*, 1741. 36,8 x 28,2 cm.

Fig. 13. Kort over Baals Revier (Godthåbsområdet) signeret: H.E. gengivet efter træsnit i Paul Egedes: *Continuation af Relationerne*, 1741. 36,8 x 28,2 cm.

The title of the detailed map is: "Aftegning/over/Baals Revier/som/ligger paa 64/H.E." (In translation: Map of Baals Revier situated in 64/H.E.). The measures are 368 x 282 mm, fig. 13. It is reproduced in Paul Egede's: *"Continuation af Relationerne Betreffende Den Grønlandske Missions Tilstand og Beskaffenhed, Forfattet i Form af en Journal fra Anno 1734 til 1740"* [1741]). In the book no information about the map has been given. In technique – woodcut – the map is similar to another special map in the same publication, a map of Diskobugten signed P.E.

It is most likely that the map of Baals Revier has been cut after an original by Hans Egede who naturally knew this region very well. Here he founded his colony in 1721 and drew the Godthåb area (Baals Revier), already on the map from 1724. As previously mentioned, he did it twice and peculiarly enough, in different ways and in different latitudes.

Hans Egede's map from 1741

From a cartographic-historic viewpoint the other published map is of considerably greater interest, fig. 14. It has a Latin title: *Grœnlandia antiqva/Secundum utramque partem/Orientelem & Occidentalem/seu Wester et Øster=Bygd/delineata/cum Sinibus et adjacentibus/Insulis et Scopulis*". (The old Greenland drawn with

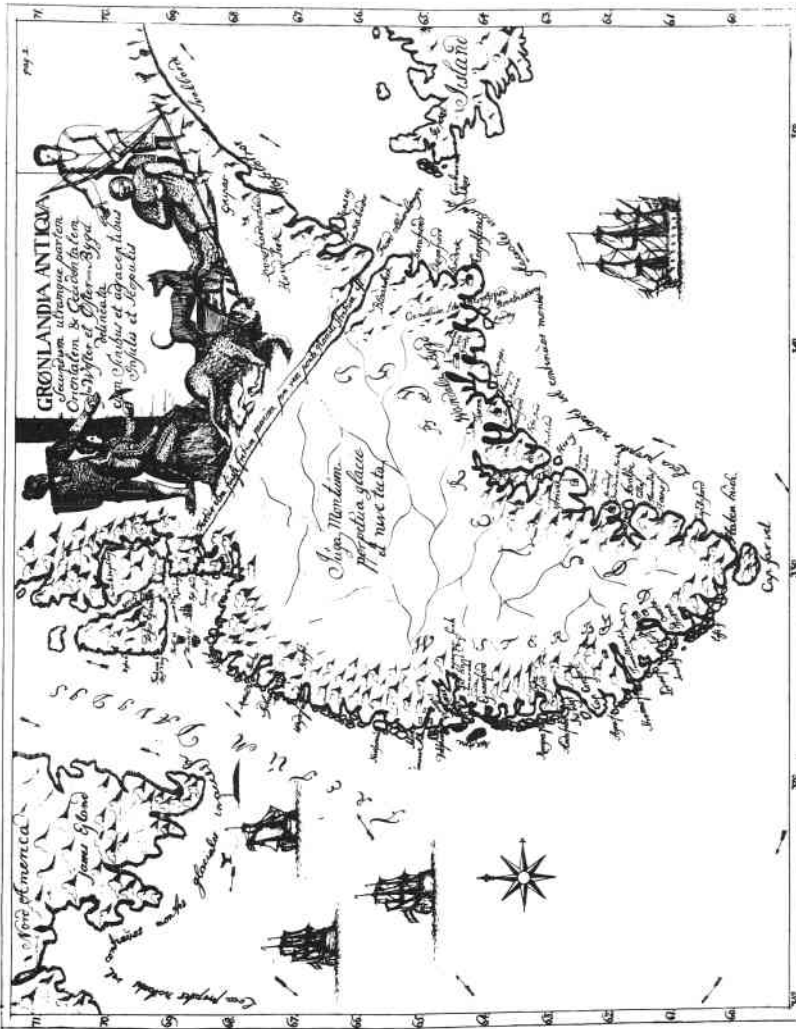


Fig. 14. Hans Egedes "Grønlandia antiqva 1741", gengivet efter kobberstik i Hans Egedes: Det gamle Grønlands nye Perlustration. 1741. 28 x 36,2 cm.

Fig. 14. Hans Egede's "Grønlandia Antiqua 1741", reproduced after a copperplate in Hans Egede's: Det Gamle Grønlands nye Perlustration. 1741. 28 x 36.2 cm.

bays and fjords and adjoining islands along both sides, both the eastern and the western settlements, or the Vester- and the Østerbygd.)

This unsigned map measures 280 x 362 mm. The grading is indicated by numbers in the map frame, the latitude goes from approximately 59 to 71°20' and is marked for each grade between 60 to 71° inclusive. The longitude ranges from 310 to 355° and is marked by the numbers 310, 320, 330, 340 and 350. The map was published as appendix to Egede's book:

"Det Gamle Grønlands nye Perustration eller Naturel=Historie og Beskrivelse over det gamle Grønlands Situation, Luft, Temperament og Beskaffenhed, de gamle Norske Coloniers Begyndelse og Undergang der samme steds, de itzige Indbyggerers Oprindelse, Væsen, Leve-Maade og Handtæring, samt hvad ellers Landet yder og giver af sig saa som Dyr, Fiske og Fugle sc. med hosføyet nyt Land-Caart og andre Kaaberstykker over Landets Naturalier og Indbyggeris Handtæring forfattet af Hans Egede Forhen Missionair udi Grønland" København 1741.

This work from its first appearance attracted great attention and was also translated into several languages. In England there were as many as three translations, one from 1741, one from 1760 and finally: "Description of Greenland by Hans Egede who was missionary in that country for twenty-five years. A new edition with an Historical Introduction and a Life of the Author, illustrated with a map of Greenland and numerous engravings on wood. Second Edition. London 1818". It was also translated into German (Copenhagen 1742, Berlin 1763 and (revised) Leipzig 1923) into Dutch (Delft 1746) and into French (Copenhagen-Geneve 1763).

Herein, Egede also discusses whether Greenland is an island or maybe is connected with a continent. The problem is evaded on his maps, as none of them shows the northern part of Greenland. But this book from 1741, Egede reveals his opinion to this geographical problem: "Whether Greenland is a big island-country or whether it borders on to ascertain, although it should be established that it must border on America, on the northwestern side". This means that Egede presume Greenland to be connected with America and he refers also to Davis Strait rather as a bay than as a sound (*Hans Egede*, 1741, p. 1). He mentions, however, that Greenlanders have told him that Greenland is divided from America by a narrow sound, but apparently he did not have much confidence in this information. A connection with Asia, he rejects as an old Greenland myth. When mentioning his cartographical sources for the map from 1741, he says: "the map corresponds with the one made by Thormoder (Torfæus' and Rasch's map from 1706, cf. fig. 7) and other new maps to the extent they do not disagree with the old descriptions or with his own experience. In

this, he thinks obviously of the Frobisher Strait and the Bear Sound, the two straits which he "killed" after the expeditions in 1723 and 1724.

The most remarkable difference of the map from 1741, compared with the map [1739] is that the Disko area has undergone a noteworthy improvement. When drawing this map, Hans Egede has leaned on Netherland marine charts and the previously mentioned map of Paul Egede showing Diskobugten.

On the southernmost part of Greenland two place-names have changed positions. "Staten huch" is placed southernmost on the map [1739] whereas Cap Farvel is done so on the map from 1741.

On the east coast, the place-names of Østerbygden (the Eastern Settlement) are still seen. Again, this shows Hans Egede's erroneous conviction of the location of Østerbygden.

Compared with the maps from 1724 and [1739] the west coast shows a westernly bulging from Diskobugten to Cap Farvel, but is for the rest, mainly based on Hans Egede's observations from the navigation in 1723 and 1724, as they appear on the map from 1724.

Changes in areas outside Greenland are: North America is drawn in more details and Iceland is clearly influenced by Netherland charts and is drawn closer to the east coast of Greenland.

Arrows show the direction of prevailing sea streams. At two places, namely at the Greenland east coast and in "Fretum Davidis" off North America, these arrows carry the following information: "*Loca propter natantes vel continuos montes glaciales inaccessa*" and thereby draw attention to the inaccessibility of these areas because of drifting icebergs. As regards the west coast of Greenland, the map shows that the ice stream with the drifting icebergs is not a threat until north of Diskobugten.

Like the other map production of Hans Egede, the map from 1741 has no indication of the *Frobisher Strait* and the *Bear Sound*, which is not peculiar since he had by private studies rejected their connection with Greenland. However, the map does not appear without straits. On the northern part of it, a sound is sketched forming the continuation of *Fiord olim lingri* on the east coast to *Iisfjorden* in Diskobugten on the west coast. The sound has been furnished with the text: "*Fertur olim fuisse fretum pervium jam vero ponte glaciali stratum est*" (In translation: it has said that formerly a navigable sound was lying here covered with an ice bridge). The reason Hans Egede placed this peculiar sound on his map in 1741 is undoubtedly due to information given to him by Paul Egede. The latter mentions in his diary from the 6th of February 1738 – on this date he is in Iise-fjorden – that the "wild"

Table 3: Comparison between place-names indicated on the map 1706 made by Torfæus and Rasch and Hans Egede's maps 1737, [1739], and 1741.

Torfæus & Rasch 1706	Hans Egede			Torfæus & Rasch 1706	Hans Egede		
	1737	[1739]	1741		1737	[1739]	1741
Svalbardi			x	Einars f:			
Hafsbotnar			x	Thorvaldzvic			
Greipar	x		x	Langey		x	x
Kroksfiardar= heidi			x	Lambey		x	
Kroksfiordr	x			Hafgrims f:		x	
Spalsund				Hvalseyarf:			
Hvitserk	x	x	x	Foss seu			
Ransøy aliis				Fossasund			x
Drangey	x	x	x	Grenevic			
Funkabudir	x	x	x	Kliningn			
Fiord: ollum				Hellustadr			
lengri	x	x		Brattahlid		x	x
Blaserkr	x	x	x	Lodncundarf		x	
Berufiordr	x	x	x	Borgarf:		x	
Solvadnr	x	x		Eýrar f:		x	
Barnafell	x	x		Mirestad			
Melrackanes	x	x		Bondaf		x	
Skagafiordr	x	x	x	Lirdals K		x	
Tofafiordr	x	x		Solarfiall			
Sandvic	x	x		Ericsfjorðr		x	x
Herjolfnes	x	x	x	Herey		x	x
Hvarfsgnipa	x	x		Dýrnes Kirkia		x	x
Afhvarf	x			Midf:		x	x
Heriolfnes		x		Stockanes			
Kirk				inrivic		x	
Heriolfsiordr			x	ytrivic		x	x
Ketils, aliis				Isafiordr		x	x
Kundilsfiordr	x	x		Utiblics f:		x	
Hrakbiarnarey	x	x	x	Strandaf:		x	x
Vandalabygd	x	x		Gardanes K			x
Coenobium				Mid-firdir { Kollaf:		x	
S:Ola	x	x	x	Dyraf:			
Peters vic	x			Thorvaldzf		x	x
Lundey	x	x	x	Steins f:		x	x
Helliseyarf:	x			Bergthorsf:		x	
Coenobium				Lýsuf		o	x
monial	x	x		Svarti		o	x
Alftaf:	x			Leiru f:		o	
Vogak				Hornaf:		o	
Sigluf:	x			Agna f:		o	x
Rumpeyarf:	x			Lodinsf:		o	
Thermæ			x	Straums f:		o	x
Rumpey	x		x	Anda f:		o	x
Hrafns f				Ragna f:		o	x
Hafns f				Einars f.		o	x
Slettuf:				Vesterbygd		x	x
Templum				Cap Confort		x	x
Cath. gard	x	x		Bals Rivier		x	x
Fosso		x		Fretum Davis		x	x
Hornaf:				Fretum Forbisher			
Lacus							
Ofundinf		x		Elisabeth			
Aiestkærst				Forland			
Burafiall		x		Cap: Discord			x
Dalr				Cap: Farvel	x		x
Rinsey			x	Cap: Christian			
Einarsf: Kirk				Cap: Desolation			
S. Nicol: conser:							

X = the place-name is found on the respective maps

O = not indicated on the map, but placed in the lower left corner of the map [1739]

The place-names are recorded as they can be read on Torfæus' and Rasch's map 1706. The list starts with the northernmost eastern name, goes via the Frobisher Strait along the east coast to the northernmost western place-name.

Below place-names which have been omitted in table 3 because they are not indicated on the map 1706 made by Torfæus and Rasch, whereas they are found on Hans Egede's maps:

1737: *Obygdar, Harra Sund*

[1739] Place-names on the west coast from the north:

Nordbay, Fiske Vog, Torngarsuit, Kakortok. Cap Farvel and Cap Cron. Printz Christian cover the same location: *Cap Farvel nu kaldet Cap. Cron Printz Christian. Toar-Fiord.*

This map has two special legends written across Greenland, the northernmost one runs as follows:

NB: *Her ere mange skiønne Fiorder, hvor/ vore gl: norske Folck fordem / haver boet, som af de forfaldne Huuse / og rudera er kiendelig at see.*

Southernmost: NB. *Her iligemaade sees mange / rudera af de Norskes bygninger / Saavel som Kircker iblant hvilcke / nogle ere i den stand at de kand / repareris.*

1741: On the west coast from the south: *Thermæ, Agnaf, Kock Øerne, Kaneisut, Delfshaven, Umanak, Nacksarmiut, Weidefiord, Rommelpot, Isortok, Rifcol, Hunde Ejl, Hvale Ejl, Grønn Ejl, Iise Fiord, Rode bay, Klokker Huk, Swarte Vogel bay, Disco Reede, Leifd bay, Disco b., Fortuin b.*

On the east coast: *Arna F Hualsøe.*

Across the map from Disko Bay to "Fiord Ollum lengri" is written: *Fertur olim fuisse fretum pervium jam vero ponte glaciali stratum est.* As to this strait see p.

[1739] and 1741: Place-names not found on Torfæus' and Rasch's map from 1706 but on the maps [1739] and 1741:

The west coast from the north: *Vaigat, Disco, Christians-Haab, Sydbay, Nepisen, Loge Salen, Ujaraksuak, Gothaab/AmaralikFiord, Fiske-Fiord, Iis-vog, Tunnuliarbik, Agluitsok, Onartok, Staten huch*

are convinced of the existence of such a sound (P. Egede, 1741, p. 76). Neither Hans nor Paul Egede mentions directly whether they are themselves convinced hereof. Both of them use the expression "it is said that formerly a sound was lying here". Hans Egede has presumably not quite excluded the possibility of it, since he draws it on the map.

Possibly, the belief of the existence of such a sound should be sought in the many icebergs drifting out of Isfjorden. People did not simply imagine that it was the inland ice that calved the icebergs, instead they presumed that the icebergs came floating from the east coast that was known to be full of them. In 1723 Hans Egede had rejected the idea of Frobisher Strait's connection with Greenland. He had the same misconception when he believed to have found the Frobisher Strait because of a large amount of icebergs. For long, the existence of the sound was maintained. Thus, Rink wrote in 1877 that the sound sketched on Hans Egede's map and described by Paul Egede still prevails in the geographical literature (Rink, 1877, p. 115).

Finally, it deserves to be mentioned that ice-covered straits in Greenland were in vogue. For example on his map: "NOVA/GROENLANDIÆ/TABULA/a 59^{mo}/ Gradu/usque ad 73^{mu}m" (Cranz, 1765, V. 1) David Cranz has given a hint of the Frobisher Strait (by a broken line) and written: "Fretum Frobisher, Glacie tectum". Likewise, Cranz indicated "Bärsund" and the ice-covered strait introduced by Hans Egede.

NOTES

1.

The last evidence of a ship from the Norsemen's settlements to Norden is dated from 1410. Perhaps Greenland was rediscovered in the 1470's by the expedition sent out by the Danish King Christian I (at the request of the King of Portugal), but we have no statement of a landing.

2.

It might seem peculiar that we have no cartographic material made by the Norsemen of the waters in which they navigated. In the sagas one also looks in vain for maps. I am definitely convinced that they did not draw maps at all as the South Europeans did. Maybe the explanation is the simple one that the latter mostly sailed along the coasts, whereas the Norsemen crossed the sea and course instructions would therefore be more useful. It is hard to see what the Norsemen could do with a map of the Atlantic Ocean. In any case they were not able to navigate after it, for the simple reason that they did not have the necessary instruments. It has often been discussed whether Clavus visited Greenland before making his cartographic works, now only found in copies: *The Nancy Map*, about 1430 (now preserved in the City Library at Nancy) with Greenland reproduced and named for the first time, and the Vienna text (two copies in Österreich Nationalbibliothek, Vienna: Cod. Vindob.lat. 3227 and Cod. Vindob. lat. 5277). A.A. Bjørnbo (1912 p. 110) and Fridtjof Nansen (1911 p. 471) have discussed this problem. According to Carl S. Petersen (Bjørnbo, 1912 p. XI), the result of their discussion should have been that Bjørnbo shared Nansen's viewpoint that Clavus did not visit Greenland himself. If it is accepted that the Vinland Map was made before Columbus discovered America — in my opinion no cartographic-historical material tells against it — we have both on the Vinland Map and on Clavus' Map a cartographic reproduction of Greenland drawn at an earlier date than the map material based on Frobisher's expeditions. I believe that the drawing of the North Atlantic Ocean on the two maps must — directly or indirectly — have been based on course indications given by the Norsemen, and not on cartographical material collected in Greenland.

cf. Kejlbo, 1966, passim.

cf. Kejlbo, 1968, passim.

3.

The Zeno-map was published in Venezia as a woodcut in 1558 and entitled: *Carta da navegar de Nicolo et Antonio Zeni furono in tramontana lano M.CCC.LXXX*. The map was an appendix to: *Dei commentarii del viaggio in Persia di M. Caterino Zeno il K. et delle guerre fatte nell' Imperio Persiano, dal tempo di Ussuncassano in qua Libri due. Et dello scoprimento dell' Isole Frislanda, Eslanda, Engrouelanda, Estotilanda et Icaria, fatto sotto il Polo Artico, da due fratelli Zeni, M. Nicolo il K. e M. Antonio . . . Venezia 1558.*

4.

As to the Frobisher Strait, cf. also P. de Löwenørn: "*Afhandling om en mærkelig Feiltagelse i Henseende til Frobisher-Stræde*". In: *Nye Samling af Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabers Selskabs Skrifter. Tredie Deel*, pp 220-234. Copenhagen 1788.

5.

This information is found in Collinson, 1857, p. 82 in: "*State Papers subsequent to the first Voyage*" pp. 79-87, indicated to be "Anonymous, but

apparently by Michael Lok". Lok joined Frobisher's first voyage. On his map from 1582 (reproduced in Hakluyt Society, London 1850) the Frobisher Strait is not placed at Greenland but west of it.

The Zeno-influenced Mercator Map on which the south point of Greenland has been displaced too far north — to about 66°N — has also had a bearing on Lok's map on which Frisland has been drawn in the correct position of Greenland, which is shown north of Greenland with the southernmost point in 66°N.Lat.

6.

Gerhard Mercator's World Map 1569 which was printed in Duisburg under the title: "*Nova et aucta orbis terrae descriptio ad usum navigantium emendate accommodata*". It is reproduced e. g. in: "*Drei Karten von Gerhard Mercator, Facsimile — Lichtdruck nach den Originalen der Stadtbibliothek zu Breslau, herausgegeben von der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*. Berlin 1891.

7.

Rundall (1849, p. 40) states that Davis' original charts "*were lost on Sir John Ross's last voyage*" in 1829–34. Miller Christy (1897, p. 19, n) does not believe that the original map was lost during this voyage finding it rather unlikely that ". . . the original of such an interesting document should have been allowed to be taken out on a perilous arctic voyage".

8.

Gerritsz' Chart was published in *Descriptio ac delineatio geographica detectionis freti*. Amsterdam, 1612. Frobisher's discoveries, e. g. "*Quine Elizabeths forlandt*" are wrongly plotted by Gerritsz in south-east Greenland. This error goes back to the Beares map of Frobisher's Voyages (fig. 2).

9.

Concerning Joris Carolus cf.: Lind, 1889, p. 436, Bjørnbo and Carl S. Petersen, 1908, p. 12–13, Bobe, 1915, p. 260, and 1936a, p. 39, H. Hermannsson in: *Islandica*, New York 1924, v. Xv, p. 29–30, 1926, v. XVII, p. 22–23, 1930 v. XXI, p. 436–37.

10.

Thormod Torfæus, Thormodur Torfason, 1636–1719, was born in Iceland and must be considered the most outstanding expert on the Medieval Icelandic Manuscripts. In 1682 he was appointed Royal Norwegian Historiographer.

11.

Jakob Rasch, was born 1669 in Stavanger. 1696 M.A. As to Rasch, cf. Bobe, 1936 a, p. 40–41.

12.

The Icelandic Bishop Thordur Thorláksson (1634–1697) collected "*Grönlands Beskriffvelse*" during his stay in Copenhagen 1669. The work exists in two slightly different versions in the Royal Library, Copenhagen: G.K.S. 2881, 4^o and G.K.S. 997, fol. The first-mentioned is apparently the original one. Besides the map from 1668 contained in this work, Thorláksson also made a larger one (660 x 370 mm) of the same area and dedicated it to Henrik Bjelke, then governor-general of Iceland. The map is now preserved in Hydrographic Office (Søkortarkivet) Copenhagen.

13.

Concerning these two islands Thorláksson writes (Gl. Kgl. Saml. 2881, 4^o, 12^r): "Om disse to Øer har jeg ikke læst noget sønderligt i vore Antiquiteter uden det, som står i Leifer Eriksens Rejse, når han opsøger Vinland og han sejlede hjem igjen til Grønland, da saa han to Øer i Sydvest fra Grønland, disse Øer haver jeg baade delineareret og situeret efter de visseste Søkaart, som jeg haver kunnet bekomme". (T. has found nothing remarkable in the ancient records and literature except in "Leifer Eriksen's Voyage" which mentions two islands SW of Greenland). When T. erroneously placed Østerbygden on the east coast of Greenland this fits with Leifer Eriksen's indications.

14.

A.O. Bobé (1944, p. 10) showed that "Norges Beskrivelse" is identical with: "Norriges oc Omliggende Øers sandfærdige Bescriffuelse, Indholdendis huis vært at vide, baade om Landsens oc Indbyggernis Leilighed oc vilkor, saa vel i forðum tid, som nu i vore dage". By Peder Claussøn Friis, 1642. His collected papers were published by Gustav Storm, Kristiania 1881.

15.

Missionskollegiet was founded in 1714 and supervised the mission in Greenland on Royal decree.

16.

Erich Larsson was employed by *Bergenskompaniet* as a steerman in 1722 and in the same year he sailed to Greenland with captain Ebbe Mitzel. In 1723 he was first-mate onboard "Fridericus Quartus" which was to winter and hunt whales the following year. The last time he was in Greenland was in 1725 onboard "Hucherten Jomfrue Egte Sophie". He died in Bergen 1729. His log is left in different copies: Ny Kgl. Saml. 1293, 1294, 1294 b 4^o, Kall 275 fol. The Royal Library, Copenhagen. 1294 b is published with notes by H. Osterman: "Rekognosceringsekspeditionen efter Østerbygden 1723" in *Det Grønlandske Selskabs Aarsskrift* 1942, p. 93–114.

17.

Erich Larsson (cf. note 16) and Hans Egede made logs. The log of Hans Egede is to be found in his 3. Relation: "Continuation af Journal-Relationen angaaende dend foretagne Mission til de hedenske Grønlænders Omvendelse fra Julio 1723 indtil Julim 1724". In *Meddelelser om Grønland*, V LIV, 1925, p. 92–103.

18.

The southernmost point reached by the expedition can be ascertained fairly exactly due to an anchor found from a Dutch sailor which was shipwrecked (Bobé, 1944 p. 79–80).

19.

Cornelius Seehusen (1697–1781) was born in Bergen. In 1721 he came to Greenland onboard "Haabet" and returned with the same ship to Norway in 1722. In 1723 he was second-mate onboard "Fridericus Quartus" which left for Greenland the same year. His diary from the expedition with Hans Egede is preserved in different versions in The Royal Library, Copenhagen: 1293, 1294, and 1294 b fol. N.k.S. Concerning Seehusen cf. H. Ostermann (1940) 2nd vol. p. 741–743.

20.

Hans Egede did not reach *Nepisene* (*Nipsiat* or *Nipsæt*) on his reconnaissance in 1724, but during the summer of 1724 he succeeded in establishing a lodge, a trading place, there. This "*Den ny Loge*" also called "*Nordre Colonie*" was inspected by Hans Egede May 1st–7th, 1725, June 13th–30th 1726, and in 1736. Already in June 1725, however the lodge was left and soon after it was burnt down by the Dutchmen. The visit in 1726 by Egede was made in the hope of finding some supplies, as there was shortage of food in the main colony. In 1729–30 a fort and some buildings were established which were left again in 1731. From this site we have a map made by B. Duche. No data are to be found on B. Duche.

21.

The original map is now preserved in the State Archives, Copenhagen. Formerly in the Royal Library under: N.K.S. 1962 c, 4^o. The map is inserted as an appendix to (3. Relation): "*Continuation af Journal-Relationen angaaende dend foretagne Mission til de hedenske Grønlanders Omvendelse fra Julio 1723 indtil Julium 1724. Med indbefattet Reysebeskrivelse og aneeterende Land-Cart ofver en to til tre Graders Reyse Sonden og Norden Colonien, aflagt ved Hans Egede, Kongl. Danske Missionarium udi Grønland. Skrefvet af dend Bergenske Grønlandske Collonie d. 10. Juny 1724*" (In English: Continuation of the report concerning the conversion of the heathen Greenlanders, from July 1723 to July 1724. With included log and maps showing route of expeditions made south and north of the colony).

There are three copies of "*Continuation af Journal-Relationen . . .*" Thott 1572, 4^o, Thott 986, fol, University Library Add, 245, all preserved in the Royal Library, Copenhagen. Only one of the copies, Thott, 1572, 4^o, is furnished with maps. One of these two maps is a coloured copy of Hans Egede's map from 1724, the second map, also coloured, is entitled: "*Udi alle disse Fiorder hafver de Nordske fordum boet, hvilcke de mange øde Tofter og Pladsr nocksom gifver tilkiende*" (In English: Formerly, the Norwegians have been living along these fjords, which is proved by all the deserted sites and settlements). "*Carta ofver Grønlands Vestersiide . . . 1724*" was published for the first time in 1925, cf. Bobe, 1925, Pl. II.

22.

Hans Egede's travel journey, cf. note 16

Erich Larsson's travel journal, cf. note 15

Cornelius Seehusen's travel journal, "*Copie af Under-Styrmanden Cornelius Seehuusen holdende Journal paa Reisen med Hr. Hans Egede fra Colonien Norder, eftersom er begyndt dend 28 Febr. 1724 og endet dend 21 Martij samme Aar*," is now preserved in the Royal Library, Copenhagen under N.k.S. 1294 b, fol., together with two other copies: N.k.S. 1293 and 1294.

23.

Lourens Feykes Haan sailed as a chief officer for the largest Netherland shipping company sailing to Greenland Jakob Wynkoop en Zoon, Amsterdam. His first edition of "*Beschryving van de Straat Davids*" was published in 1719 by Gerard van Keulen, Amsterdam. Though small, the work yields good information of excellent whaling places in the Davis Strait. This edition, which is today found in the Royal Library, Copenhagen, has coastal profiles of the southwestern part of Iceland: "*Landkenningen aen de zuyd west syde van*

Ysland", whereas there are no coastal profiles on areas on Greenland. This is the case, however, with the extended edition which was published in 1720: "*Nieuwe opdoeningen der lande in de Straat Davids*", but here there are none of Iceland. Compared with the 1719-edition the one from 1720 has been increased with descriptions of the prevailing conditions. Those made of the waters are so excellent that they were by far the best sailing instructions and enjoyed great reputation.

Feykes Haan (1720, p. 5) states the southernmost point of Greenland *Staatshoek* to be 59°50' N.Lat. and 331°30' Long. He is also mentioning the history of Greenland and of Davis Strait. Thus he has heard that "*De Straat Davids*" was rediscovered in 1585 (Feykes Haan, 1720, p.6), but he does not know after whom it has been named. No reference is made to Frobisher and the Frobisher Strait.

24.

These two characteristic coastal profiles served as beacons for the seaward approach to "Haabets Colonie".

25.

Identical with "*Sadelbjerget*" which was mentioned by Hans Egede on March 11th, 1724 (1724, p. 87 and 1925, p. 117).

26.

Huken is identical with *Statenhoeck* which is Dutch nomenclature for the southernmost point of Greenland.

27.

The same as *Agdluitsoq* (Bobé, 1925 p. 415). On the 20th of August 1723 Egede went by boat into this fjord and continued the next day to where he had heard there were to be woods and Norse ruins. He mentions this growth as scrub with gnarled trees with branches of an arm's thickness, (Hans Egede, 1724, p. 20, 1925, p. 96). The scrub is seen on the map.

28.

Identical with *Igaliko* (Bobé, 1925, p. 415). Not visited by Egede. The ruins have been drawn after information of August 29th, 1723, given by Greenlanders living in this area. Egede was on his way home and had passed the fjord when he received the information (Hans Egede, 1724, p. 31, 1925, p. 99).

29.

Identical with *Tunugdliarfik* (Bobé, 1925, p. 415). The drawn ruins from the Norsemen's houses originate from information given to Egede by Greenlanders on his return journey on August 31th, 1723 (Hans Egede, 1724, p. 31, 1925, p. 100).

30.

Identical with *Isblinken*. Egede thought — correctly — that this iceberg originated from the glacier at Ujaragssuaq (Bobé, 1925, p. 415).

31.

Isblinken (Bobé, 1925, p. 414). On August 13th, 1723, referred to as a sandy area of 2–3 miles facing the sea (Hans Egede, 1724, p. 13), 1925, p. 94).

32.

Identical with *Sermilik* (Bobé, 1925, p. 416).

33.

The first place where Egede found traces after the Norsemen, see p.

34.

The same as *Balls River*, called so by James Hall on his fourth and last voyage to Greenland. Hall was supported financially by the English merchant Richard Ball.

35.

The same as *Pisigarfik* (Bobé, 1925, p. 413).

36.

In this fjord Hans Egede investigated some ruins from the time of the Norsemen during his visit from April 30th to Mai 3rd, 1723 (Hans Egede, 1925, p. 77-79). 37.

37.

Letter dated July 6, 1960, to the national librarian Palle Birkelund, The Royal Library, Copenhagen, contains the same information. In: Rosenkilde, 1934, p. 89, a brief reference is made to this map.

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- Afskrifter, Thott Kwart 1572. Vedheftet 2 Kort, det ene Kopi med Farver efter Egedes Kort af 1724, det andet, ligeledes farvelagt med Paaskrift: Udi alle disse Fiorder hafver de Nordske forðum boet, hvilcke de Mange øde Tofter og Pladser nocksom gifver tilkiende [mærkede med rødt]. Kortet omfatter: "Hollandske Handelsplads, Baals Rever, Amaralik Fiord, Pesichfiarbame og Uparach suach" samt Indløbet til Præstefjorden." — Thott Fol. 986. Univ. Bibl. Add. Fol. 245.

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