

Thomas Horst / Marília dos Santos Lopes /
Henrique Leitão (eds.)

Renaissance Craftsmen and Humanistic Scholars

Circulation of Knowledge between Portugal and Germany

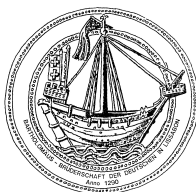


PETER LANG
EDITION

Bibliographic Information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data is available in the internet at <http://dnb.d-nb.de>.

The publication of the present volume was made possible thanks to the support of the *Bartholomäus Bruderschaft der Deutschen in Lissabon*, the oldest association of German merchants in Portugal, founded more than 700 years ago.



ISSN 1861-583X

ISBN 978-3-631-68113-8 (Print)

E-ISBN 978-3-653-07237-2 (E-PDF)

E-ISBN 978-3-631-70274-1 (EPUB)

E-ISBN 978-3-631-70275-8 (MOBI)

DOI 10.3726/b10508

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Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften

Frankfurt am Main 2017

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Peter Lang – Frankfurt am Main · Bern · Bruxelles · New York ·
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Table of Contents

<i>Thomas Horst, Marília dos Santos Lopes and Henrique Leitão</i> Foreword: Renaissance Craftsmen and Humanistic Scholars	7
<i>Thomas Horst</i> The Relationship between Portugal and the Holy Roman Empire at the Beginning of the Early Modern Period: a Brief Introduction.....	9
<i>Achim Thomas Hack</i> Friedrich III. und Alfons V., Enea Silvio Piccolomini und João Fernandes da Silveira. Briefliche Kommunikation zwischen Portugal und dem Reich in den 1450er-Jahren	37
<i>Jürgen Pohle</i> Kaiser Maximilian I. und die Rezeption der portugiesischen Entdeckungen im Nürnberger Kaufmanns- und Gelehrtenkreis am Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts.....	57
<i>Marília dos Santos Lopes</i> Importing Knowledge: Portugal and the Scientific Culture in Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century's Germany	73
<i>Torsten dos Santos Arnold</i> Hermann Kellenbenz and the German-Portuguese Economic Relationships during the Sixteenth Century.....	91
<i>Yvonne Hendrich</i> «De insulis et peregrinatione lusitanorum» – Valentim Fernandes als Vermittler von Informationen zwischen Portugal und Oberdeutschland zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts.....	103
<i>Gabriele Kaiser</i> Leonhard Thurneysser zum Thurn (1531–1596) und sein Nachlass in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin	121
<i>Thomas Horst</i> A Rediscovered Manuscript about Portuguese Plants and Animals: Preliminary Observations	133

<i>Yves Schumacher</i>	
Basel – Fluchtpunkt der Humanisten und Alchemisten	175
<i>Annemarie Jordan Gschwend</i>	
Antonio Meyting: Artistic Agent, Cultural Intermediary and Diplomat (1538–1591)	187
<i>Samuel Gessner</i>	
Lost Between Centuries: a Celestial Globe (1575) from Augsburg in the Portuguese Royal Collections	203
<i>Wolfgang Köberer</i>	
“The Right Foundation of Seafaring”: German-Portuguese Connections in the Sixteenth Century with Regard to Nautical Science.....	223
Notes on Contributors	241

Thomas Horst

The Relationship between Portugal and the Holy Roman Empire at the Beginning of the Early Modern Period: a Brief Introduction

Abstract: Der vorliegende Beitrag ist als Einführung in die Thematik der deutsch-portugiesischen Kulturbeziehungen im 15./16. Jahrhundert gedacht und hebt exemplarisch einige bedeutende Objekte der materiellen Kultur als Schlaglichter hervor. Darunter sind neben den Grabmälern der aus Portugal stammenden Kaiserin Eleonore von Portugal (1436–1467) und ihrer Kammerzofe Beatrix Lopi († 1453) in Wiener Neustadt auch der im Johanneum in Graz verwahrte Prunkwagen sowie eine Statue in der Hofkirche von Innsbruck hervorzuheben.

Für die Entwicklung der deutsch-portugiesischen Kulturkontakte spielten schließlich nicht nur humanistische Gelehrte, sondern auch in Portugal lebende Mittelsmänner der oberdeutschen Handelsgesellschaften und ihre Vereinigung in der Bartholomäus-Brüderschaft eine besondere Rolle; die dazugehörigen archivalischen Quellen werden bestens mit Reiseberichten und materiellen Objekten, ergänzt. Diese gilt es in Zukunft vermehrt unter wissenshistorischen Aspekten zu untersuchen.

The international workshop “Renaissance Craftsmen and Humanistic Scholars: European Circulation of Knowledge between Portugal and Germany”, which we have organized in the National Library of Portugal on 20th/21th November 2014 together with Professora Dr. Marília dos Santos Lopes (Centro de Estudos de Comunicação e Cultura; Universidade Católica Portuguesa) and Professor Dr. Henrique Leitão (Centro Interuniversitário de História das Ciências e da Tecnologia, University of Lisbon) dealt with the circulation of scientific and technological knowledge in the early modern period. At this time the specific cultural relationship and exchange of knowledge between Portugal and the German-speaking lands played a significant role, which we tried to reconstruct and to analyse, especially with contemporary texts compiled by humanistic scholars (like books, manuscripts, travel journeys etc.) and – as part of the material culture – particular objects, constructed by Renaissance craftsmen (like globes, instruments, tomb stones, carriages, cannons etc.). This article highlights only a few of these objects and gives a short introduction to the interesting topic of cultural exchange of knowledge at the beginning of the early modern period.

The earliest relationship between the Kingdom of Portugal and the Holy Roman Emperor of the German Nation began in the High Middle Ages, when German crusaders helped to recapture the City of Lisbon in 1147.¹ However, the time of the Portuguese *Reconquista* ended in the first half of the thirteenth century. Later, after the Succession crisis (1383–1385), as it is known, the House of Avis established the second dynasty of kings in Portugal (1385–1580) and the “golden era” of the Portuguese discoveries began.

In this age, Infante Pedro, Duke of Coimbra (1392–1449), the brother of the Portuguese king Dom Duarte I (Edward, called the “philosopher”, ruled from 1433 to 1438), traveled throughout Europe. Few historians are aware that Pedro even lived at the Habsburg Court, from 1426 to 1428.² His arrival in Vienna on 28th March 1426 is well documented in the so-called *Kleine Klosterneuburger Chronik*, a chronicle of the Austrian monastery Klosterneuburg not far from Vienna, where it is written: “im selben jar [...] da kham hergefahrn ein khünigs sun von pordigall, mit seinem volckh, auf 300 guets volckh, er khunt nit teutsch, aber guet lateynisch” (“in the same year [...], a son of the king of Portugal came with 300 good people; he could not speak German, but very well Latin”).³

Pedro was not only the brother of Infante Henrique (“the Navigator”, 1394–1460), who played a significant role for the Portuguese expeditions in these times, but he was also the uncle of Infanta Leonor (Eleanor of Portugal, 1436–1467)⁴, who married the Holy Roman Emperor Friedrich III (Frederick III, life dates: 1415–1493) in 1452. Leonor died 15 years later, on 3th September 1467 in Wiener Neustadt, with the young age of 33 years. Her tomb with an impressive tomb slab (fig. 1)⁵ can be found in the local Cistercian abbey (Neuklosterkirche zur Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit), where also her chambermaid, the Portuguese noblewoman Beatrix Lopi († 9th April 1453), was buried (fig. 2)⁶.

1 Cf. for instance Gennrich, 1936: 11.

2 Gomes dos Santos, 1959; Rogers, 1961: 31–58.

3 Cf. the edition by Zeibig, 1851: 250.

4 For a first overview to the topic cf. for instance Hanreich, 198; Hack, 2013; Koller, 1996 and Walsh, 1993. For the date of birth of Leonor cf. Hack, 2012.

5 To the tomb slap cf. Dornik 1966 a; Kohn, 1998: 59–61, Nr. 98, Fig. 39; Hilger, 2013 and Lind, 1869.

6 The features of Beatrix Lopi look very lusitanic, cf. Dornik 1966 b, Gerhartl 1972 and Kohn, 1998: 39, Nr. 66, Fig. 26.

Fig. 1: Tomb slab of Eleanor of Portugal († 3rd September 1467) in the “Neuklosterkirche zur Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit”, Wiener Neustadt; withdrawn from Kohn, 1998: Fig. 39.



Fig. 2: Tomb slab of Beatrix Lopi († 9th April 1453) in the “Neuklosterkirche zur Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit”, Wiener Neustadt; withdrawn from Kohn, 1998: Fig. 26.



One of the most magnificent cultural objects of this time is the upper part of a carriage with the Portuguese coat of arms (fig. 3; constructed probably after Leonor’s marriage in 1452), which is preserved today in the “Museum im Palais” in the Steierisches Landesmuseum Joanneum in Graz, Austria.⁷

Leonor’s uncle, Infante Pedro, died at the Battle of Alfarrobeira (20th May 1449), where he fought against the troops of his nephew, Dom Afonso V of Portugal (called “the African”, 1432–1481, king since 1449, fig. 4).⁸ During the reign of Afonso’s son Dom João II, “o Príncipe Perfeito” (John II, “the perfect prince”, who ruled the country between 1481 and 1495)⁹ important arrangements were

7 Schramm/Fillitz, 1978: 82 (Nr. 103: „Oberteil eines Prunkwagens“) and 218 (fig. 103); Smola 1966.

8 Jaime (1433–1459), a son of Pedro, who also fought in the battle of Alfarrobeira, later made a career in the church and became cardinal in 1456. Pope Pius II made him legat to the Imperial Court at Vienna, but Jaime never went there, because he already died in 1459 in Florence, where he is buried in the basilica San Miniato al Monte, cf. Apfelstadt, 2000.

9 For his biography cf. Horst, 2015. For a general overview about Portugal in the fifteenth century cf. Bernecker/Herbers, 2013: 92–132 („Die »zweite Staatswerdung« – Höhepunkt der portugiesischen Geschichte im Zeitalter der Europäischen Expansion?“);

settled with the Catholic kings of Spain to control the new territories overseas (cf. for instance the famous Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494).¹⁰

Fig. 3: Carriage of Eleanor of Portugal, made after 1452, nearly 3 meters long. Preserved today in the “Museum im Palais” in the “Steierisches Landesmuseum Joanneum” in Graz, Austria.

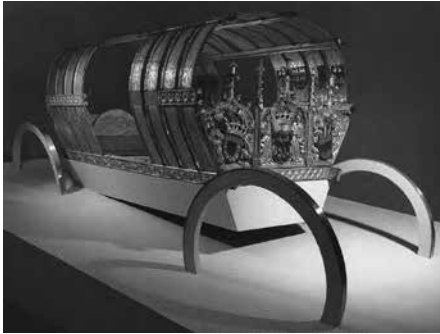


Fig. 4: King Afonso V of Portugal. Hand-colored sketch (probably drawn around 1470) from the journal of Georg von Ehingen (1428–1508), currently held by the Württembergische Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart.



This explains why also João’s cousin, King Maximilian I (1459–1519, who was a son of Leonor and Emperor Friedrich III), and his consultant, Konrad Peutinger (1465–1547, an important humanist and town clerk from Augsburg), as well as the German painter Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528)¹¹, were all very curious about these developments in Western Europe, which had led to the discovery of a New World.¹² An objective remembrance of this relation-

Freller, 2012: 171–192 („Vom Rand Europas in das Zentrum der Weltpolitik - Portugal unter Afonso V., João II. und Manoel I.“); Jakob, 1969: 72–108 („Die Dynastie Avis [1385–1580]“); Pietschmann, 2011; Schäfer, 1839 as well as the detailed bibliography by Jakob, 1961 and (with newer titles): Ehrhardt, 1994.

- 10 An important church document for the history of discoveries was also the “Oração de Obediência” of 1485, cf. Hamann, 1971.
- 11 Cf. for instance his famous woodcut “rhinoceros” from 1515: Cole, 1953 and Clarke, 1986: 16–27 (Chapter 1: “The first Lisbon or ‚Dürer‘ Rhinoceros of 1515”).
- 12 For the Portuguese expansion and its reflections at the court of Maximilian I, cf. Krendl, 1985; Lopes, 1993; Metzsig, 2013; Metzsig, 2016; Pohle, 2015 a; Pohle, 2016 and in general (with the edition of contemporary documents) Meyn et al., 1984: 41–150.

ship can be seen in the gothic “Hofkirche” (Court Church) in Innsbruck, Austria, which was built by Emperor Ferdinand I (1503–1564) as a memorial for his grandfather Maximilian I. in 1553–1563. The cenotaph (completed only in 1584)¹³ is surrounded by 28 large bronze statues¹⁴, which were created as guards for the tomb between 1502 and 1555. One of these statues (more than 200 cm high and designed in the workshop of Gilg Sesselschreiber around 1509), shows one of Maximilian’s Portuguese ancestor: While former historians identified the statue (and standing besides the legendary king Arthur) with Dom Ferdinand I (1345–1383), who was king of Portugal and the Algarve from 1367 until his death, a new detailed analysis of the coat of arms (cf. fig. 5) suggests that Ferdinands grandfather, Dom João I (1357–1433), is portrayed here.¹⁵

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- 13 Maximilian, who even fancied to become pope in 1511 (cf. Wiesflecker, 1963) died in Wiener Neustadt on 12th January 1519 and was buried in the chapel St. Georg in the castle there. He already planned his sepulchral monument in detail during his life time, but it remained unfinished. This is why his grandson Ferdinand I ordered the construction of a new church and monastery in Innsbruck. While the simple tomb remained in Wiener Neustadt, the magnificent marble cenotaph in Innsbruck, which is empty, serves as dynastical memorial, cf. Bange, 1946; Baresel-Brand, 2007: 30–34; Egg, 1988; Haidacher/Diemer, 2004 [on the restauration of the cenotaph]; Ringler, 1958 and Scheicher, 1999.
- 14 Because of the black colour of these statues, the Franciscan church is known in vernacular language also as “Schwarzmander-Kirche”. On the statues cf. the standard work by Oberhammer, 1935. There also existed a bronze statue of “Eleonora Künigin von Portugal, Uxor Friderici tertiy Rom. Imperatoris Mater Maximiliani I.,” but this figure was casted so bad, that it was remelted, cf. *ibid.*: 96; Hye, 1988: 51 and Ruggenthaler, 2006: 91, Nr. 15 („Dises Pild ist das in dem langen Haar, so gantz schlecht on alle Zier mit plosen Hautt gegossen, und soll in der Zal bleiben, manglen die zway Henndt, Cron, Kertz, Schillt unnd Schrift, steet bey der Kays. Mst. genedigstem entschluß, ob Sy dis Pild gar von newen widerumben wellen giessen lassen oder nit“).
- 15 The coat of arms was put wrongly besides the statue of Elisabeth von Tirol-Görs, cf. Hye, 1988: 53, 54 (fig. 14), 58 and 59 (fig. 24 f.); Oberhammer, 1935: 15 – Cf. also Ringler, 1958: 11 and Ruggenthaler, 2006: 91, Nr. 12 (“Ferdinand König von Portgal. An disem Pild ist der Schilt und die Schrift zuveremderem, und anstatt der Cron ain Hertzog Hüetl zumachen”).

Fig. 5: The portuguese coat of arms in the “Hofkirche“ in Innsbruck can be found wrongly besides the statue of Elisabeth von Tirol-Görz, withdrawn from Hye, 1988: 59, Fig. 25.



Already in the Late Middle Ages, the “Bartholomäus-Brüderschaft” (“confraria de São Bartolomeu”)¹⁶, a fraternity devoted to Saint Bartholomew, was founded in Lisbon by German-speaking immigrants. It was a Hanseatic timber merchant, Michael Overstädt (Miguel Sobrevila, probably a counselor of D. Dinis I of Portugal), who possessed a storage yard in Lisbon on the northern bank of the river Tejo. On the side of the present-day Praça do Município he built a chapel, which served as a place for devotions to the Holy Apostle Bartholomew. But the chapel was pulled down only a few years later. In exchange for this, it was incorporated into the larger church of S. Julião, which was completed around 1290/1291. This is the traditional date for the foundation of the “Bartholomäusbrüderschaft”, which functioned mainly as a guild for the German merchant community in Lisbon.¹⁷ The ecclesiastical fraternity supported the acquisition and maintenance of the Lisbon chapel¹⁸ as well as the salary of its own priest (who ministered already in

16 Cf. Ehrhardt, 1990 and Hinsch, 1890. See also Kuder/Ptak, 1984: 7 f. and Strasen/Gândara, 1944: 31–38.

17 Cf. Denk/Schickert, 2010: 16–26; Ehrhardt 1990: 3; Hinsch, 1890: 4; Metzsig, 2010: 277, footnote 31 and Pohle, 2000: 146–150. – On the special relations with the Hanse and Hamburg, especially during the early modern times, see Kellenbenz, 1954; Kellenbenz, 1958; Poettering, 2013 and Studemund-Halévy, 2007.

18 Therein were also two relics of Saint Bartholomew, which the fraternity received as a present from the third wife of Dom Manuel I, Eleonor of Austria. The first description of S. Julião can be found in Cardoso, 1666: 322–325, esp. 325.

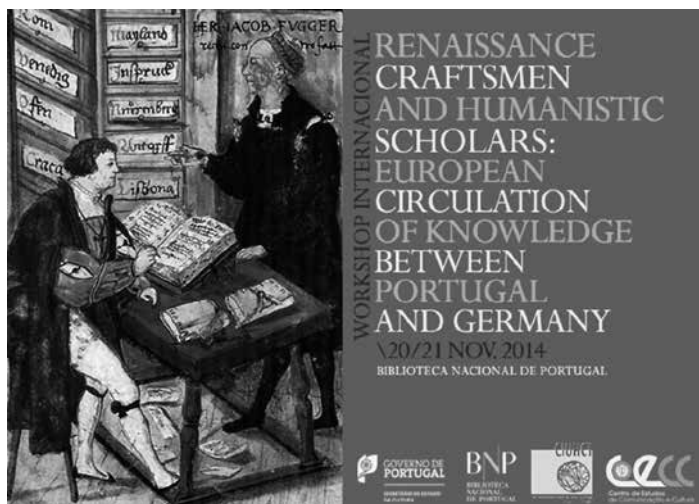
the German language)¹⁹, but also supported charity-projects in Lisbon, such as the creation of its own cimitery in 1425, and the foundation of the first German hospital in 1495²⁰. However, it was during the second half of the fifteenth century²¹ when the character of this society changed to become a fraternity of German soldiers (“confraria dos bombardeiros alemães” with “bombardeiros da nómina”²², cannoneers and Renaissance craftsmen as members²³), so that the merchants moved into another chapel of S. Julião (devoted to Saint Sebastian). The two fraternities were only reunited in the seventeenth century. The “Bartholomäus-Brüderschaft”, which has a long and very interesting history²⁴, has influenced the cultural life in Lisbon over centuries and still exists today.

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- 19 A document from 1551 shows that the German fraternity employed daily a chaplain with the financial income from the houses that the Germans possessed in Lisbon. Alone the earnings of chairity brought altogether 110 cruzados per year, cf. Oliveira, 1551: 5 r: “A confraria de sam Bartolameu, he administrada per alemães tem capella per si com capelão quotediano, tem renda de casas na cidade. E asesmolas valcada anno cento E dez cruzados”. – Another text from 1582 relates to the participation of the fraternity in the Corpus Christi procession with green capes and candles, see Velasquez, 1582: 17 v: “La dezima cruz, fue la cofradia de los Flamencos, y como ge[n]te de trato muestran ser caudalosos en la riqueza de sus insignias, tienen la abogacio[n] del Apostol sant Bartholome, sus opas son verdes, y de cera verde traya cada vno vna hacha de quarto pauilos en la mano, su cofradia es de mucho numero, que por ser grande su contractacion, habitan en Lisboa, co[n] sus casas de morada, cantidad dellos”. This solemn celebration was attended also by the Spanish King Philipp II (r. in Portugal from 1580 to 1598), cf. Denk/Schickert, 2010: 85 f.
- 20 The famous Nuremberg merchant and cosmographer Martin Behaim died in this hospital, which was also a hostel for the poor and old people, in 1507. However, it did not exist for a long, see Pohle, 2000: 147. Other hospitals were founded in 1799 and 1929, but were also closed soon afterwards, see Ehrhardt, 1990: 8–10.
- 21 In the first half of the fifteenth Century many letters mention German merchants together with Renaissance craftsmen, see Marques, 1959: 147–150. Later the emigrants were dominated by soldiers, cf. for instance Kellenbenz, 1963.
- 22 See Denk/Schickert, 2010: 27–41 and in particular Metzsig, 2010 (“deutsche Büchsen-schützen”; on this profession, which was created in the Late Middle Ages, cf. Leng, 1996).
- 23 But not all craftsmen were members of this fraternity. In particular Dutch artisans were united in the “Heilig Kreuz und St. Andreas-Bruderschaft” (“Confraria da Santa Cruz e Santo Andre”), which was founded in 1414, see Pohle, 2000: 149.
- 24 On the later history of the Bartholomäusbruderschaft cf. Denk/Schickert, 2010 and Mörsdorf, 1957/1958. On the sixteenth century, when the Lisbon inquisition also pursued German emigrants, see especially Dias, 1995.

In the sixteenth century, the Portuguese empire expanded²⁵, with the help *inter alia* of German and Flemish mercenaries²⁶, under the reign of King Dom Manuel I (“the Fortunate”, ruled 1495–1521) into Africa²⁷, India and Asia²⁸. In 1514, Manuel gave the famous elephant Hanno²⁹ as a present to Pope Leo X (1513–1521), and during his reign a new architectural style, called “estilo manuelino” (Manueline style), was established. His third wife, which he married in 1519, was Eleonor of Austria (Eleanor of Castile, 1498–1558, who later became also Queen Consort of France).³⁰

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- 25 For the iconography of these discoveries cf. the important study by Lopes, 1998 a and Kraus, 2007. A general overview gives Aubin, 1990; Diffie/Winius, 1977 and Poettering, 2014. For an unknown manuscript about these discoveries cf. Nagel, 1970.
- 26 Cf. for instance the privileges which they got from the Portuguese king: Cassel, 1771; Ferreira, 1969 and Ribeiro, 1922.
- 27 Hamann, 1968 and Lopes, 2001: 15–17: Even the “Carta Marina Navigatoria”, designed by Martin Waldseemüller in 1516, shows the Portuguese king Manuel I riding on a dolphin not far from the Cape of Good Hope, as does the reprint by Lorenz Fries (1530). – To Manuel cf. also Costa, 1970 and Lopes, 1998 b: 17.
- 28 For the “Estado da India” cf. Feldbauer, 2003 and Malekandathil, 1999.
- 29 Another indian elephant called Süleyman (Soloman/Soliman) came as a diplomatic gift from the King of Kotte in Ceylon in 1541 first to the Portuguese king Dom João III (John III, 1502–1557) and his wife Catherine of Austria (1507–1578) and later was departed to Vienna in 1551 as wedding present for Archduke Maximilian II, who married his first cousin Mary of Spain (1528–1603, daughter of Emperor Charles V and Isabella of Portugal) in 1548, where he died on 18th December 1553 cf. Jordan Gschwend, 2010; Zollner/Hamberger, 2015 and the novel “A Viagem do Elefante” (“The Elephant’s journey”) by the Nobel-prize winning Portuguese author José Saramago (1922–2010), cf. Saramago, 2008.
- 30 Eleanor of Austria was a daughter of king Philipp I of Castile (“the Handsome”, 1478–1506) and Joanna of Castile (“the Mad”, 1479–1555), hence she was granddaughter of Emperor Maximilian I, cf. Benavides, 2011: 247–256 – A daughter of Manuel, Isabel of Portugal (1503–1533) married on 10th March 1526 in Seville the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (1500–1558), who was a brother of Eleanor, cf. Hamann, 1988: 167 f. – A letter of Manuel I to his relative Maximilian I (dated Lisbon, 14th March 1518) is edited by Nagel, 1974, cf. also Lopes, 1998 b: 9, footnote 14. This letter goes back to another letter, which Manuel I sent to the pope Julius II (r. 1503–1513) on 25th September 1507 and which was printed in Abrantes cf. Metzsig, 2013: 18 f. and Künast/Zäh, 2003: 157 f., who mention also other letters to the popes; a German copy (printed in Nuremberg in 1508) of another letter is Emanuel [Kunig zu Porthogal], 1508. One of these letters (from Manuel I to pope Leo X) was published also in Vienna in 1513, cf. Emanuel [Regis Portugaliae], 1513. – On the correspondence with the sister of Maximilian I, Kunigunde of Austria (1465–1520, by marriage with Albert IV

Fig. 6: The Poster of the international workshop *Renaissance Craftsmen and Humanistic Scholars: European Circulation of Knowledge between Portugal and Germany*, held at the *Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal*, 20th/21st November 2014 illustrates Jakob Fugger together with his accountant Matthäus Schwartz, cf. Lopes, 1998 a: 35, Fig. I. 12.



Beneath the merchants who settled on the Iberian Peninsula, the German trading houses of the Welser and the Fugger and their factors played an important role: permanent factories of the Upper German merchants, who later financed the discoveries³¹, already existed in Portugal from the end of the fifteenth century.³² The poster of our workshop (cf. fig. 6) portrays Jakob Fugger (“the Rich”, 1459–1525) together with his accountant Matthäus Schwartz. This image³³ was painted around 1517 as part of the “Schwartzsches Trachtenbuch” (today in the Herzog-Anton-Ulrich-Museum in Braunschweig, Germany). It represents the two noble men

in 1487 Duchess of Bavaria-Munich), who joined the Convent of Püttrich in Munich in 1508 and wrote letters to Manuel in 1519 cf. Kunstmann, 1845: 420 f.

31 Cf. Bernecker, 2000: 202–218; Kellenbenz, 1978 and Werner, 1967.

32 Cf. the groundbreaking study by Pohle, 2000 and various older single case studies by the economic historian Hermann Kellenbenz (for instance: Kellenbenz, 1960; Kellenbenz, 1966 and Kellenbenz, 1970). One of the most important sources is the diary of Lukas Rem (1481–1541), but also the archival documents about Sebastian Kneussel, who was a factor for the Imhof trading house in Lisbon in 1512/13 (cf. Pohle, 2015 b) and the global player Lazarus Nürnberger (1499–1564; cf. Kellenbenz/Walter, 2001) give new perceptions.

33 Lopes, 1998 a: 35, Fig. I. 12.

standing before a bureau, where the correspondence to the various factories was filed. Therein, the Fugger establishment in the City of Lisbon is emphasized in written form – besides the merchant settlements in Rome, Venice, Ofen, Cracow, Milan, Innsbruck, Nuremberg and Antwerp. This image visualizes not only the close economic connections to Portugal, but documents also the transnational exchange in Europe which took place even centuries ago and is not a modern invention.

But how was scientific and technical knowledge transferred in the Renaissance between craftsmen and humanistic scholars? And when did it start exactly? It is not easy to give a precise answer to these questions. But most historians agree that the marriage³⁴ of Infanta Leonor with the Holy Roman Emperor Friedrich III in the middle of the fifteenth century and the permanent presence of south German trading companies can be seen as a starting point of more intensive connections with the western part of Europe.

Moreover, the first global players like the Nuremberg merchant and cosmographer Martin Behaim (1459–1507)³⁵, who constructed the first known terrestrial globe around 1493, or Dr. Hieronymus Münzer (Monetarius, † 1508)³⁶, who met king Dom João II during his voyage and gave a report about Portugal in his famous travelogue of 1494/1495 (Bavarian State Library, Munich, Clm 431, fol. 96 r–275 r)³⁷, are significant for our topic.

However, Münzer was not the first traveller on the Iberian Peninsula: He stands in a long tradition of travellers³⁸, who visited Portugal and maybe also transferred their culture, as did, for example, the South Tyrolean troubadour (“min-

34 We are well informed about the preparations of this marriage with the report of Nikolaus Lankmann von Falkenstein, who came to Lisbon in 1451 together with Jakob Motz, cf. Hack, 1999 (who is preparing an edition of this interesting travelogue) and Reichert, 2009: Nr. 1, 14–20. – About the festivities in Lisbon on the occasion of this marriage, which was confirmed symbolical (“per procuracionem”) with Leonor, cf. in particular Hack, 2016 and a recently discovered manuscript in a miscellany (written around 1475) of the Bavarian State Library, Cgm 5482, fol. 99 v–107 r, which gives a German summary.

35 Pohle, 2007 and more in general Willers, 1992. – On the economic relations with Nuremberg in the 15th and 16th centuries cf. Kellenbenz, 1967.

36 Classen, 2003; Herbers, 2000 and Jaspert, 2016. – More general to medieval travellers, who visited the Iberian Peninsula, cf. Reichert, 2001: 90–101 (“Unterwegs zu den Grenzen Europas”).

37 In the Lisbon church Santa Maria de Luce (Nossa Senhora da Luz) Münzer has seen also an exotic “Wunderkammer”. To Münzers voyage through the Iberian Peninsula cf. Hurtienne, 2009 and Münzer, 2006. – Münzer also wrote a famous letter to the Portuguese king João II in 1493, cf. Metzsig, 2013: 21 and Pohle (in this volume): 63.

38 Cf. Marques, 1995.

nesinger”) Oswald von Wolkenstein († 1445)³⁹ already in 1415 on the occasion of the conquest of Ceuta⁴⁰. Further travellers were mainly pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela and visited Portugal (in particular Lisbon and the Kap Finisterre) on their return journeys⁴¹: We have to mention here Konrad von Scharnachthal, a Patrician of Bern (1445)⁴², and Sebastian Ilsung (a Patrician and mayor of Augsburg, † 1468), who reports in the German language about his voyage to Santiago in 1446 (cf. London, British Library, Add. 4326, fol. 1 r–6 r)⁴³. Another traveller was the Swabian diplomat and knight Georg von Ehingen (1428–1508), who did a round trip, which led him to the Holy Land and afterwards to the courts of France, Navarra, Castile, Portugal, England and Scotland. In his later autobiography it is

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- 39 The Tyrolean poet Oswald von Wolkenstein (around 1376–1445) was also important as a diplomat. He participated as an attendant of Friedrich IV, Duke of Austria and Count of Tyrol (“Friedrich mit der leeren Tasche”, 1382–1439) at the Council of Constance (1414–1418). On 16th February 1415 he became a member of the entourage (“Hofgesinde”) of the Holy Roman Emperor and King of Hungary, Sigismund of Luxembourg (1368–1437) with a salary of 300 Hungarian Gold ducats per year, cf. Schwab, 1999, 223–227, Nr. 70. His first diplomatic voyage brought him probably to England, Scotland, Ireland and the Iberian Peninsula. If he really visited Lisbon in July, as proposed by Kühn, 2011: 232 f. is uncertain, but he participated (together with other mercenaries) in the conquest of the Moorish city of Ceuta on 21st August 1415 (cf. *ibid.*, 235–238 and Dalla-piazza/Molinari, 2011). Afterwards he returned as a rich man via Granada to Perpignan (France, cf. Hartmann, 2015), where he stayed for 50 days and met King Sigismund, who wrote in Paris on 1st April 1416 a letter of consignment for him, cf. Schwab, 1999, 233–235, Nr. 73. In the mid of April of the same year Oswald returned to Constance, cf. Mayr, 1961, 70–81. – Oswald invented the lyric genre of “Reiselieder” (songs which describe adventures), cf. Schallaböck/Müller, 2003. Even if we have no written proof that Oswald really was in Portugal, his song “Durch Barbarei, Arabia [...]” (Kl. 44, cf. Ammon, 2007/2008) suggests that he was there, because he mentions therein the Iberian Peninsula (“Durch Arragun, Kastilie, Granaten und Afferen, auss Portugal, Ispanie pis gen dem vinstern steren”) – as well as he does in song Kl. 26 “Durch Abenteuer Tal und Berg”, I/II, here: I, 6: “auf hölggen gross gen Portigal zu siglen” (written only in 1427).
- 40 On the Portuguese discovery of Ceuta in 1415, cf. Braga/Braga, 1998: 17–25, Meyn et al., 1984: 50–52 and Schäfer, 1839: 259–291.
- 41 Cf. Reichert, 2001: 90–97.
- 42 Konrad von Scharnachthal visited the kingdom of Granada and Portugal, cf. Reichert, 2009: Nr. 3, 28–38, here: 33. – For the relations to Switzerland in general, cf. Fischer, 1960. In 1501 another patrician of Bern, Wolfgang von Laupen († 1519), who was heavily in debt, got a lifelong employment as bombardier in Portugal, cf. Metzsig, 2010: 274.
- 43 The reason for this journey was probably a diplomatic mission for Pope Felix V, cf. Reichert, 2001: 98. Honemann, 1988: 70 and 76 mentions that Ilsung only planned to come to Portugal, but never realized this trip.

reported that in 1457/1458 he helped to defend Ceuta and Granada during the fights with the Muslim armies.⁴⁴

We also know about another journey, the one by the Bohemian noble man Leo von Rožmítal († 1485)⁴⁵, who made a tour through Western Europe from 1465 to 1467, because his companion Gabriel Tetzl († 1479, a later mayor from Nuremberg) wrote an informative travelogue of their trip. This is why we know that they went from Santiago to Portugal⁴⁶. When they came back to the court in Wiener Neustadt, Leo von Rožmítal delivered a letter from Afonso V to his sister Leonor⁴⁷. He played on the lute for her “etlich portugalisch tänz” (Portuguese dances)⁴⁸, which pleased not only the queen, but also her young son Maximilian.

Besides a lot of other travels, the voyage of the Silesian nobleman Nikolaus von Popplau through Europe (1483–1486) has to be highlighted, who also visited the cities of Setubal and Lisbon⁴⁹.

Another influential person at this time – and very important for the Portuguese-German relationship in general – was the Moravian-German typographer Valentin Fernandes († 1518/1519)⁵⁰, who settled down in Lisbon in 1495 and, together with the Germans, played a major overseas role for the transfer of knowledge (cf. for example Bavarian State Library, Cod. Hisp. 27)⁵¹. One of the Portuguese expeditions to India (1505/1506, led by Francisco de Almeida) was financed by a German trade consortium. For this topic the travelogue of Balthasar Sprenger⁵², which was printed three years later with wonderful ethnographic illustrations, is also of great importance. At the same time, a pamphlet with the title *Den rechten*

44 Cf. Schmidt, 1997 and Paravicini, 2000: 565–567 and 571–575 (Texts Nr. 2–6, corresponding letters from Afonso V).

45 For Leo von Rožmítal and his journey, cf. Paravicini, 2010; Péricard-Méa, 2006 and Stolz, 1988.

46 In 1466 Leo von Rožmítal visited Évora, where he stayed for 14 days and met the Portuguese court, which escaped from Lisbon because of the plague, cf. Schmeller, 1844: 174–183, in particular 182: “Der kunig von Portigal was damals geflohen aus Lisbona der haubtstat in Portigal, do er almal hof hält, den sterben in ein stat, heist Ebor”. The Portuguese king gave him two horses, two black people, two monkeys and weapons („auch vil leopardenhäut und vil bogen, tarschen, lünzlein und ander heidnische waffen“).

47 Paravicini, 2010: 263 f. notices that Rožmítal has delivered also a letter of Leonor to her brother in Portugal, which explains the celebratory reception which he got.

48 Schmeller, 1844: 194 f. and Walsh, 1993: 416.

49 For Nikolaus von Popplau cf. Paravicini, 2004 and Reichert, 2009: Nr. 2, 20–28.

50 Hendrich, 2007. For the German printers in Portugal cf. also Ehrhardt, 1996.

51 Massing, 2012.

52 Horst, 2009 and Kunstmann, 1861. Cf. also Bernecker, 2000: 198 f.

weg auß zu fahren von Liszbona gen Kallakuth (cf. fig. 7; *the right way to travel from Lisbon to Calicut*) was printed in Nuremberg⁵³, together with a small map, which shows Nuremberg and Kalikut as the starting and final points of this enterprise.⁵⁴ In the context to this expedition, the geographical image of a globe, which can be found on a triptych of the Dutch painter Quentin (1466–1533), which was painted for Lukas Rem in 1519⁵⁵, fits exactly, as does a letter⁵⁶ from 26th June 1510, where Valentim Fernandez orders an astrolabe from the Nuremberg merchant Stefan Gabler. On the other hand the Tyrolean craftsmen Gregor Löffler († 1565) casted a canon in 1534, which is today exhibited in the “Museu Militar” in Lisbon.⁵⁷

Fig. 7: Title page of the German pamphlet Den rechten weg auß zu fahren von Liszbona gen Kallakuth (Nuremberg, ca. 1506). Original in the University Library of Freiburg im Breisgau, J 4672, m. Cf. Online-Ressource, 2013. Freiburger historische Bestände – digital: Drucke des Humanismus und der Reformationszeit (1450–1600). Freiburg im Breisgau, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität, online: <http://dl.uib.uni-freiburg.de/diglit/weg1506/0002?sid=6391129ada036b2e2ebc97e7ebae7083> [seen on 1st May 2016].



53 The Imperial City of Nuremberg was at that time a center for mapmaking and printing, cf. Bernecker, 2000: 194–198.

54 A reproduction of this map can be found in: Horst, 2006: 19, fig. 7. For a description of the pamphlet cf. Horst, 2009: 191 f. and Lopes, 1998 a: 20.

55 Horst, 2006: 14; Horst, 2009: 193 f. and Welser, 1958: 106.

56 Brásio, 1960: 341 and 358.

57 Neuwirth, 2004.

As for the effects of “Shopping in the Renaissance”, exotic animals (like parrots), bezoar stones, ivory and many other material objects were traded as part of the contemporary establishment of cabinets of curiosities at European Renaissance courts, international merchants, bankers, collectors and navigators served as cultural mediators.⁵⁸ In the sixteenth century more German visitors reported about their journeys to Portugal, so for instance the Nuremberg travel writer Hieronymus Köler the Elder (1507–1574)⁵⁹, who stayed more than three months in Lisbon in 1533, or the foot soldier (“Landsknecht”) Nikolaus Schmid from Regensburg, who described the discovery of Portugal in 1580 in prosaic verses (Bavarian State Library, Cgm 3008).⁶⁰

There is no place here to discuss all these important highlights⁶¹ for the German-Portuguese relationship in detail. For an introduction to this topic we recommend the reading of the relevant studies by Hermann Kellenbenz (1913–1990)⁶², Marion Ehrhardt (1932–2011)⁶³, António Henrique de Oliveira Marques (1933–2007)⁶⁴, Jürgen Pohle and Marília dos Santos Lopes⁶⁵, who have all contributed outstandingly to this field of Renaissance culture studies.⁶⁶

58 Cf. Pieper, 1999 and especially Jordan Gschwend/Beltz, 2010.

59 Welser, 1874 and Willers, 1992: 837, Nr. 5.10 (Lotte Kuras on his description of the expedition of the Welsers in Venezuela).

60 Hümmerich, 1930. – Vitrally important is also a German manuscript at the Austrian National Library, Cod. 9865: The “Aigentliche vnd grundtliche beschreibung / dem vrsprvng vnd anfang des Portugalesischen kriegs” by Johann Holzhammer (a participant of the Spanish crusade against Portugal since 1579) was written in the years between 1583 and 1595. On fol. VI r a colorful illustration shows Philipp II standing on a terrestrial globe in the middle of the ocean, which is controlled by Spanish ships. This figure emblematises his sovereignty over the cosmos as does the coat of arms aside, which shows the coat of arms of Spain and Portugal flanked by the Pillars of Hercules, again a terrestrial globe, and the motto “Plus ultra”, cf. Gamillscheg, 1995: 41 [fig.].

61 As an example I want to allude to the politic-diplomatic relations between Portugal and Austria in the eighteenth century cf. Gatzhammer, 1994. It is interesting to see that in this period also Bavarian gaffers immigrated to the Iberian Peninsula. One of these families (“Hahn”) still exists (portuguese version: “Gallo”), cf. Paulus, 2010.

62 Kellenbenz, 1968; Kellenbenz, 1970 and Kellenbenz, 1990.

63 Ehrhardt, 1989;

64 Marques, 1960.

65 In particular Lopes, 1998 a.

66 Cf. also the „Portugiesische Forschungen der Görres-Gesellschaft“ (20 vols, appeared from 1960 to 1993).

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Achim Thomas Hack was born and raised in Stuttgart. After almost two years of civil service in an institution for the disabled, he studied medieval history and comparative religion at the Universities of Tübingen and Rome (La Sapienza). He completed both his Master's Degree (1994) and his "Promotion" (1996) at Tübingen's Eberhard-Karls-Universität. He joined the scientific staff of the *Regesta imperii* (papal regests of the 9th century) and collaborated in the same capacity on the MGH edition of Thomas Ebdendorfer's "*Chronica regum Romanorum*". In 1998, he became Scientific Assistant at the University of Regensburg, where he defended his "Habilitation" and was made "Privatdozent" in 2005. He taught at the Universities of Regensburg, Constance and Munich and in 2010 was appointed to the chair of Medieval History at Jena's Friedrich-Schiller-Universität.

Yvonne Hendrich, born in 1977 in Worms (Germany), studied History, German Studies, and Portuguese Studies at the Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz and the Universidade Nova of Lisbon. She earned her Ph.D. in History in 2006 with a dissertation on Valentim Fernandes, typographer of Moravian-German descent who worked in Portugal at the turn of the 16th century. Since April 2009 she has been a continuing lecturer in the Department of Romance Languages at the Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz. Her teaching responsibilities include courses on Portuguese language acquisition, lusophone literature, and cultural studies. Her research areas cover issues of migration and identity, as well as fictional discourse in history and the German-Portuguese relations since the age of discovery.

Thomas Horst, born in Munich in 1980, studied history and anthropology at the universities of Munich and Vienna. In 2003 and 2005 he carried out twice an ethnological field research on the descendants of the Mundurukú-Indians in the Amazon region (Brazil). After his PhD in 2008 (on the development of manuscript maps of Bavaria as sources for the history of climatology) he specialized in the analysis of old globes and won the prestigious "Fiorini-Haardt-Prize" of the International Coronelli-Society for the Study of Globes in 2010. His book about Gerhard Mercator and his atlas of 1595, translated into French and Dutch,

has been distinguished by the “Société de Géographie” with a special award in Paris in 2012. Since September 2013 he is working on the postdoc-project *Maps, Globes and Texts: Cosmographical knowledge in early Modern Europe* at the Centro Interuniversitário de História das Ciências e da Tecnologia (CIUHCT), University of Lisbon, which is financed by the FCT (Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia), the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT SFRH/BPD/85102/2012). His main areas of interest include the history of early modern cosmography, the history of climate and the history of discovery, the study of globes and historical visual culture.

Gabriele Kaiser holds a MA degree in Library Sciences and History. She obtained her PhD with a work about Leonhard Thurneysser, who was a doctor, alchemist and the first printer in 16th century Berlin. Commemorating the 400th anniversary of Thurneysser’s death, she curated exhibitions in Berlin and in Basel. In 1991 she started her engagement for the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Preußischer Kulturbesitz).

Gabriele Kaiser held various positions, such as the planning director for the Library’s historical building “Unter den Linden”. She was a fundraiser for the restoration of the Library’s J. S. Bach autographs (“Bachpatronat”). Now she works as a specialist for autographs, legacies and art collection in the Manuscript Department of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. Gabriele Kaiser consistently devoted herself to the legacy of Leonhard Thurneysser. In 2012 she published together with Diethelm Eikermann “*Die Pest in Berlin 1576*” – an edition of the medical recommendations of Thurneysser during the Berlin plague epidemic of 1576.

Wolfgang Köberer grew up in the middle of Germany – far from the sea. After graduating from High School he lived in the United States doing social work in Washington, D.C. and Philadelphia, Pa. from 1969–1970. On return to Germany he went to law school in Frankfurt am Main. Later he worked a couple of years as assistant teacher at the Johann-Wolfgang-Goethe-University, then joined a Frankfurt law firm specialized in criminal defence in 1984. He earned his doctorate in jurisprudence with a thesis about the feasibility of mathematically formalizing criminal sentencing. He has been interested in the history of navigation since the mid-70s. Published among other things a compilation of articles by German authors on the history of navigation: *Das Rechte Fundament der Seefahrt* (1982), edited and annotated the facsimile of the earliest German manual of navigation: *Dith boekeschen werd genoemet..., 1578* (2010) and lately a bibliography dealing with the German literature about the history of navigation: *Bibliographie zur Geschichte der Navigation in deutscher Sprache* (2011). He was elected an associated member of the “Academia de Marinha” of the Portuguese Navy in November 2012.

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Marília dos Santos Lopes teaches History and Culture Studies at the School of Human Sciences, Universidade Católica Portuguesa. She is member of the Research Centre for Communication and Culture (CECC), Portugal, and Senior Fellow at the Herzog August Library in Wolfenbüttel, Germany. Her research focuses on intercultural processes, on visual culture, and on the history of knowledge exchange in early modern Europe. Her publications include the following single authored books: *Writing New Worlds. The Cultural Dynamics of Curiosity in Early Modern Europe* (2016), *Identidade em viagem. Para uma história da cultura portuguesa* (2015), *Ao cheiro desta canela. Notas para a história de uma especiaria rara* (2002), *Wonderful things never yet seen. Iconography of the Discoveries* (1998). *Afrika. Eine neue Welt in deutschen Schriften des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (1992).

Jürgen Pohle, born in 1965 in Trier (Germany), studied history and geography at the Albertus-Magnus-University in Cologne and in Lisbon. His Ph.D. (finished in 1999/2000) deals with Germany and the overseas expansion of Portugal in the 15th and 16th centuries (*Deutschland und die überseeische Expansion Portugals im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*). With this standard-work for the German-Portuguese relationship he became Assistant Professor for Social and Economic History on various Portuguese Universities from 2000 to 2014. Since 2009/2010 he is “integrated researcher” at the research centre for Global History (CHAM – Universidade Nova de Lisboa/ Universidade dos Açores) and research fellow of the FCT (Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia), the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology.

Yves Schumacher was born in 1946 in Zurich, Switzerland. After a commercial education he devoted himself to European ethnology and attended lectures by Professors Arnold Niederer and Rudolf Schenda. Initially he earned his living in marketing and advertising. Following a two-year stay (1980–1982) in Beijing as Regional Manager of a trading company, he worked for a French advertising

agency group. Besides this public work he was always active in publishing and curating exhibitions, focusing on cultural and historical topics. During the last 15 years, Yves Schumacher worked as CEO of the Association of Zurich Museums and runs today his own communication agency.

Dieser Band wurde mit zahlreichen Abbildungen illustriert. Die jeweiligen Autoren waren bemüht, die Urheberrechte nach bestem Wissen hierfür einzuholen. Falls einzelne urheberrechtliche Ansprüche unberücksichtigt blieben, ersuchen die Herausgeber um nachträgliche Mitteilung.