

Weltbilder im Mittelalter

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Perceptions of the World in the Middle Ages

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Perceptions of the World
in the Middle Ages

Im Namen der Jungen Marburger Mediävisten
herausgegeben von

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The Voyage of the Bavarian Explorer Balthasar Sprenger to India (1505/1506) at the Turning Point between the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Times

His Travelogue and the Contemporary Cartography as Historical Sources

THOMAS HORST

In 2006 there were a lot of celebrations in memory of Christopher Columbus, who died 500 years ago and mistakenly thought until the end of his life that he had found a new sea route westerly to India. This anniversary led to a series of new publications.¹

While the discovery of America is a historical event which is an integral part of our cultural memory, the journey eastwards to India in 1505/1506 under the armada of the Portuguese admiral Francisco de Almeida (approx. 1450–1510) is not as well known. But we are well-informed about it because we have excellent sources such as the travelogue of Balthasar Sprenger who was one of the participants of this journey. In addition, new geographical details were discovered in the course of these early travels to India, which can be seen in contemporary cartographical works at the time of exploration.

1 The search for the seaway to India

The Portuguese crown under Prince Henry the Navigator (Dom Henrique, 1394–1460) initiated an ambitious program to open up a new sea route to India. Although the founding of a marine academy in Sagres in 1419 is a matter of dispute among scholars, Henry supposedly brought excellent navigators, cartographers and astronomers to his court to find a new spice route to India. Thereby he wanted to control the Venetian and Arabian market of spices directly and cut off the intermediary

1 Cf. e.g. ALFRED KOHLER, *Columbus und seine Zeit*, München 2006.

trade. Furthermore he wanted to establish contact with the legendary priest-king John, whose kingdom was located in Asia or Africa in medieval cartography.²

The Portuguese navigators of the 15th century not only rediscovered and colonized the island of Porto Santo near Madeira and the Azores, but also ventured to the West African coast.³ In 1415 they acquired Ceuta and in 1416 they arrived at the ‘Cabo de Não’ (Cape of Nothing, south of Agadir), which was dreaded due to wondrous stories. In 1434 captain Gil Eannes reached cape Bajador in the region of the Western Sahara, which was until then considered to be impassable. In 1455/56 the Portuguese discovered the Canaries.

The Henry’s successor to the throne, the Portuguese king John II. (1455–1495), charged Bartholomeu Diaz with finding the southern tip of the African continent. In fact in 1487/88 this navigator, as the first European, managed to reach the ‘Cabo de Tormentas’ (Cape of Gales), which was later renamed as Cape of Good Hope. Only ten years later Vasco da Gama (approx. 1469–1524) discovered the direct seaway to India.⁴

He initiated a new era of Portuguese exploration while he founded trading bases on his route. India—the country of abundance in the former view of the world—was seen as the terrestrial paradise in the East. Therefore, in the words of the German poet Stefan Zweig, it can be rightly said: *At the beginning there was the spice*⁵—the more so as all further Portuguese expeditions were motivated by trade.

In 1500 the discoverer of Brazil, Pedro Álvares Cabral,⁶ returned from the second voyage to India. A year later, the third expedition under the direction of João da Nova set to sail before Cabral’s return. In 1502 Vasco da Gama reembarked and reached Cochin—the first European settlement on the Indian subcontinent. We know about this from a manuscript, which also indicates that there already were German crew members on this enterprise.⁷

2 ANDREW ATHAPPILLY, An Indian prototype of Prester John, in: *Terrae Incognitae* 10 (1978), pp. 15–23; ROBERT SILVERBERG, *The realm of Prester John*, London 2001; VSEVOLOD SLESSAREV, *Prester John: The letter and the legend*, Minneapolis 1961.

3 Cf. in general JOHN WILLIAM BLAKE, *Europeans Beginnings in West Africa 1454–1578. A survey of the first century of white enterprise in West Africa, while special emphasis upon the rivalry of the Great Power*, London et al. 1937; JEANNE HEIN, *Portuguese Communication With Africans on the Searoute to India*, in: *Terrae Incognitae* 25 (1993), pp. 41–52.

4 GERNOT GIERZ, *Vasco da Gama. Die Entdeckung des Seewegs nach Indien. Ein Augenzeugenbericht 1497–1499*, München 1980; FRANZ HÜMMERICH, *Vasco da Gama und die Entdeckung des Seewegs nach Ostindien*, München 1898 (reprint Hildesheim and New York 1977).

5 STEFAN ZWEIG, *Magellan. Der Mann und seine Tat*, Berlin/Darmstadt/Wien 1963, p. 9.

6 FERNANDO LOURENÇO FERNANDES et al. (eds.), *A viagem de Pedro Álvares Cabral e o descobrimento do Brasil 1500–1501 (História da Marinha Portuguesa)*, Lisboa 2003.

7 CHRISTINE VON ROHR, *Neue Quellen zur zweiten Indienfahrt Vasco da Gamas (Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Geographie und Völkerkunde 3)*, Leipzig 1939;

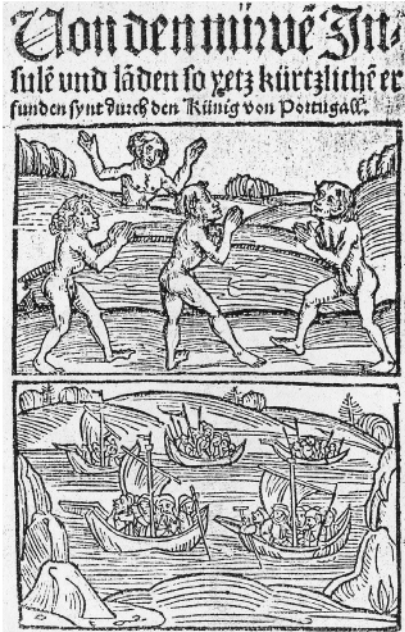


Fig. 1: Title page of the German pamphlet 'Von den nūwe[n] Insule[n] und la[en]de[r]n so yetz kürztliche erfunden synd durch den König von Portugall', Straßburg 1505.



Fig. 2: Title page of the German pamphlet 'Von der neüw gefunden Region die wol ain welt genent mag werden durch den Cristenlichen künig von portugal wunderbarlich erfunden', Augsburg 1505.

At the same time the exploration overseas to the new world began.⁸ As is generally known it was conquered by Christopher Columbus in 1492, who is named as *Christoffel Dawber* in an early printing of Ruchamer⁹ and who thought until the end of his life that he had reached India. At the same time in Nuremberg, Germany, Martin Behaim¹⁰ designed his famous globe of the earth, which naturally does not show the newfound continent.

JOSEF POLIŠENSKY, PETER RATKOŠ, Eine neue Quelle zur zweiten Indienfahrt Vasco da Gamas, in: *Historica IX* (1964), pp. 53–67.

8 Cf. in general JAY A. LEVENSON (ed.), *Circa 1492: art in the age of exploration*. Catalogue for a major quinquenary exhibition to be held at the National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. October 12, 1991–January 12, 1992, New Heaven et al. 1991.

9 This document describes a combination of different journeys, beneath the travelogue of Alvise da Cadamosto, cf. UTA SADJI (ed.), *Cadamostos Beschreibung von Westafrika*. Der Druck der deutschen Ausgabe von 1508 (*Litterae 77*), 2 vols., Göttingen 1980 and 1981.

10 Martin Behaim (1459–1507) was the descendant of a patrician family from Nuremberg. His father, also called Martin Behaim (1437–1474), was councilman and merchant in this

America still had to be explored by Amerigo Vespucci,¹¹ who published his script ‘Mundus Novus’¹² in Italy in 1502, which was published as German pam-

city. After his death, Martin Behaim the Younger went to the Netherlands where he was an apprentice weaver. During the course of his travels he arrived in Lisbon some time in the early 1480s, where he quickly found favor at the court of King John II., who bestowed him with the honor of knighthood in Alcaçovas, Portugal, on February 18 in 1485 (cf. the document in the Archive of the City of Nuremberg, Sign. Rep. E 11, II, No. 570). Behaim, according to most reports, was also associated with the later Portuguese discoveries along the West Coast of Africa. It can be supposed that he accompanied João Affonso d’Aveiro on his journey to the African kingdom of Benin in 1484/1485. Between 1485 and 1489 Behaim married Joanna Macedo, the daughter of the governor of the Azores. He revisited Nuremberg to accept his inheritance after the death of his mother Agnes Schopper in 1487. During his visit (1490–1494) in his home city, Behaim constructed the oldest extant terrestrial ‘Erdapfel’. On this globe you can find an inscription, which gives some information about Behaim’s death: *Martinus Pehairmus verschied zu Lisibona anno domini 1506 den 29 Juli*. But as a matter of fact the year of his death was 1507, so that we have to commemorate him in 2007. To Behaim and his globe cf. exemplarily: FRIEDRICH WILHELM GHILLANY, *Geschichte des Seefahrers Ritter Martin Behaim nach den ältesten vorhandenen Urkunden bearbeitet. Eingeleitet durch eine Abhandlung “Über die ältesten Karten des Neuen Continents”* von Alexander von Humboldt, Nürnberg 1853; SIEGMUND GÜNTHER, *Martin Behaim* (Bayerische Bibliothek 13), Bamberg 1890; HERMANN KELLENBENZ, *Neuere portugiesische Forschungen und Quellen zur Behaim-Frage*, in: *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 48 (1958), pp. 79–95; ULRICH KNEFELKAMP, *Der Behaim-Globus – Geschichtsbild und Geschichtsdeutung*, in: Dagmar Unverhau (ed.), *Geschichtsdeutung auf alten Karten. Archäologie und Geschichte* (Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 101), Wiesbaden 2003, pp. 111–128; REV. MYTTON MAURY, *On Martin Behaim’s Globe, and his influence upon geographical science*, in: *Journal of the American Geographical Society of New York* 3 (1873), pp. 432–452; OSWALD MURIS, *Der “Erdapfel” des Martin Behaim zu Nürnberg. Eine Faksimilie-Wiedergabe in 92 Einzelbildern*, in: *Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv* 17 (1943) pp. 1–64; CHRISTOPH GOTTLIEB VON MURR, *Diplomatische Geschichte des Portugiesischen Ritters Martin Behaim aus Originalurkunden*, Nürnberg 1778; ERNST GEORG RAVENSTEIN, *Martin Behaim. His Life and his Globe*, London 1908; JOHANNES KARL WILHELM WILLERS, *Leben und Werk des Martin Behaim*, in: *Idem* (ed.), *Focus Behaim Globus. Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg*, Nürnberg 1992, vol. 1: Aufsätze, pp. 173–188.

- 11 FELIPE FERNÁNDEZ-ARMESTO, *Amerigo. The Man Who Gave His Name to America*, New York 2007; THOMAZ OSCAR MARCONDEZ DE SOUZA, *Amerigo Vespucci e suas viagens. Estudo crítico de acordo com a documentação histórica e cartográfica*, São Paulo 1954; FREDERICK JULIUS POHL, *Amerigo Vespucci: Pilot major*, New York 1944 (reprint: New York 1966); LEONARDO ROMBALI, *Il mondo di Vespucci e Verrazzano: geografia e viaggi: dalla Terrasanta all’america*, Firenze 1993; LUIGI UGOLINI, *Er gab Amerika den Namen. Leben und Zeit des Amerigo Vespucci*, 2nd ed. Graz 1974; HENRY VIGNAUD, *Americ Vespuce: 1451–1512; sa bibliographie, sa vie, ses voyages, ses découvertes, l’attribution de son nom à l’Amérique, ses relations authentiques et contestées*, Paris 1917; STEFAN ZWEIG, *Amerigo. Die Geschichte eines historischen Irrtums*, Stockholm 1944.
- 12 Cf. ANNALISA D’ASCENZO, *Mundus Novus: Amerigo Vespucci e I metodi della ricerca storico-geografico; atti del convegno internazionale di studi*, Roma – Firenze 27–30 no-

phlet in 1505 (Fig. 1 & 2). It is doubtless this Florentine navigator who should be credited with first identifying the newly discovered lands as a continent of its own—one that was unknown up to this time.

The news of the ‘India Portuguesa’ then spread quickly throughout Europe and also attracted the interest of the Upper German merchants, which united under the direction of the trade house of the Fuggers. The dominance of Venice slowly faded.¹³

Thus it is not amazing that the German trading company of the Welser-Vöhl-
lin¹⁴ concluded an agreement of privileges with the Portuguese crown. It was to be expected that a journey to India also involved a certain amount of risk (loss of ships and funds).

Italian financiers therefore merged with the Upper German trading houses of the Welser, Fugger, Höchstetter, Imhof, Grossenpott and Hirschvogel to an “ad-hoc-association” with the aim of making great profits from their trading monopoly.¹⁵

2 The trading journey of 1505/1506 to India: prenegotiations and written sources

In 1504 the agent of the trading house of the Welser, Lukas Rem,¹⁶ closed a contract for the German consortium with the Portuguese crown, which made the

vembre 2002, Roma 2004; EDUARDO BUENO, *Novo mundo: as cartas que batizaram a América*, São Paulo 2003; BERNHARD QUARTRICH (ed.), *Amerigo Vespucci, Letters of the Four Voyages to the New World*, Reprinted in Faksimile and Translated from the Rare Original Edition (Florence 1505–6), Hamburg 1992; ROBERT WALLISCH, *Der Mundus Novus des Amerigo Vespucci. Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar* (Wiener Studien, Beiheft 27; Arbeiten zur mittel- und neulateinischen Philologie 7), 2nd ed. Wien 2006.

13 CHRISTOPH VON IMHOFF, *Nürnberg's Indienpioniere. Reiseberichte von der ersten oberdeutschen Handelsfahrt nach Indien*, in: Wilhelm Füßel (ed.), *Reiseberichte der frühen Neuzeit. Wirtschafts- und kulturhistorische Quellen* (Pirkheimer Jahrbuch 1986), München 1987, pp. 11–44, here p. 18.

14 MARK HÄBERLEIN, *Die Welser – Vöhlin – Gesellschaft. Fernhandel, Familienbeziehungen und sozialer Status an der Wende vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit*, in: Wolfgang Jahn (ed.), *Geld und Glaube. Leben in evangelischen Reichsstädten. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Antonierhaus* (Veröffentlichungen zur Bayerischen Geschichte und Kultur 37), Memmingen 1998, pp. 17–37.

15 Cf. HERMANN KELLENBENZ, *The role of the Great Upper German Families in financing the discoveries*, in: *Terrae Incognitae* 10 (1978) pp. 45–59.

16 Lukas Rem was born in Augsburg on the 14th of december in 1481. He was the son of a well-to-do trading firm and was trained as a tradesman in Venice. From 1503 to 1508 he worked for the trading house of the Welser family in Lisbon. In 1517 he voluntarily deserted his employment status and founded in the following year his own company together with his brothers Andreas, Hans, and others. In 1527 he converted to Lutheranism with his whole family. He died on 26 of September in 1541—cf. VICTOR HANTZSCH, *Die*

joint attempt possible. The preparations of these negotiations were controlled by the German humanist Willibald Pirckheimer (1470–1530), the typographer Valentin Fernandez,¹⁷ who worked in Lisbon, and the famous city syndic in Augsburg, Konrad Peutinger (1465–1547), who married the daughter of Anton Welser the Elder. Peutinger, at the beginning of 1505, wrote to the imperial clerk Blasius Hölzl that the ships would soon leave for India.¹⁸ He recounts enthusiastically about the forthcoming departure of three German ships to India: these were the ‘Hieronymus’, the ‘Raffael’ and the ‘Lionarda’ (on which travelled Balthasar Sprenger). These ships sailed with the Portuguese vessels on Annunciation Day in 1505. A total of 2500 men participated on this venture. We know about the journey from a few lines in the diary of Lukas Rem.¹⁹ Besides the personal notes of Balthasar Sprenger there also exists a valuable codex of the above-mentioned Valentin Fernandez in the National Library of Bavaria located in Munich, Germany.²⁰

This monograph in Portuguese contains the account of a largely unknown Hans Mayr, who worked as a scribe on the ‘Raffael’.²¹ While Sprenger emphasizes

überseeischen Unternehmungen der Augsburger Welser, Dresden 1895, pp. 5–7; WILHELM VOGT, Lukas Rem, in: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* XXVII (1889), pp. 187–190.

- 17 Valentin or Valentin Fernandez originally came from Moravia and, from 1495 to 1519 in Lisbon, is documented as a typographer. He was chamberlain of Queen Eleonore and had great influence on the royal house of Portugal. In a letter to Stefan Gabler in Nuremberg of 1510, he also writes about the new commercial relationship to India cf. ANTONIO BRASIO, *Uma carta inédita de Valentin Fernandes*, in: *Bolletim da Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra* 24 (1960), pp. 338–358; ANGELO DE GUBERNATIS, *Memoria intorno ai viaggiatori italiani nelle indie orientali dal secolo XIII a tutto il XVI*, Firenze 1867, pp. 168–171; YVONNE HENDRICH, *Valentin Fernandez – ein deutscher Buchdrucker in Portugal um die Wende vom 15. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert und sein Umkreis* (Mainzer Studien zur Neueren Geschichte 21), Frankfurt a. M. 2007.
- 18 ERICH KÖNIG, *Konrad Peutingers Briefwechsel*, München 1923, No. 25 (letter from Anton Welser the Elder to Peutinger of 11. August 1504) and No. 27 (letter from Peutinger to Blasius Hölzl of 13. January 1505).
- 19 BENEDIKT GREIFF, *Tagebuch des Lukas Rem* (26. Jahresbericht des Historischen Kreisvereins Schwaben und Neuburg), Augsburg 1861, p. 8.
- 20 National Library of Bavaria, Munich, Department of Manuscripts, Signature: Cod. hisp. 27—this codex formerly was in the possession of Konrad Peutinger, who was in contact with Fernandez cf. KÖNIG, *Briefwechsel* (note 18), No. 32 et 33.
- 21 The Portuguese text of Cod. hisp. 27 was for the first time printed in 1940 cf. VALENTIM FERNANDEZ, *O manuscrito ‘Valentin Fernandes’: Oferecido à Acad. por Joaquim Bensaude. Leitura e rev. das provas pelo António Baião* (Acad. portuguesa da história. Publicações comemorativas do duplo centenário da fundação e restauração de Portugal), Lisbon 1940.—On fols. 2–44 you can find the account of Mayr cf. FRANZ HÜMMERICH, *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Fahrt der ersten Deutschen nach dem portugiesischen Indien 1505/06* (Abhandlungen der Bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Philologische und Historische Klasse XXX), München 1918, pp. 127–149.

the depiction of struggle, Mayr also writes about architecture, agriculture, infrastructure, and the financial abundance of the countries.²²

3 The travelogue of Balthasar Sprenger (printed 1509)

About the life of Balthasar Sprenger (also: Springer) we are only little informed. He was born in the hamlet Vils am Lech—which since 1671 belonged to the dukedom of Tyrol—(near the city of Füssen in Bavaria) around the year 1480.²³ His journey to India in 1505/06 is well-documented in the record ‘Die Merfart vnd erfahrung nüwer Schiffung vnd Wege zu viln onerkanten Inseln vnd Königreichen’,²⁴ which was printed in Oppenheim, Germany, in 1509. It is the first travelogue about Africa and India in the German language and exists in different versions.²⁵

The illustrated text²⁶ consists of two parts in different length: On eleven pages the author writes about the travel in a narrative style. In the second part on three

- 22 GERHARD WOLF, *Das Individuum auf dem Weg zu sich selbst? Frühneuzeitliches Reisen nach Osten: Hans Dernschwam, Balthasar Springer und Fortunatus*, in: Dietrich Huschenbrett, John Margetts (eds.), *Reisen und Welterfahrung in der Literatur des Mittelalters (Würzburger Beiträge zur deutschen Philologie 7)*, Würzburg 1991, pp. 196–214, here p. 209.
- 23 HILDEGARD STIELAU, *Balthasar Sprengers Meerfahrt von 1509*, in: *Acta Germanica* 12 (1980), pp. 61–114, here p. 64.—New studies show that Sprenger was member of an influential family of Tyrol, cf. THOMAS HORST, ‘Am Anfang war das Gewürz’. Vor 500 Jahren kehrte der Allgäuer Balthasar Sprenger von einer Indienfahrt zurück. Er hinterließ einen eindrucksvollen Reisebericht, in: *Literatur in Bayern* 85 (2006), pp. 13–21; HERMANN WIESFLECKER, *Neue Beiträge zu Balthasar Sprengers Meerfahrt nach “Groß-India”*, in: Klaus Brandstätter, Julia Hörmann (eds.), *Tirol-Österreich-Italien. Festschrift für Joseph Riedmann zum 65. Geburtstag (Schlern-Schriften 330)*, Innsbruck 2005, pp. 647–660.
- 24 BALTHASAR SPRENGER, *Die Merfart vnd erfahrung nüwer Schiffung vnd Wege zu viln onerkanten Inseln vnd Königreichen, von dem großmechtigen Portugalischen Kunig Emanuel Erforscht, funden, bestritten vnnnd Ingenomen, Auch wunderbarliche Streyt, ordenung, leben wesen handlung vnd wunderwercke, des volcks und Thyrer dar inn wonende, findestu in diessem buchlyn warhafftiglich beschryben vnd abkunterfeyt ...*, Oppenheim 1509.—The text is facile to access with the facsimile of the exemplar of the National Library of Austria cf. ANDREAS ERHARD, EVA RAMMINGER, *Die Meerfahrt: Balthasar Springers Reise zur Pfefferküste. Mit einem Faksimile des Buches von 1509*, Innsbruck 1998.
- 25 In the University Library of Giessen Franz Schulze recovered a Latin manuscript of the journey which is dated around 1506–1508. More about the flow-sheet of the artistic prints in BEATE BOROWKA-CLAUSBERG, *Balthasar Sprenger und der frühneuzeitliche Reisebericht* (Ph. D. thesis University of Kiel 1995/96), München 1999, p. 191.
- 26 The pictures in the text derives from the famous Hans Burgkmaier the Elder (1473–1531), who illustrated a separate xylograph circle in 1508. In a copy of Georg Glockendon and Wolf Traut some illustrations entered to the print of Sprengers text, cf. HÜMMERICH, *Quellen und Untersuchungen* (note 21), pp. 58ff.

Die Aderfart vñ erfahrung nūwer
 Schiffung vnd Wege zu viln onerkanten Inseln vnd Künigreichen / von dem großmechtigen Portugalsche Künig Emanuel
 Erforscht / funden / bestritten vñnd Ingenomen / Auch wunderbare
 siche Streyt / ordenung / leben wesen handlung vnd wunderwercke /
 des volcks vnd Thyrer dar in wonende / findestu in driesem buchlyn
 warhaftig lich beschreyben vñ abkunterfeyt / wie ich Balthasar Spre
 ger solliches selbs in kurzuerfchynē zeitē gesehen vñ erfahren habe. ꝛc



GEDRVCKT
 ANNO
 M·D·IX

Fig. 3: Title of the travelogue of Balthasar Sprenger,
 Printed in Oppenheim, 1509.

Von die fere von Liffbona geg. Calicut
 Von man fere auf zu Liffbona auf Infula Canaria da sem
 300 meyl von Liffbona und Caput Verde 200 meyl da misset
 man vorstet und fere dar ubir den grossen golfen
 Von Caput Verde ubir den grossen golfen bis Caput Bone
 120 meyl do ist bey landt und
 wegl von zu Caput Verde fast an d. swartz volck
 Von Caput Bone fere sein 40 meyl bis geyn Ag. de Sand p. ca. f.
 do liegt d. volck kays kender das secht zu we. gesche
 Von Caput de Sandt p. ca. f. 220 meyl in zuppal und danon
 sein 135 meyl geyn Mandabate
 Von Mandabate sein geyn Mellina 100 meyl und danon fere
 man ubir den grossen golfen sein 40 meyl geyn Argendina
 Von Argendina Camara sein 33 meyl do wegst dastunt
 inguez von d. d. sein 12 meyl geyn Calicut Von Calicut
 sein 35 meyl geyn Guttige do ladt unzer seise alleley
 p. ca. f. Von Guttige sein 25 meyl geyn Collan
 do wone vil von sant pauls glantz do ladt an d. seise
 Von Collan geyn Mellata sein 100 meyl do wegst magot
 Land misset
 No Mellata lye in arabia Von Mellata lye 100 meyl
 guder Calicut Von Perle lye man in eme
 isel lye in mere von Persia heisst armasa
 Von Navigatio ex p. Liffbona Embo p. p. b. g. z. p. antoria
 h. f. sub Calicut h. m. f. u. d. g. l. o. b. i. t. e. x. e. h. o. l. z. g. e. s. s. d. m. u. n. b. e. g. g.
 sunt Longitud. 195 h. m. d. p. l. u. c. a. t. i. o. n. e. 7 16 sunt miliaria 3120
 A lat. aut. g. p. u. t. a. t. a. sunt 3148
 Von ex liffbona navigatio qd. trahit dato h. d. o. r. y. p. o. s. t. a. n. t. e.
 sunt a liffbona ad Calicut 3800 miliaria t. g. a. n. t. o. r. i. a.
 Von Canaria lye 180 meyl von liffbona d. t. s. y. z. e. n. t. e. Namand die
 ander lye 150 meyl von liffbona

Fig. 4: Handwritten notes of the famous geographer Johannes Schöner about the journey from Lisbon to Calicut in his copy of the travelogue of Balthasar Sprenger (after 1509, Austrian National Library Vienna, Map Department, 390120-B. Kar).

pages he describes in detail the ethnographical attributes which he has seen. The distinctive feature of the text, which can be seen as mnemonic art par excellence, is a new understanding in travel literature. So Sprenger does without the old depiction of monsters because his motivation was rooted in trade and not in religion.

The journey can be reconstructed completely on the basis of this document:²⁷ altogether they sailed more than 4000 miles. Sprenger himself came to Lisbon via Antwerp, where his adventure tour began. Soon after departure his ship was shipwrecked, but repaired shortly afterwards. Beyond the Canaries the armada sailed on the west coast of Africa in the Atlantic Ocean. In June 1505 it was so cold *as in our country on Christmas* reports Sprenger. On June 26 the ships passed the Cape of Good Hope easterly. After 15 weeks during which the crew could not see land they approached Mozambique. Sprenger here reports of dolphins and cetaceans.²⁸ He also gives an account of aboriginal clothing while writing about their cloaks and clogs.

After a break the crew sailed along the coast to 'Killiwa', which Mayr calls 'Quiloa'. This is the present day village Kilwa Kisiwani in Tanzania, where they arrived on July 22. At the time the Swahili-culture prospered there, a *mélange* of the Arabic, Persian and East-African way of life. Mayr reports that the former city of Quiloa had a population of more than 4000 people who lived in beautiful houses of stones or lime, on which you could find thousands of paintings.²⁹ But the Portuguese admiral ordered to capture the city.

In August of 1505 they arrived at Mombasa, which was set on fire on Assumption Day. The Europeans ransacked the rich provisions of rice, millet, butter, honey, meat of sheep etc. They also found a camel, as Sprenger reports.³⁰ They sailed on to the city of Mellindi utilizing the trade winds to the Gulf of India.

On October 22 they reached the city of Krishna, Cannanor in 'India Maior'. This city on the west coast of India was one of the most important seaports in Malabar. Almeida here ennobled himself as viceroy. Sprenger rejoiced at finding a lot of pearls and precious stones. The expedition also led to Kalikut³¹ and Coulaõ,³² before they reached 'Gutzyn' (today: Cochin), whose king is imposingly illustrated in the typescript of Burgkmair.

27 Cf. FRANZ HÜMMERICH, *Die erste Deutsche Handelsfahrt nach Indien 1505/06* (Historische Bibliothek 49), München/Berlin 1922.

28 SPRENGER, *Die Merfahrt* (note 24), fol. 5 r.

29 National Library of Bavaria, Munich, Cod. Hisp. 27, fol. 4 r.

30 ERHARD/RAMMINGER, *Die Meerfahrt* (note 24), p. 24.

31 This is not the city of Calcutta, but the contemporary village Kozhikode on the west coast of India.

32 Also Kollam, this is the contemporary city of Quilon in the indian state of Travancore.



Fig. 5 & 6: Woodcut illustrations of the clothes and clogs of the native people on the east coast of Africa. Travelogue of Balthasar Sprenger (Wolf Traut after Hans Burgkmair, 1509).



Fig. 7 & 8: Woodcut illustrations 'India Maior' in the travelogue of Balthasar Sprenger (Wolf Traut after Hans Burgkmair, 1509).



Fig. 9: Woodcut illustration 'The King of Gutschin' in the travelogue of Balthasar Sprenger (Wolf Traut after Hans Burgkmair, 1509).



Fig. 10 & 11: Woodcut illustrations 'India Maior' in the travelogue of Balthasar Sprenger (Wolf Traut after Hans Burgkmair, 1509).

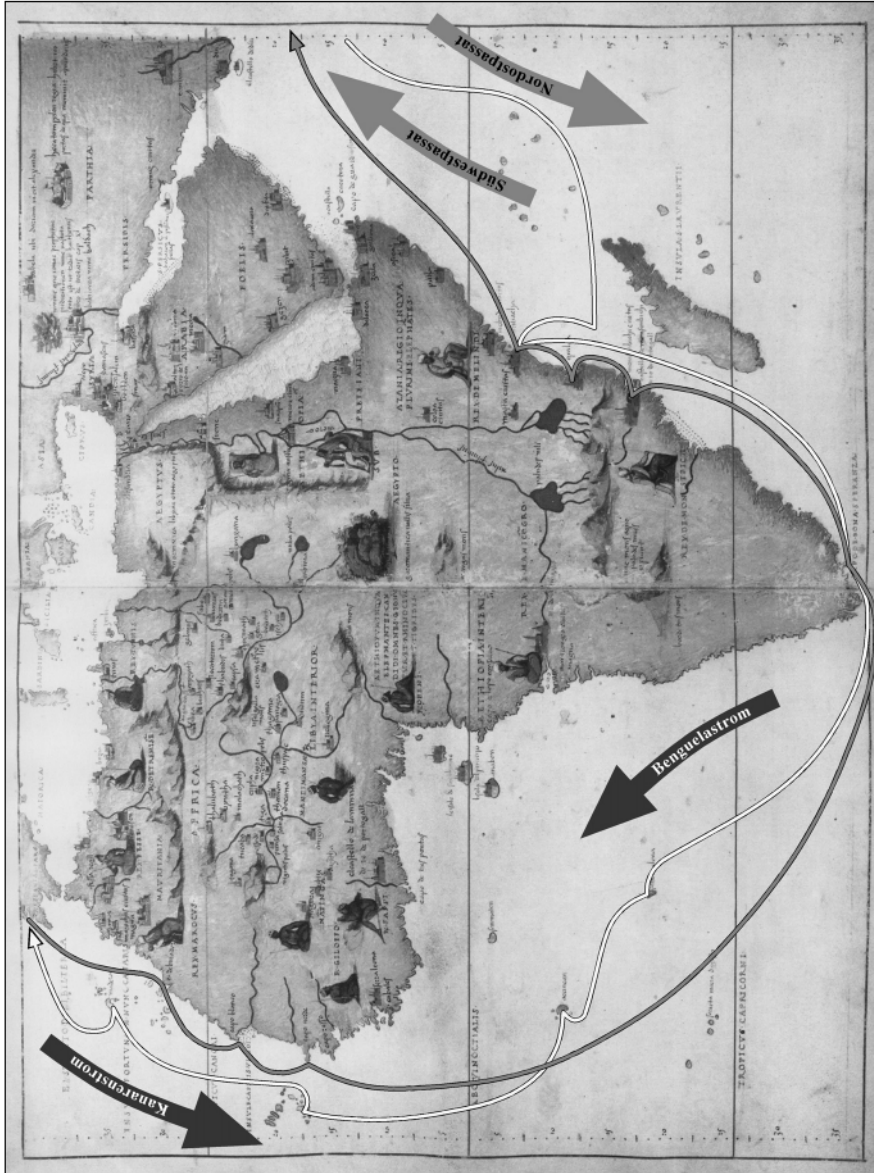


Fig. 12: The route of the voyage of Balthasar Sprenger in 1505/1506, drawn into a facsimile edition of the 'Atlante Nautico' from Battista Agnese (1553, Museo Correr, Venezia).

Sprenger here got to know the cluster fig, and he liked the delicious Indian food. But not all Europeans adapted so well to foreign life as Sprenger and many members of his crew died on the journey.³³

After celebrating Christmas in Cananor, all ships were loaded with traded pepper and precious spices. On January 21, 1506 the first three ships—among them the 'Raffael'—began their journey home. They reached Lisbon on May 22. The 'Lionarda' on the other hand came to the Comoros until March. Heavy thunderstorms and a lack of food forced the crew to pause in Mozambique, where they engaged in countertrade with the Hottentot people (Khoikhoi). Sprenger refers to the clicks of their tongue in his text.³⁴

On November 15, 1506 after 20 months of absence the last ships reached the port of the old world in Lisbon. But on arrival the crew was prohibited to disembark, primarily because the pepper and all spices of India had to be reweighed. This merchandise remained in the possession of the king three to four years, before it could be finally sold. Nevertheless, the trading houses made a profit which coevals indicate as 150 to 175 % after tax.³⁵

In Lisbon we lose Sprenger's traces. Apart from his travelogue, which can be seen as an important source for the history of discoveries, he nowhere emerges in written documents. It can be assumed that he died in Portugal, because there was a bad plague in Lisbon at this time and many survivors of the Indian journey died here of this disease.

33 So JOHANN CHRISTOPH GATTERER reports in his chronicle of the trade-house of the Holzschuher ('*Historia Genealogica Dominorum Holzschuherum*', Nürnberg 1755, p. 466), that a member of this Nuremberg family died in India unmarried.

34 WERNER JOPP, Balthasar Springers Berichte über die Hottentotten, in: *Die wissenschaftliche Redaktion 3* (Bibliographisches Institut Mannheim 1966), pp. 58–66, here p. 65.—See also the anthropological dissertation of RENATE KLEINSCHMIDT, Balthasar Springer. Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung, Wien 1966.

35 Even Lukas Rem writes in his diary of a benefit of more than 150 % cf. GREIFF, *Tagebuch* (note 19), p. 8.

4 Contemporary Cartographical Sources

Apart from these written sources we also have other historical documents, which can give more hints about the time of exploration. Especially the geographical knowledge was hardly influenced by travelogues. This gives reason to look closely at the contemporary cartography.

4.1 The portolan chart of Juan de la Cosa (1500)

This hand-drawn map on parchment lies in the Maritime Museum of Madrid. It was designed by the Spanish navigator Juan de la Cosa (approx. 1406–1509),³⁶ who was captain of the ‘Santa Maria’ and the ‘Niña’ on the first two expeditions of Christopher Columbus to West-India (1493–1496). His map can be classified by the alignment of late medieval portolan charts,³⁷ whose purpose in contrast to the medieval T-O-maps was not representation, but navigation.

Therefore you can find compass roses and direction lines on it. It is the first map after the discovery of America that shows the new continent, though sketchily.³⁸ But—and this is what matters—it shows for the first time the right outline of the African continent.

The cartographer de la Cosa refers to himself, under a vignette of the holy Christopherus (patron of the mariners)³⁹ in the west part of the map as *Juan de la Cosa la fizo en el puerto de S: ma en año de 1500* (Juan de la Cosa made this map in the port of Santa Maria in the year 1500).⁴⁰

36 R. BARREIRO-MEIRO, Juan de la Cosa y su doble personalidad, in: *Revista General de Madrina* 179 (1970), pp. 165–191.

37 On medieval portolan charts cf. TONY CAMPBELL, Portolan Charts from the Late Thirteenth Century to 1500, in: J. B. Harley, David Woodward (eds.), *The History of Cartography, Volume I: Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, London/Chicago 1987, pp. 371–463; W. G. L. RANGLES, From the Mediterranean Portulan Chart to the Marine World Chart of the Great Discoveries: the Crisis in Cartography in Sixteenth Century, in: *Imago Mundi* 40 (1988), pp. 115–118; MONIQUE DE LA RONCIÈRE, MICHEL MOLLAT DU JOURDIN, *Les Portulans – Cartes marines du XIII^e au XVII^e siècle*, Fribourg 1984.

38 Cf. PAUL ANDERSON, Isla Fuerte on the Juan de las Cosas mappamundi of 1500, in: *Terrae Incognitae* 16 (1984), pp. 1–13.

39 This illustration was for a long time wrongly interpreted as a portrait of Columbus.

40 To the right of the map you can see a blank cartouche. It can be supposed that La Cosa wanted to write his name there. The compass rose in the middle of the map contains a locket with a sequence of the birth of Jesus Christ with the holy family. Maybe it is an allusion to the fortress “Navidad” at the northern coast of Haiti, which was constructed after the wreckage of the Santa Maria on Christmas of 1492, cf. ARTHUR DÜRST, Brasilien im frühen Kartenbild, in: *Cartographica Helvetica* 6 (1992), pp. 8–16, here p. 9.

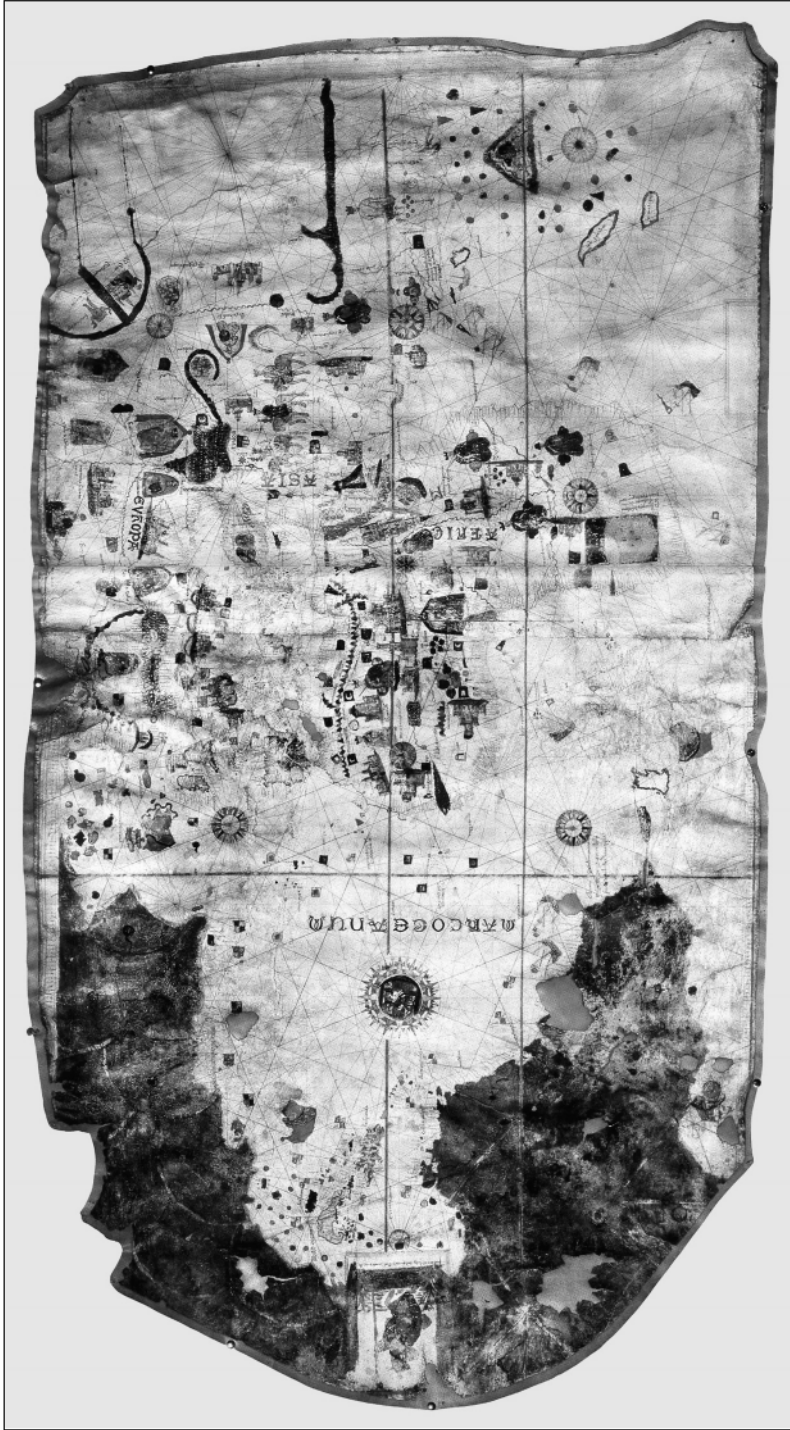


Fig. 13: Map of Juan de la Cosa (1500, Maritime Museum of Madrid).

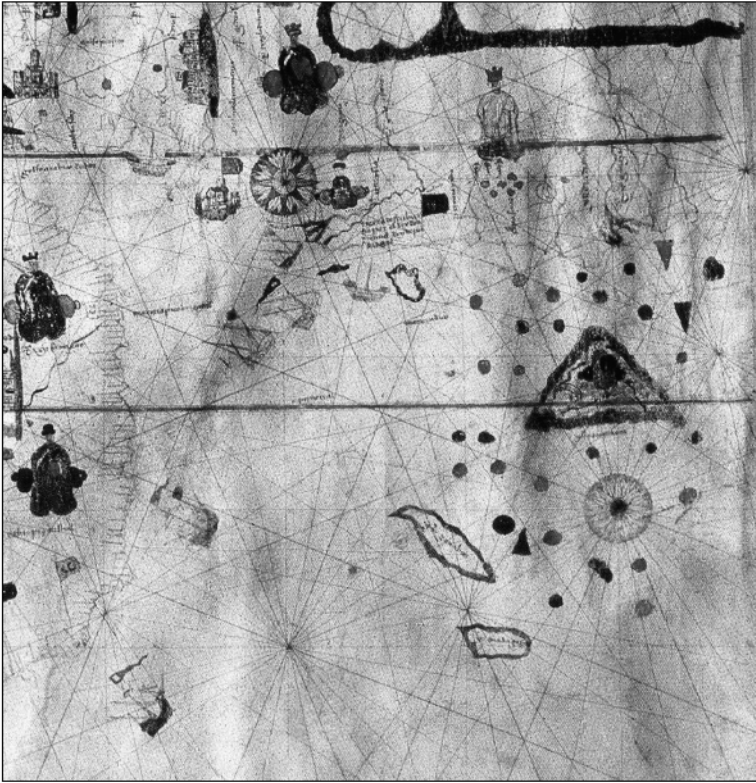


Fig. 14: Map by Juan de la Cosa (1500, Maritime Museum of Madrid): detail of the Indian Ocean.

This early dating (1500) was long disputed by scholars, especially by George Emra Nunn, who claimed that the map was not a original work of La Cosa, but rather a later copy from around 1508.⁴¹ This assumption was supported by the American historian Samuel E. Morison (1887–1976).⁴² In fact, Arthur Davis could demonstrate that on the map there are no allegations to the time after 1500.⁴³ His cartographic investigation was certified from Edzin Roukema, who concluded that “there is no evidence that the La Cosa map embodies information which may

41 GEORGE EMRA NUNN, *The Mappemonde of Juan de la Cosa*, Jenkintown (Pa.) 1934.

42 SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON, *The European Discovery of America*, New York 1971, pp. 238–240.

43 ARTHUR DAVIES, *The ‘English’ Coasts on the Map of Juan de la Cosa*, in: *Imago Mundi* 13 (1956), pp. 26–29.

be ascribed to a later year than 1500.”⁴⁴ So there is no doubt that the map dates from this year.

The La Cosa map was detected in the private library of the bibliophile baron Charles-Athanase Walckenaer (1771–1852) in 1832. A year later it was published by Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859). After Walckenaer’s death the map was purchased by the Spanish royal house. Until now it lies in the Maritime Museum at Madrid, being the most important map in the collection.

If we look besides the vertical line of demarcation (*liña meridional*), we can see many signs of sovereignty (kings sitting on their thrones) on the African and Asian continent. There are also biblical and mythical figures on it: from Asia come the three Magi with their typical presents to Jesus. Located around the eastern regions are the anti-Christian countries of Gog and Magog, while near the Red Sea you can find the tower of Babel and the Queen of Saba bearing a sword.

The outlines of the African coast are depicted very accurately. The territory is shown with stylized mountains—which is remarkable for this time. Around the continent many ships are depicted and show the itinerary of Vasco da Gama, to which an inscription at the southern coast of Asia alludes: *tierra descubierta por el Rey don Manuel Rey de portugal* (territory discovered by King Manuel from Portugal). On the Cape of Good Hope you can furthermore find the inscription *fasta aqui describio el escelente Rex don Juan de Portugal* (until here the excellent king John of Portugal made discoveries).

Sri Lanka (Ceylon) at last is shown as a big triangular island in relation to the Ptolemaic tradition. Also the islands of Zanzibar and Madagascar appear on the map though wrongly depicted too far in the East. Despite these mistakes this Portolan chart should be recognized and valued as the progenitor of the ‘Padron Real’—the official maps of the ‘Casa de la Contratación’.⁴⁵

4.2 The anonymous Cantino-map from 1502

Only two years later emerged the so-called Cantino-map, which was drawn between December 1501 and October 1502.⁴⁶ This map, which can be associated to

44 EDZIN ROUKEMA, Some Remarks on the La Cosa Map, in: *Imago Mundi* 14 (1959), pp. 38–54, here p. 42.

45 M. DE LA PUENTE Y OLEA, *Los trabajos geográficos de la Cosa de la Contratación*, Sevilla 1900; EDWARD LUTHER STEVENSON, Early Spanish mapping of the new world. The Padron Real, in: *International Geographical Congress* (ed.), Report of the proceedings: Cambridge 13–25 July 1928, reprint Nendeln/Liechtenstein 1972, pp. 411–413.

46 I. CARACI, Cantino-Karte, in: Johannes Dörflinger et al. (eds.), *Lexikon für die Geschichte der Kartographie*, Vol. I, p. 128; EDZER ROUKEMA, Brazil in the Cantino Map, in: *Imago Mundi* 17 (1963) pp. 7–26, here p. 7. Roukema on the other hand sets the date of origin between September 11 and November 19 of 1502.

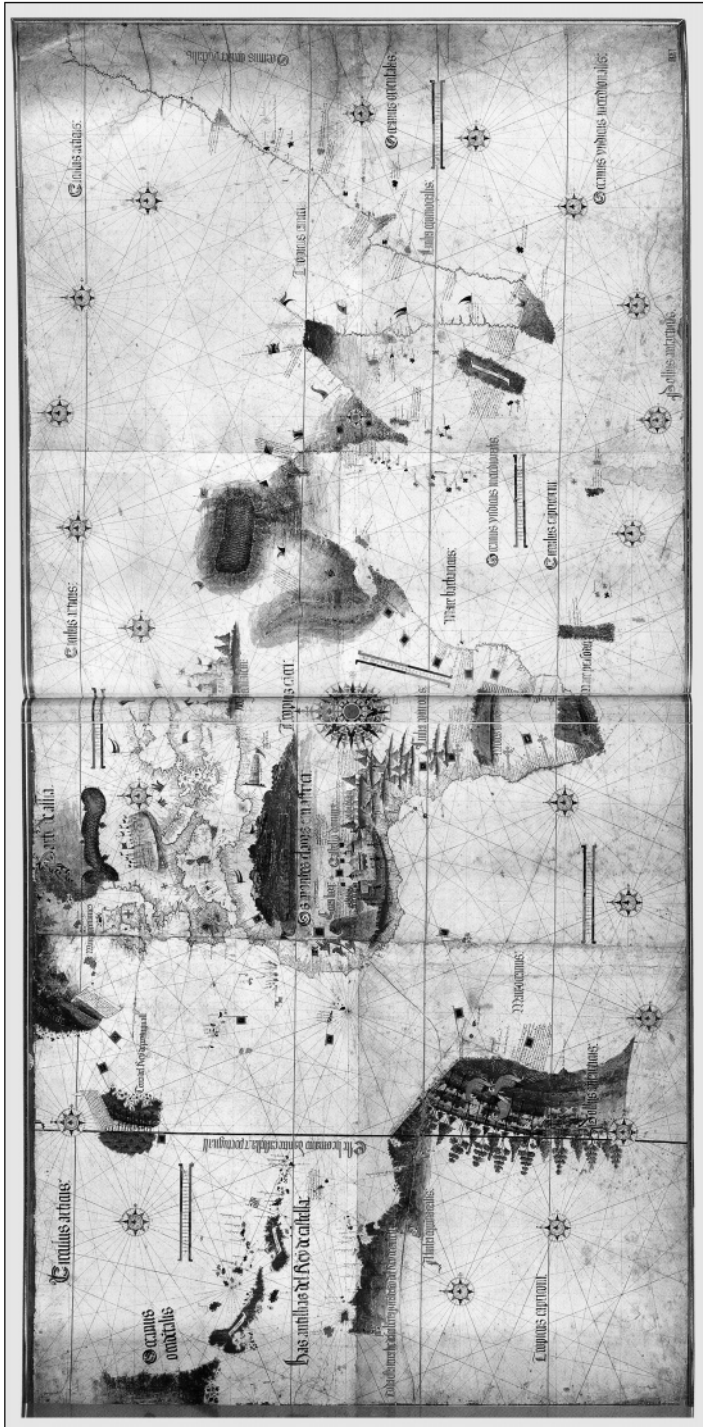


Fig. 15: The anonymous Cantino-map (1502, Biblioteca Estense, Modena).

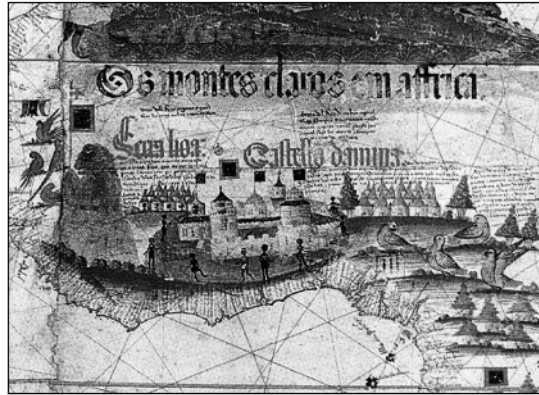


Fig. 16: The anonymous Cantino-map
(1502, Biblioteca Estense, Modena):
Detail of the West-Coast of Africa.

the Lusitanic-Germanic type according to Harrisse,⁴⁷ eclipses biblical drawings. In fact the Portuguese expeditions are glorified, which you can see on the decoration with Portuguese flags on the map.⁴⁸

The anonymous cartographer does not mention himself because in those times a map of the new acquisition of land in the era of the struggle between Spain and Portugal was top secret. On the verso of the map, which is drawn in six pages of vellum on canvas, there exists a notation which gives hints at the genesis of this map: *Carta da nauigar per le Isole nouam tr[ovate] in le parte de l'India: dono Alberto CANTINO al S. Duca HERCOLE* (This map of the sea of the recently conquered islands in the region of India was a present for the duke of Ferrara, Ercole d'Este, from Alberto Cantino). But the map in no way was a present; by order of the duke it was copied by his diplomatic agent Cantino after the so-called 'Padron Real' in Lisbon.⁴⁹ Then it was smuggled to Genoa and brought to the duke.

47 EDWARD LUTHER STEVENSON, Martin Waldseemüller and the early Lusitano-Germanic Cartography of the New World, in: *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society* XXXVI (1904), No. 4, pp. 193–215, here p. 200.

48 Excellent reproductions of the Cantino-map can be found in: ARMANDO CORTESÃO, AVELINO TEIXEIRA DA MOTA, *Monumenta. Comemorações do 5 centenário da morte do Infante d'Henrique. Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica*, 6 volumes, Lisbon and Coimbra 1960, vol. 1, figure 4 and 5; ERNESTO MILANO, *La Carta de Cantino*, Modena 1991; PIETRO FRABETTI, *Saggio di una illustrazione del planisfero portoghese detto 'del Cantino'*, in: Carla Clivia Marzoli, Giacomo Corna Pellegrini, Gaetano Ferro (eds.), *Imago et mensura mundi. Atti del IX Congresso Internazionale di Storia della Cartografia*, 3 volumes, vol. 1, Rom 1985, pp. 81–88.

49 We know that a lot of Italian artists lived in Portugal who earned their living by painting miniatures and copying maps. It can be supposed that Cantino provided the map due to such contacts.

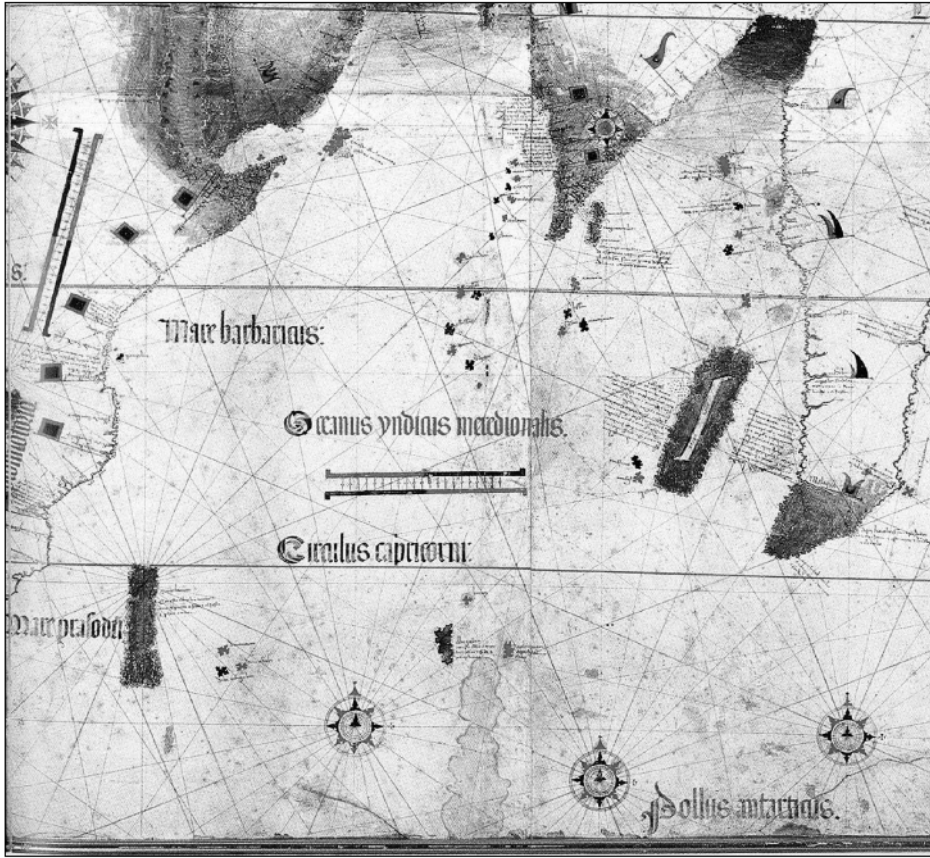


Fig. 17: The anonymous Cantino-map (1502, Biblioteca Estense, Modena): Detail of the Indian Ocean.

The coloured manuscript map remained in family property until 1592. After the despoilment of the dukedom it was brought to Modena. But in 1859 the palace was occupied and the map was stolen. Several years later it was retrieved from the librarian of the 'Biblioteca Estense', Signor Boni, who bought the map for his library, where it is preserved until today.

Its distinctive colouring is the first thing you notice when taking a look at the map: the continents are in green, the islands in blue-red colours. The prevailing nomenclature is in Portuguese; only geographical names are in Latin. In the New World South America is pictured and animated with woods and parrots.⁵⁰ But also

50 FERNANDO LOURENÇO FERNANDES, *O planisfério de Cantino e o Brasil. Uma introdução à cartografia política dos descobrimentos e o Atlântico Sul*, Lisboa 2003; GEORGE EMRA NUNN, *Geographical Conceptions of Columbus. A critical consideration of four Problems*,

the African continent shows alterations with Portuguese fortifications on the west coast, birds, naked native people and a big leonine figure near Sierra Leone.⁵¹

For the first time Africa is shown in its characteristic form,⁵² though the Indian Ocean is mapped wrongly. At the East coast you can find the cities of ‘Soffala’, ‘Mozambique’, ‘Kilwa’ and ‘Melinde’, which also are mentioned in the travelogue of Balthasar Sprenger. The island of Madagascar and India—now recognized as subcontinent with the specific place of ‘Calecut’—is mapped more precisely than on the La Cosa Map, which may be attributed to the expeditions of Vasco da Gama and Cabral.

Therefore Sri Lanka is no longer shown in the Ptolemaic tradition, although the island of ‘Taprobane’ (Sumatra) is ordered wrongly. Nevertheless you can see a progress in the history of cartography of South Asia.⁵³ It is the eldest preserved Portuguese world map, which combines the new discoveries in the West and the East together.

4.3 The King-Hamy-world map (about 1502)

In this context also a map of the Huntington Library in California is important. The hand drawn map on vellum was made in the Italian-Portuguese environment. It was named after its former possessors, the investigator of the Arctic, Richard King (1811–1876) and the ethnographer Jules Théodore Ernest Hamy (1842–1908), who bought the map in 1885. In 1912 it came into the library of James William Ellsworth, whose inheritance was sold to Henry E. Huntington in 1923.

This world map is an interesting document because besides the Portuguese discoveries in Brazil, it also shows the Ptolemaic conception of Asia. Consequently this map, which represents the Island of Madagascar too far in the east and the coastline of India very sketchily, steps backwards.⁵⁴ Unlike the other maps it marginally shows figures and vignettes, but on the African continent it depicts the origins of the Nile.⁵⁵

New York 1924, pp. 91–141.—There is also the first mapping of Yukatan cf. EDZER ROUKEMA, A Discovery of Yucatan prior to 1503, in: *Imago Mundi* 13 (1956), pp. 30–38.

51 G. PIERSANTELLI, La pittura della “Charta del navigare” del Cantino, in: *Bolletino del Civico Instituto Colombiano* 2 (1953), pp. 38–50.

52 A. TEIXEIRA DA MOTA, Africa in the Anonymous Portuguese “Cantino” Planisphere, in: Cornelis Koeman (ed.), *Land- und Seekarten im Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, München 1980, pp. 123–136, here p. 124.

53 M. LAZAR, Asien, in: Johannes Dörflinger et al. (eds.), *Lexikon für die Geschichte der Kartographie*, vol. I, pp. 28–32, here p. 29.

54 Cf. ANANDA ABEYDEERA, The Geographical Perceptions of India and Ceylon in the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* and in Ptolemy’s *Geography*, in: *Terrae Incognitae* 30 (1998), pp. 1–24.

55 J.T. MASSON, Geographical knowledge and maps of Southern Africa before 1500 A.D., in: *Terrae Incognitae* 18 (1986), pp. 1–20.

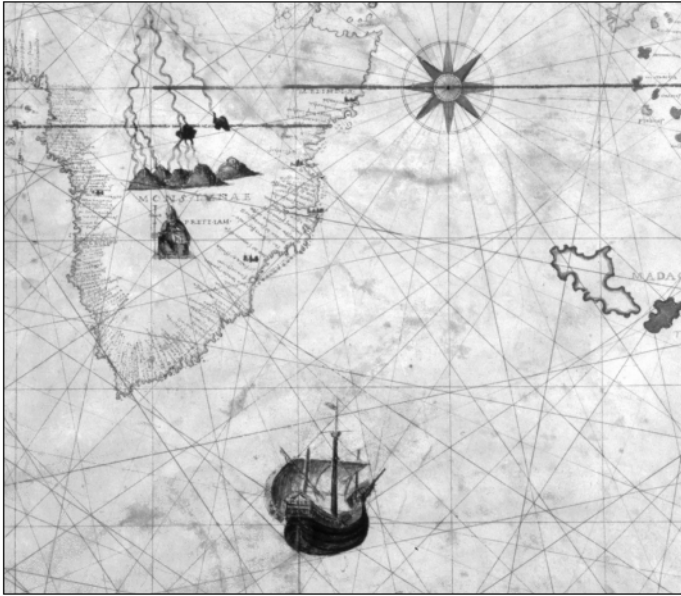


Fig. 18: South Africa on the King-Hamy-world map
[about 1502, Huntington Library, California].

4.4 The world map of Canerio (ca. 1505)

If we advance in the history of cartography to the time of the journey of Balthasar Sprenger, we have to take as the most important example the world map of the famous cartographer of Genoa, Nicolo Caveri (also: Caneri),⁵⁶ who calls himself in the left corner of his map: *Opus Nicolay de Caveri Januensis*. It is supposable that he also worked for the Portuguese crown because there are many legends in that language.

The undated planisphere was newly-discovered in the 19th century in Paris, where it had been since 1669.⁵⁷ Today it is located in the National Library of France in Paris. The map shows the actual-state of the world in 1505 with artistic skills. In terms of nomenclature there are resemblances to the Cantino map, though more places are named referring to the map of Salvat de Pilestrina (dated

56 EDWARD LUTHER STEVENSON, *Marine world chart of Nicolo de Caneri Januensis of 1502 (circa). A critical study with faksimile*, issued under the joint auspices of the American Geographical Society and The Hispanic Society of America, New York 1908.

57 GABRIEL MARCEL, *Reproductions des cartes et des globes relatifs a la découverte de XVIe au XVII siècle*, Paris 1893, pp. 15–20.



Fig. 19: The world map of Canerio (1505, Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris).

around 1506).⁵⁸ The planisphere breaks with the Ptolemaic tradition and is the earliest map of the sea with longitudes.⁵⁹ In the heart of the African continent you can find a circle around a central figure, which shows the system of the world in its conventional character with seven spheres. Africa is animated with a lion, a giraffe and an elephant. Moreover, the map alludes to the legendary abundance of India. The map acts as the prototype for the famous map of Martin Waldseemüller in 1507, where the name America first is mentioned and whose 500th birthday we celebrate in 2007.⁶⁰

4.5 The globe map in a pamphlet of 1505

The Upper German trading houses recruited their crew members for the Indian activity in a publicity campaign in 1505. As means of promotion a double sided pamphlet with the title ‘Den rechten weg auß zu faren von Lißbona gen Kallakuth von meyl zu meyl. Auch wie der Kunig von Portugal yetz newlich vill Galeen vnd naben wider zu ersuchen vnd bezwingen newe landt vnd Insellen, durch kallakuth in Indien zu faren...’⁶¹ (The right way to take from Lisbon to Kallakuth from mile to mile...) was used. The woodcarving shows a globe which outlines the trading centers of Nuremberg (N) and Kalikut (K), the end of the trade journey. Interestingly the illustrator sets East wrongly at the top of his map.

The general interest in the new discoveries in India at that time was tremendous. Already one year after this globe map, the so-called ‘Gesta proxime per Portugalenses in India, Ethiopia et aliis orientalibus locis’ was printed in Rome by virtue of Portuguese reports.⁶²

58 National Library of France Paris, Rés. Ge. B. 1120 (Kunstmann No. III). Cf. the synoptical comparison of the maps of Pilestrina, Cantino, Canerio and the Carta Marina of Martin Waldseemüller from 1516 at STEVENSON, *Marine world chart* (note 56), pp. 90–115.

59 STEVENSON, *Marine world chart* (note 56), p. 9.

60 This famous map was again copied by Heinrich Loriti (Glareanus) in 1510 which can be seen in two hand drawings in the print of the ‘Cosmographia’ of Waldseemüller and which is now preserved at the University Library of Munich. The author intends to write more about his research of the periphery of Waldseemüller in future work.

61 University Library of Munich, W 4°H.aux. 1270:7, printed in: BOROWKA-CLAUSBERG, Balthasar Sprenger (note 25), pp. 192–196. RICHARD L. BETZ, *The Mapping of Africa. A Cartobibliography of Printed Maps of the African Continent to 1700* (Utrechts Studies in the History of Cartography 7), Utrecht 2007, p. 54 has noted two different variants of this map: One example at the Bell Library of the University of Minnesota (Minneapolis Bell, 1505 Re; cf. ALVIN E. PROTZENGEIER, *From Lisbon to Calicut. A publication from the James Ford Bell collection in the University of Minnesota Library, Minneapolis 1956* (reviewed by FRANCIS M. ROGERS, in: *Speculum* 32/3 [1957], pp. 603–607) shows clouds in the upper left and right corner of the map. Another print of the map at the Library of Congress is covered without clouds.

62 Cf. in general GITA DHARAMPAL, *Frühe deutsche Indienberichte*, in: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 134 (1984), pp. 23–67; GITA DHARAMPAL-FRICK,

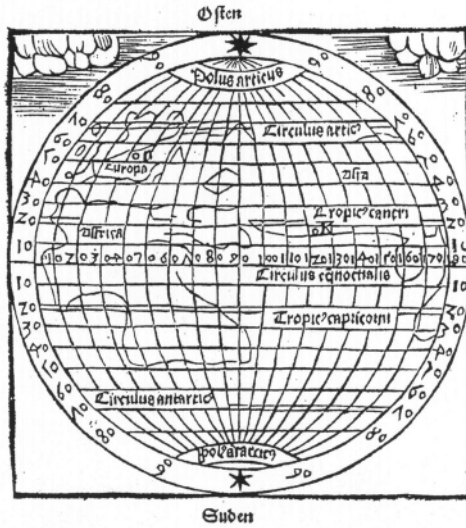


Fig. 20: Globe map in the German pamphlet 'Den rechten weg auß zu faren von Lißbona gen Kallakuth von meyl zu meyl'.



Fig. 21: Title page of the 'Itinerarium Portugallensium' (Milan, 1508).

4.6 The 'Itinerarium Portugallensium' of 1508

The incunable 'Itinerariu[m] Portugalle[n]siu[m] e[t] Lusitania in India[m] [et] inde in occidentem [et] demum ad aquilonem' is a Latin translation of Antonio Fracanzano da Montalboddo's famous compilation 'Paesi novamente ritrovati et novo mondo da Alberico Vesputio florentino intitulado' (Vicenza, 1507) with a special focus on Portugal.

It was translated by the Milanese monk Archangelo Madrignano and printed in Milan, Italy, by Johannes Angelus Scinzenzeler in 1508.⁶³ The work is a milestone in the history of discoveries because it is the first Latin edition of the first-ever printed collection of a variety of voyages, among them the explorations of Vasco da Gama (1498) and Cabral (1500) of Africa and India.

A large woodcut map of Africa, southern Europe and western Asia is taking up most of the title page (22,5 cm x 16,5 cm oriented to the west). The map is known in two states and only appears in the Latin edition of 1508.⁶⁴ Africa is mapped too wide longitudinally. Two ships and the placenames on the map are based upon Portuguese discoveries: 'C. Bianco' (Cape Blanco) and 'C. Verde' (Cape Verde) on the west coast; 'Monte Negro' with a *padrão* cross along the southwest coast and 'C. Sp(er)a(n)za' (the Cape of Good Hope) in the south. The African-Arab port of 'Meli(n)do' (Malindi) on the east coast of Africa is also mentioned such as the City of Calicut in India. This shows that it was the voyages from Lisbon to Calicut that mattered at that time, not the voyages to the new world.

4.7 The globe of Lukas Rem on a triptych of Quentin Massys (1519)

A triptych from 1519 by the Dutch painter Quentin Massys (1466–1533), preserved in the 'Alte Pinakothek' of Munich, Germany, also gives hints about the early journeys to India.⁶⁵ The winged altar on his two side wings shows the Saints Rochus and Sebastian, who allude to the black death both at Lisbon in 1503–1508 and at Antwerp in 1519. In the middle you can find the Holy Trinity and

Indien im Spiegel deutscher Quellen der Frühen Neuzeit (1500–1750). Studien zu einer interkulturellen Konstellation, Tübingen 1994.

63 Cf. the copy in the University Library of Munich, Department of manuscripts, Signature: W 2 Itin. 14a.

64 BETZ, *The Mapping of Africa* (note 61), pp. 78–80: The first state labels the Red Sea 'Sinus Persicus', the second state 'Sinus Arabicus'.

65 BAYERISCHE STAATSGEMÄLDESAMMLUNGEN (ed.), *Alte Pinakothek München. Erläuterungen zu den ausgestellten Gemälden*, München 1986, pp. 310–312; KARL G. BOON, *Quinten Massys*, Amsterdam 1942, pp. 32 and 35; ANDRÉE DE BOSQUE, *Quinten Metsys*, Brüssel 1975, pp. 186–189; LARRY SILVER, *The paintings of Quinten Massys*, Montclair 1984, p. 210 and plate 37.



Fig. 22: Triptych of Quentin Massys, showing the globe for Lukas Rem (1519, Alte Pinakothek, Munich).

a crescent madonna in subtle coolness. Mounted underneath are the armorial bearings of Lukas Rem and his wife Anna Ehem from Augsburg which show the benefactors of the triptych.

On the left hand side you can find the right part of an iconographic globe, which depicts the Indian Ocean and the coasts of Africa in geographical distortion—exactly the area for which Rem, as agent of the trading house of the Welser, had to prepare the Indian enterprise. This is also demonstrated by a cross, which stands with its foot in India, showing that the benefactor had helped to put it up there.

The globe is accurately graduated with equator and tropics and bears a resemblance to the globes of the famous astronomer Johannes Schöner (1477–1547) from Nuremberg. It is considered possible that a real globe, which was probably in the possession of Lukas Rem, acted as a model to the Dutch painter.⁶⁶

66 HUBERT FREIHERR VON WELSER, *Der Globus des Lukas Rem*, in: *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 48 (1958), pp. 96–114, here p. 106.



Fig. 23: Globe map in Apian's script "Isagoge in Typum Cosmographicum", Landshut 1521.

4.8 The world illustration in a cosmographical work of Peter Apian (1521)

A similar description can be found in the treatise 'Isagoge in Typum Cosmographicum' by the Bavarian cartographer and astronomer Peter Apian in 1521.⁶⁷ There the city of Nuremberg is unmentioned, but you can distinguish the city of Venice ('Venetie'), the country of 'Portugal' as the leading kingdom in the time of exploration and the Indian trading city 'Callicut'.

If we look at these globe-maps it is important to consider that at the same time the "*Mundus Novus*" (America) was discovered, which can be seen in the portolan charts and world maps at the turning point between the middle ages and the early modern times. So far these maps had been mostly interpreted only

⁶⁷ Cf. the copy of the Austrian Academy of Science in Vienna, Woldan-collection, front page of the print in Landshut of 1521.

in relation to the discovery of America (West-India),⁶⁸ rarely in relation to Africa or East-India. But it is worth while looking closer at these famous cartographical products which mark a change in the history of cartography.

Conclusion

After the discovery of America and of the direct sea route to India, three ships, financed by a South German trade company, accompanied the expedition of the Portuguese Admiral Francisco de Almeida (ca.1450–1510) to East-India. They imported pepper to Portugal and made great profits. The Bavarian Balthasar Sprenger was one of the travellers to India in 1505/1506, and after his return he wrote a so far little-known book about his travels, printed in 1509. This book is the first travelogue about Africa and India in German language.

We have seen that the travelogue of Balthasar Sprenger is an excellent source for the Portuguese discoveries of 1505/06 to East-India, which have received little attention until now. Besides, the contemporary cartographic documents show a figurative concept of the newly discovered lands in the East. Travelogues and the history of cartography can thus serve as excellent sources for the history of discoveries.

Zusammenfassung

Nach der Entdeckung Amerikas und des direkten Seeweges nach Indien schlossen sich mehrere süddeutsche Handelshäuser unter der Vermittlung des deutschen Buchdruckers in Portugal, Valentim Fernandez, und des Augsburger Humanisten Konrad Peutinger zu einem Handelskonsortium zusammen. Insgesamt waren drei deutsche Schiffe an der unter der Flotte des portugiesischen Admirals Francisco de Almeida (ca. 1450–1510) geleiteten Expedition von 1505/1506 nach Indien beteiligt, um dort Pfeffer und andere östliche Spezereien einzuhandeln. Vor allem das Handelshaus der Welser konnte damit hohe Gewinne erzielen, während der Glanz der italienischen Hafenstädte Genua und Venedig, dem Geburtsort des modernen Kapitalismus und des Kolonialismus, langsam zu verblasen begann.

Über ›die Merfart vnd erfahrung nüwer Schiffung vnd Wege zu viln onerkanten Inseln vnd Künigreichen‹ gen Indien sind wir bestens durch den 1509 gedruckten Bericht des Allgäuers Balthasar Sprenger unterrichtet. Es handelt sich dabei um

68 CARLOS SANZ, *The Discovery of America – The Three Maps which Determined it, Promoted Knowledge of its Form and Fixed its Name*, in: *Terrae Incognitae* 6 (1974), pp. 77–84.

die erste Reisebeschreibung über Afrika und Indien in deutscher Sprache. Auf elf Seiten wird ausführlich in erzählendem Stil mit relativ natürlicher, ungekünstelter Sprache über die Hin- und Rückreise berichtet, während in einem nur drei Seiten umfassenden, zweiten Abschnitt von beschreibendem Duktus höchst interessante ethnographische Einzelheiten beschrieben werden.

Wesentliches Merkmal des Textes, der eine »*menmonische Kunst par excellence*« darstellt, ist ein neues Verständnis der Reiseberichterstattung, die nicht mehr antike-phantastische Monsterdarstellungen zum Thema hat, sondern vorwiegend vom Handel bestimmt wird.

Somit ist ein Wandel im Weltbild am Übergang des späten Mittelalters zur frühen Neuzeit erkennbar, der sich zugleich anhand von neuen, geographischen Kenntnissen zeigt, die sich vor allem in den zeitgenössischen kartographischen Werken des beginnenden 16. Jahrhunderts niedergeschlagen haben; so beispielsweise auf der Karte des Juan de la Cosa (1500), auf der Cantino-Karte (1502), auf der King-Hamy-Karte (um 1502) sowie auf der Karte des Canerio (um 1505). Daneben wurde die enge Beziehung zwischen illustrierten Reiseberichten und der Kartographiegeschichte erörtert.

Abbildungsnachweise:

BELL: Abb. 1, 10, 12 und 15: Schema des Autors.

Abb. 2–8, 11, 14, 16 wurden aus dem Palazzo Schifanoia mit freundlicher Genehmigung des Museo Civico di Schifanoia in Ferrara reproduziert.

Abb. 9 aus: Pietro Bono Avogaro, *Coniuntiones et oppositiones luminarium anni saluatoris nonri 1505 ad meridianum inclite ciuitatis Ferrarie calculata per celeberrimum*, 1504. Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati.

Abb. 13 aus: ABY WARBURG, *Die Erneuerung der heidnischen Antike. Kulturwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Geschichte der europäischen Renaissance*, Reprint der von Gertrud Bing editierten Ausg. von 1932, hg. von Horst Bredekamp und Michael Diers, Berlin 1998.

OPITZ: Abb. 1 aus: ALESSIO MONCIATTI, *Il Palazzo Vaticano nel Medioevo*, Florenz 2005, Abb. 22.

Abb. 2 und 3 aus: E. CLIVE ROUSE, AUDREY BAKER, *The Wall-Paintings at Longthorpe Tower near Peterborough, Northants*, in: *Archaeologia* 96 (1955), S. 1–57, Abb. 3 und 4.

Abb. 4 aus: MICHAEL STOLZ, *Wege des Wissens. Zur Konventionalität mittelalterlicher Artes-Bildlichkeit*, in: Eckart Conrad Lutz, Johanna Thali, René Wetzels (Hg.), *Literatur und Wandmalerei II. Konventionalität und Konversation*, Tübingen 2005, S. 273–301, Abb. 33.

Abb. 5 aus: GIORDANA BENAZZI, FRANCESCO FEDERICO MANCINI (Hg.), *Il Palazzo Trinci di Foligno*, Perugia 2001, Abb. 27.

ALBERTSON: Fig. 1 and 2: *De ludo globi*: Nicolaus de Cusa, *Dialogus de ludo globi*, *Opera Omnia IX*, ed. H.G. Senger, Hamburg 1998, p. 153.

HORST: Fig. 1: From the original in the Henry E. Huntington Library, reprinted in the Americana Series 176, Boston 1926.

Fig. 2: From the original in the British Museum, reprinted in the Americana Series 43, Boston 1921.

Fig. 3–11: Austrian National Library Vienna, Map Department, 390120-B. Kar.

Fig. 12: From the original in the Museo Correr (Venezia), revised by Uwe Kleim, Chair for Cartography and Topography, Bundeswehr University Munich, Neubiberg.

Fig. 13–21: Collection of facsimiles of old maps, Chair for Cartography and Topography, Bundeswehr University Munich, Neubiberg.

Fig. 22: Alte Pinakothek Munich, reprinted in: LARRY SILVER, *The paintings of Quinten Massys*, Montclair 1984, Plate 37.

Fig. 23: Austrian Academy of Sciences (Vienna), The Woldan Collection, G-II: WE 14.