

Writing New Worlds

Writing New Worlds:

The Cultural Dynamics of Curiosity in Early Modern Europe

By

Marília dos Santos Lopes

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By Marília dos Santos Lopes

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INTRODUCTION

THE CULTURAL DYNAMICS OF CURIOSITY IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE

Writing New Worlds seeks to analyse the different ways in which travel literature constituted a fundamental pillar to the production of knowledge in the Modern Era. Travel literature contributed to the discovery of both, the individual and the world around. It was subject to profound and deep reaching reflection and debate from the 15th century onwards for different reasons and interests in keeping with the prolific and diversified dissemination of knowledge.

The astonishing frequency of publication and the widespread locations of translations and editions account for a leading and essential contribution of travel literature for a better understanding and awareness about the dynamics and practices associated with the task of decoding the prose of the world (Foucault, 1966). These texts, some of them accompanied by illustrations, covered a broad and extensive panoply of languages, grammars and ways of seeing, translating and writing new worlds in their meaning and relevance. Thus, the present study aims at showing how the authors of the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries responded to the challenges of modernity and at inquiring more precisely and specifically about the cultural and strategic dynamics underway within the framework of grasping and understanding the New.

Within this scope and based upon concrete cases, *Writing New Worlds* explores and demonstrates the role played by an important and essential characteristic of modern man: curiosity. Curiosity is certainly not exclusive to the modern era, but remains, as defined by the landmark work by Jacob Burckhardt, a central axis or, alternatively, a “crucial first or intermediate stage in a linear quest for knowledge” (2004, 165) that typified this historical period, as Neil Kenny states.

Even while Neil Kenny defends on various occasions that his work was not about presenting the role of curiosity as a paradigm (like in Blumenberg, 1973), his book on *The Uses of Curiosity in early modern*

France and Germany nevertheless highlights certain “narrating tendencies” in reporting on events and very “curious” themes, describing these “curiosities” in such a way as if they were revealing afore hidden knowledge. It would also be through this capacity to describe and narrate that the observer and the teller would become able to conquer and dominate the “curiosities” and thereby allowing for new achievements in the “Entzauberung der Welt” (Max Weber), in the disenchantment of the world that, little by little, and based upon its diverse narrative ways, would come to determine and shape a new state of knowledge.

Here, travel and voyage emerge as a particular cultural context highly relevant to the cultural dynamics of curiosity and testifying to its capacity to drive collections and narrations. The construction of modernity took place through travelling as Jás Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubiés affirm:

The literature of travel not only exemplifies the multiple facets of modern identity, but it is also one of the principal cultural mechanisms, even a key cause, for the development of modern identity since the Renaissance. A cultural history of travel invites us to examine the relationship between modern subjectivity and the ancient and medieval past from, and against, which the modern West has constructed its set of self-definitions (Elsner, Rubiés, 1999: 4).

The cultural dynamics driving curiosity within the patterns of modernity and in the ordering of modern knowledge constitute the *leitmotiv* of this book.

Having first launched our research into the reception of Portuguese travel literature in Germany several decades ago, this endowed a singular characteristic on our work. On the one hand, the lack of knowledge on the plethora of Portuguese documental sources, with renowned exceptions such as the great names in travel literature and, on the other hand, the fact that the Germanic Roman Empire, according to many, simply had not played a leading role in the vanguard of the exploration and detailing of these new lands and realities and resulting in historiography not attributing the empire with any great importance within this scope, which we came to reject in our earlier works. In truth, not only did German printing presses play a decisive role in formulating a new image of the world, but we also know of active and defining participations and collaborations in the maritime endeavour itself. Thus, analysis of the less studied documentation and the scope for comparative or even transnational analysis on occasion proved both stimulating and, simultaneously, symptomatic of the aspects and *nuances* as to the ways in which the New

was approached and dealt with in the European modern period, especially as regards the cultural dynamics of curiosity, its strategies and models.

Back in 1982, Tzvetan Todorov published what would prove a benchmark reference work on the 'discovery' of the Other: *Conquest of America. The Question of the other*. The author accepted that in choosing to approach them, the resulting knowledge and the consequent “invention” he would consider as determining the ways in which he looks at and perceives the present. Subjecting the premises and typologies of intercultural understanding to question, Tzvetan Todorov then highlighted the discovery of the Other(s) as a timeless theme.

Analysis of the intercultural relationship became, in the wake of this work, a decisive and important field of research and reflection as regards the diversity and multiplicity of contacts in different regions of the globe, between distinct and different peoples as is witnessed in the works of Anthony Pagden (Pagden, 1986, 1993) or, for example, in the work coordinated by Stuart Schwartz (Schwartz, 1994) under the title *Implicit Understandings, Observing, reporting and reflecting on the encounters between Europeans and other Peoples in the early modern era*, alongside the valuable contribution by Urs Bitterli, in his renowned *Die Wilden und die Zivilisierten* translated into Spanish with the title *Los Selvagens e los civilizados* (Bitterli, 1982, 1986), in which the author delineates a typology for meetings between European and non-European cultures, as published in English under the title *Cultures in Conflict* (Bitterli, 1989).

Here, we need to reference how interdisciplinary dialogue, which has long since been underway and formulating the shaping of history, takes on specific, concrete and innovative dimensions in this field of research. Understandably, the works of anthropologists such as Clifford Geertz (1988), Hans Peter Duerr (1985), Karl-Heinz Kohl (1982; 1993), James Clifford (1997), alongside the studies by Michel Foucault (1966), Edward Said (1979) and Stephen Greenblatt (1991) held enormous repercussions for the approaches made to these themes and especially on the reading and interpretation of texts such as travel accounts and narratives.

Clifford Geertz, in turn, highlighted the need for a “thick description” (Geertz, 1973), in which man, in the wake of Max Weber, is the narrator of layers of meaning that he himself wove and, consequently, posited that culture resulted from different means of grouping and overlaying these same webs, renewing the contents of questions and opening up new debates about the producers of artefacts and texts, their designs and their

means of perceiving and writing about the reality observed. In *Works and Lives, The Anthropologist as Author*, Geertz draws attention to the literary or “subjective” narratives in the description of Others, in which the Other emerges as if the construction of a figure of art. Geertz stresses how this construction influences the gaze on and the representation of the Other as a constant factor in human cultural relations (Geertz, 1988).

Within this framework, we would also note how the works of Hans Peter Duerr (1984), in his then controversial book on the boundaries between “barbarism and culture”, highlight how the route from understanding that other reality to its “translation”, hitherto deemed simple and linear, turns out to be a long and hard process of apprehending knowledge. This represents a similar approach to the work by James Clifford entitled *Writing Cultures* (Clifford/Marcus, 1986), which certainly played its role in our title becoming *Writing New Worlds*.

In this mushrooming of innovative themes whether to History, Anthropology, Literature or Cultural Studies, especially in the wake of the *post-colonial turn* (Williams/Chrisman, 1994; Poddar/Patke/Jensen, 2008), many different approaches thrived, stemming, for example, from the need to know more about the ways in which communications got established between European and non-European peoples (Bachmann-Medick, 2006: 184-237). Within this scope, and naturally and significantly, there was particular attention paid to the writings that had come to fruition out of the desire and the will to tell of unprecedented and unique facts as in the case of travel literature (Bachmann-Medick, 2006: 258). The point would arrive when it stamped its mark as a credible and authentic source for the recognition and representation of new worlds (Harbsmeier, 1982; Neuber, 1991).

Based upon a wide variety of texts, travel literature did not always come in for acceptance by scholars as a true and authentic source (Brenner, 1989). In effect, only in more recent decades did travel accounts become a valid working tool to historical science given the hitherto prevailing suspicion of their more literary content. Studies such as that by Luís Filipe Barreto (Barreto, 1983, 1986) demonstrated the merit of these works that then entered into consideration as a perceptive mirror image of their authors and thus a priceless document on the spheres of thinking of the then Europeans. By seeking to represent the visited sites, travel literature presents simultaneously a witness to the prevailing “prefiguration” and the conceptions of their authors (Opitz, 1997; Nünning, 2009). ‘Writing new worlds’ is, after all, a way of world making (Goodman, 1978).

As regards the geographic chronicles and compendiums of the 16th and 17th centuries, we witness a similar case. In truth, these works spent a long period of time silenced, so to speak, due to their alleged lack of authenticity, originality and thematic objectiveness. However, these sources of 'lesser value', second or third hand, prove priceless in comprehensively and clearly unravelling the coordinating strands to a period. The recognition of such sources would therefore become step by step an acquired fact whether to the history of geography (Broc, 1986; Lestringant, 1993) or the history of anthropology as already demonstrated by Margaret Hodgen (1964).

A fundamental question would arise in the reading of travel literature, to wit how, given an unknown landscape and reality and without any opportunity for communication due to the lack of knowledge about the multiple languages, might contacts have been maintained, how might the sailors have engaged in negotiations in the lands encountered as they went about 'discovering' them? These sources make a diverse range of references to, for example, the signs, gestures, exchanges and words deployed and reveal a highly varied array of practices and instruments applied by voyagers as they attempt to communicate. And how do you tell of unknown realities? Which process of translation and mediation can be identified? Correspondingly, the accounts that emerged constitute 'translations' of a reality which in itself kept silent, inviting for invention more than for representation, following to a wide extent the patterns and norms of the target culture more than respecting the "silence" of the unknown.

This also represents the route taken by *Writing New Worlds*, which, beginning in the late 1980s, extended onwards in its constant search to respond to the central and underlying question to this journey: how did the European scholars and writers of the early Modern Age react, how did they adopt and appropriate the knowledge gathered and, simultaneously, what were the impacts of these experiences and inputs into the knowledge produced and elaborated in modern Europe?

In the expectation of answering these questions, there are three particular moments in which we shall depict the ways of knowing. From the outset, we would highlight that these are not closed and sealed stages but rather, on the contrary, are profoundly interconnected whilst providing the framework for distinguishing between different moments in the processes of observation, collection, organisation and the ordering of the facts, experiences and teachings gathered and conveyed by the different actors

participating in the production, dissemination and construction of a new understanding.

Thus, the first stage, which we term here *Collecting News*, features case studies on the ways in which the art of describing, learning and presenting what was seen and heard became formulated as a narrative (Bal, 2004) that would define the pillars and conceptions about the world. The second moment seeks to delineate just how this collecting of news was associated with a permanent questioning, querying and restructuring that gained in significance, for example, in literary and visual representations, in keeping with how the arts reveal this crucial characteristic of swiftly grasping and recognising the vectors of changes and seeking out the tools and instruments able to give form, space and expression to them and thus entitled *Voyages, the Visual and the Arts*. As these two moments have already served to emphasise, this bountiful proliferation of facts and their visible and effective presence in the cultural and intellectual debate ongoing in modern Europe drove a new management of knowledge that strove to be thorough and global. Aware that the main source of knowledge stems from empirical experiences, the promoters of these new findings set out to produce other means of knowledge within a constant search to complete the shortcomings, silences and gaps. The varied examples articulating this production of a new order of knowledge make up the theme of *Travel, Experience and Knowledge*.

Collecting News

Alvise Cadamosto, author of one of the first texts on the marvels and surprise at encountering an unknown world, and recognised as such, a new world extending beyond the equator, stated that his work arose from the “many new things and worthy of reporting” that led him to decide to set off for the South Atlantic with the objective of unfurling this “other world”. It is the “discovery of a new world” that embellishes the discourse of the Italian explorer in the service of the Portuguese Prince Henry and thus there did emerge that travelling narrator who, curious and attentive to the newness of what was seen, did not hesitate in picking up his quill to leave an account of his observations and impressions, and fully aware from the outset of the relevance as an act worthy of remaining alive in the memory of men.

The act of writing travel accounts in the modern era emerged with the eventual reader very much in mind; this was not merely some exercise in self-reflection even while, first and foremost, this was a personal account,

but their authors never forgot – and this aspect proves highly important – that their primary function and role involved conveying their experiences and alongside the real and precise knowledge acquired on the way to those who, not having travelled with them, nevertheless still wished to share in the adventure or the documental value of their writings.

Travel literature established a new cultural panorama. Mercenaries, diplomats, printers or traders were the authors of such texts, like Alvise Cadamosto, an entrepreneurial and active man who knew how to take advantage of the opportunities and experiences that life provided him. He very much represents an example of someone who, out of his awareness of the present moment, proved able to identify and diagnose the then ongoing transformations.

The extent to which this account conveyed and enthusiastically defined the newness of this new world reflects in the fact that in 1507 the humanist Francaziano Montalboddo was already publishing the text by Alvise Cadamosto in a collection entitled *Paesi novamente ritrovati...*, which was itself swiftly followed by further editions across the rest of Europe (Lopes, 1992: 55).

There is the sheer surprise caused by the discovery of another world, as highlighted by Stephen Greenblatt (Greenblatt, 1991), that led the Italian Cadamosto, in the service of Prince Henry, to write his account within the scope of collecting the new that might be observed and described on the voyage from Lisbon to the White Cape. Thus came about his notes on the voyage, on unexpected lands that proved surprisingly green and fertile with healthy looking and finely shaped peoples, curious men and good swimmers, with various never before seen fruits and animals such as that which oddly and interestingly appeared to be either a cow or a horse and yet would equally traverse the land and the water, and that would only a great deal of time later get termed the hippopotamus.

As with this particular traveller who visited these new worlds at a very initial phase on a voyage lasting from 1455 to 1456, many other travellers of the early modern times would also become, in addition to their own unheard of feats, authors of accounts and descriptions in what was perceived as an assiduous and vital task of gathering data and information on what they had had the opportunity to observe and witness. This attitude, which obviously extended beyond the new worlds themselves, may be recognised in both Europe and in each respective country through the appearance of novelties susceptible to undergoing collection, description

and finally set down on paper driven by the desire to leave behind a witness account and detailing a reality that would seem to demand its place in writing and thus in the collective memory.

The revelations that the explorers brought back from their travels through Europe to the Orient and from the maritime voyages (Reichert, 2001) amount to a substantial part of what would constitute the Renaissance and Modernity in Europe. The context of constant encounters and revelations led the travellers to formulate signs of change. Newness by newness, these men told of other lands, other peoples, other uses and customs. A vast and prolific textual production bore witness to all the major news. It does not come as any surprise that one of the main characteristics of these writings stemmed from the effect of the first person. The narrator or raconteur (the *Reiseschreiber* as Alfred Opitz baptised him; Opitz 1997) conveyed the person who had gathered the data, the observations, the events and the reflections and who is informing the reader. In these texts, we enter into contact with the 'I' who saw, did or encountered – in a permanent *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* (Greenblatt, 1980).

Whilst, on the one hand, this is the dynamic of individual discovery that shapes and models these texts, on the other, there is the impulsive strength of the newness that pressured these men into writing. In fact, the realities that they come to present shall, as may be found in the vast majority of the texts subject to study, throw the reader permanently into surprise, into astonishment. This is the nature that proves a hallucinating novelty along with the peoples who, despite the similarities, countered expectations in proving so different and intriguing, or the very world, that in the surprise of revealing another, was itself renewed. This was the “wonder of the new” as Stephen Greenblatt (Greenblatt, 1991) put it. In his perspective, and based on texts belonging to the same genre, awe and amazement are core characteristics to this Renaissance world. *Wonder* is, in his opinion, the expression of surprise towards the others. According to Greenblatt, the voyage of Christopher Columbus triggered a century of intense awe and wonder. However, what does it mean to have this experience of the miraculous? In practice, the difficulty of conveying this reality encapsulates this act of marvel, an act of such excitement. The miraculous makes up a central theme to the complex system of visual, aesthetic and philosophic representation through which the peoples of the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance learned and therefore either possessed or dismissed the non-familiar, the strange, the terrible (Greenblatt, 1991: 38-40).

In effect, the absolutely New – and even before the voyage of Columbus, as is the case of Cadamosto – is a constant presence in the texts of these authors striving, mostly through writing, to record that which amazed and marvelled them. Lacking both in knowledge and in vocabulary, they ended up making recourse to metaphors that quite certainly would also formulate “deceptions of the gaze” (Hélder Macedo, in Gil/Macedo, 1998: 203-212) but which then seemed the only option for defining this extraordinary newness, whether in terms of the discoveries in nature or the encounters with other individuals.

The image of the world as it was hitherto known did not correspond to this recently drafted sketch. The contemporaries revelled in the new discoveries about the layout of the world. However, how might the witness accounts of these voyages best be interpreted? Did these new discoveries from across the seas represent an unexpected new world or were they a hitherto ignored part of the old world? The voyages along the then unknown African coastline bore witness to a strange and unknown world, hence new. The accounts of the voyages, the chronicles and compendiums, brought to the public marvellous and unprecedented news about previously ignored regions and their never before seen peoples.

This climate of creating new cultural frameworks would reserve a privileged place for the reporters of this newness. Within this environment of *curiositas*, observation and knowledge about the human being became one of the sectors receiving the greatest impact (Krüger, 2002). The information about these other human realities, about different ways of living, different institutions and different behaviours triggered an intensive and broad reaching civilizational dialogue; the gaining of knowledge about other forms of governance, other beliefs, other habits and customs, other forms of policy not only provided the scope for learning about some new and different realities but also completed that which was already known.

The confrontation with the Other unconditionally generated a gaze, or better, a comparison between the reality of the observer and that which was new (König/Reinhard/Wendt, 1989). And what proved a still greater surprise, this other was in turn not unique. On the contrary, the terrestrial orb would throw up in discovery a diversity of other realities with different facets and nuances, as Hans Staden demonstrated on his voyage to Brazil, where he would encounter a different natural habitat but also populated by peoples with strange habits and customs. In reporting on this land, Staden, as did other travellers and explorers, included descriptions of its peoples, the Brazilian Indian, and, along with the nature, also a source of great

amazement and curiosity. In fact, he also proved responsible for setting down many and long pages dedicated to the “invention of the Brazilian Indian” (Pinto, 1992), which, in opposition to prodigious nature, proved able to continuously and generously convey new and marvellous details for which he would not miss out on requesting hymns of praise and congratulations with his descriptions of these people oscillating between awe and admiration. This theme of discovering nature will remain, for century after century, a symbol of Brazilian uniqueness with the same theme having soon been taken up by early modern travel literature. Indeed, in the case of the description of Brazil, this would figure as one of the most high profile of all themes (Seixas, 2003). On sighting uncharted lands, sailors such as Amerigo Vespucci or Pero Vaz de Caminha set their gazes on the leafy and multi-coloured nature, feeling protected by the temperate airs that made them feel of this “lodge” a pleasant and welcoming garden apt to softening the unpredictable gales of the Atlantic, with attention and regular contact confirming to them the prodigious qualities of these lands. In sum, this proves one of the key drivers behind the emergence of writing dedicated to the physical realities of Brazil.

The awareness of the experiences these explorers gathered over the course of their voyages reflected in their sense of responsibility in leaving behind a witness account testifying to the often strangely disturbing differences. The maritime voyages thus brought back with them the problematic issue of the New and the different to European culture. With the portraits defined by those who had seen such newness for the first time and with their own eyes, these works constitute a priceless contribution to analytically profiling and interpreting these other lands, their peoples and societies.

However, just how best to share such knowledge, such experiences? This necessarily involved drafting new strategies, new models or being able to, as happened in many cases, reformulate, add on or adapt the structure inherited from the legacy of classical antiquity, itself undergoing a rediscovery. The cases vary as to their respective scholars and hence we cast our attention over the different examples and realities.

Many of the travel accounts emerged out of the need to inventory the facts and the arguments regarding that which the Portuguese poet again asked in his epic *Lusitadas* (I, 45): “Que gente será esta?” – “What people shall these be?”

The revelation of the existence of peoples south of the equator, documented by the statements of sailors, would cause doubts and uncertainties as to the realities observed and hence the importance attributed to observing, detailing and describing in order to, following a due period of close and continuous contacts, draw lessons and write summaries.

The discovery of lands populated with previously ignored peoples resulted in multiple different reactions. The witness accounts of peoples, who were after all Adamites and hence no different to those hitherto known, contradicted the prevailing idea of anthropoid monsters living in far distant and remote lands. Instead, these were peoples with habits, often strange, but simultaneously fantastic and marvellous enough to attract the attention of any European. The exhaustive knowledge built up on the different cultures and civilisations dotted around the world constituted one of the areas with the greatest impact on the dialogue with the new, as the account of the German Hans Staden testifies in relation to Brazil or that of Otto Friedrich von der Groeben on the West African coastline, as well as the representations of the ways in which the Hottentots were perceived and described in the accounts written by voyagers travelling between 1498 and 1708.

However, this group of authors also contained those who had not themselves embarked on voyages of discovery but nevertheless felt just as impelled by the newness as the explorers themselves and strove to gather information and news from those able to provide such accounts. This is the case not only with the chronicler Gomes Eanes de Zurara who, in writing his work based on the observations gathered in Lisbon, would go on to formulate one of the first Portuguese texts on the new discoveries made along the African coastline, but also with the Moravian printer Valentim Fernandes who, as a fellow resident in the Portuguese capital, grasped the unprecedented and unique details told by the sailors and reserved some of the titles published by his typography to report on these news as a core priority. However, while his great curiosity and desire to spread the knowledge led the humanist printer Valentim Fernandes to issue publications on the new discoveries in the early 16th century, a century later and certainly by the late 17th century, these themes and news had spread and gained the front pages of the first magazines and newspapers published in Hamburg, a city always attentive and well connected with other parts of the known globe and especially with the Iberian Peninsula, as detailed in *Relationes Curiosae* by the erudite writer Eberhard Werner Happel.

The actors engaged in the collection and ordering of details and facts naturally include various of the sailors and explorers but also men of letters from different national backgrounds, cultures and languages, and their exercises, experiments and experiences display correspondingly different emphases and nuances even while all embrace the same motivation or “passion” (as Stephen Greenblatt set it out), that is to say *curiositas*. Curiosity would condition the search for elements and dynamics capable of clarifying the revelation of another world that was steadily becoming known, with each observation and reading proving far broader and more diversified than might otherwise be imagined. Collecting is an act of apprehension that becomes steadily clearer and most decidedly a practice and way of being that took root and expanded in the modern period, but not only in this period, as James Clifford points out in presenting such a *modus* within the scope of the European identity as “a strategy for the deployment of a possessive self, culture, and authenticity” (Clifford, 1988: 218).

The concrete work of mapping and describing, first undertaken by the different voyagers, resulted in the commonly recognised singularity of travel literature: rendering the world visible through new news and information.

Voyages, the Visual and the Arts

The recognition of the information collated by travellers would subsequently trigger new practices for experiencing and thereby rendering visible the knowledge acquired. As has already been highlighted, such new means were required precisely because such details came from unknown boundaries and immediately declared themselves as new, a fact very much stressed in the travel accounts on the new worlds. These sought to raise the interest and curiosity of others who were not able to see these worlds with their own eyes and wanted them deciphered for their understanding and characteristic of “a wide variety of acts of ‘making’ in the Renaissance”. And, furthermore, both artists and scientists were inherently involved in this creating of “virtuous” knowledge so crucial and of great value to scientific practice (Spiller, 2004: 39). In this sense, news brought up by travel literature would take on different forms of expression and the data gathered and processed would begin to take its place and prove of relevance not only to texts but also to multiple creative languages. Hence, also in cartography, in striving to trace these new horizons and categorise new territories and regions, it is the images that, whether in isolation or as a fundamental and integral component of the printed works, would live on

through the multiple editions churned out by the most renowned typographies of modern Europe as well as the capital *fundus* of ‘possible worlds’ so necessary and essential to the literary constructions recreating the ambiances and figures in accordance with the recent revelations that continued to render this newness visible.

In fact, the visual arts, or artistic language in more general terms, constitute an important feature in the translation of new realities given the capacity to formulate notes, facts and structures revealing the physical and evident presence of these new realities that enable knowledge to become unquestionably knowledge. On many occasions, art produces knowledge even before many other forms of learning have proven able to formulate and define a new interpretative grammar as has already been duly signposted by Svetlana Alpers, specifically in terms of the cartography contained in her work *The Art of Describing* (Alpers, 1983). However, this also held for other areas of knowledge, especially art and the works of a still inaugural science as duly highlighted by Pamela Smith and Paula Findlen in their work *Merchants and Marvels. Commerce, Science and Art in Early Modern Europe* (Smith/Findlen, 2002).

The visual descriptions thus translate the descriptive accounts in images or representations of a new order of knowledge as well illustrated by Stefanie Leitch in her work *Mapping ethnography in early modern Germany: new worlds in print culture* (Leitch, 2010). There was a need to map new territories, present different natures, describe plants, animals, peoples and habits, all unprecedented and unimaginable, and which, despite all the major difficulties in reaching the appropriate designations and vocabulary, gradually built up into a fundamental component of a *documental fundus* about the world and its circumstances.

The justification posited for the translation of Portuguese travel literature into other European languages generally refers to the great *in loco* experience that the accounts make available and that this world could only ever be rendered through reading the narrative that came from the quills of the travellers. Translators and publishers both recognised and swiftly praised this *ad vivum* work and published throughout all Europe news and information from these curious and interested observers. However, this does not apply only to the case of the Portuguese accounts, as whenever it came to translating there was a constant and enormous interest that led to the dissemination of information or even to the ambition to possess such new objects and artefacts all over Europe in the *Wunder- und Kunstkammer* collections. Collecting represented a “habit of curiosity” (Benedict, 2001:

2) that started out with seeing, one of the most valued of all senses. However, seeing would duly transform into an appropriation of both objects and knowledge fostering a line between seeing, possessing and controlling, which would turn the individual into a master of knowledge.

However, while the *Wunder- und Kunstkammern* were private collections and hence restricted to those who were able to allow for this “luxury” of collecting evidence and pieces representing the diversity of the world, the arts and global visual cultures went about making a major contribution towards the proliferation of new data and information about the globe. Hence, there are no doubts as to the great power that the typographic sector, particularly in Central Europe, played in the formulation of the images and engravings that profusely illustrated the texts published by different ateliers and workshops. Therefore attention has to be paid to the ways and means by which the resonances of the iconographic forms and supports emerged in contemporary works. In truth, the travel accounts, whether Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, German or Dutch, entered into the public domain throughout Europe in editions of great value and of artistic and cultural merit. Hence, an emphasis of the role played by this mediation is required that, as Roger Chartier (Chartier, 2014) highlights, strengthens the very conceptualisation of the written text. Alongside their original authors, these translators are mediating agents as both constructors and inventors of the knowledge undergoing visualisation and conceptualisation.

In fact, the European artists, scholars and editors of the 16th and 17th centuries did not remain indifferent to the remarkable maritime reports and reflected in their own editorial programmes the active aim of providing the public with significant works on these other worlds and realities. We correspondingly encounter cosmographies, historical, religious, scientific and literary works that, as with the travel accounts, serve as mirrors onto this newness. Emerging out of the continent’s typographies, they would join the *Wunder- und Kunstkammer* in providing their readers with insights into the exotic landscapes, plants and unusual animals, peoples from far distant regions in their traditional clothing with weapons and products in a colourful and different panoply of unknown and picturesque environments. Very often, and certainly in a majority of cases, the artists were not the travellers, but across all of Europe there appeared outlines, works, publications that collectively formulated a graphical discourse complementary to the personal and individual witness accounts of texts and amounting to a rich iconographic archive of unquestionable value to the formation and management of knowledge in Europe. Alongside the written sources, the visual arts also narrated and visualised these curious

and surprising new findings and set down prevailing documents on the construction and conceptualisation of the world.

The pages of many publications in Europe filled with portraits of a world, as if some kind of album that had suddenly become boundless and featured a hitherto unimaginable diversity and variety. Thanks to the work of the engravers, who set down information as regards the human types, their clothing (for example, Christoph Weiditz in his *Trachtenbuch*), activities and professional and cultural practices, fleshing out and spatially rendering the contours and profiles of an apparently unknown world, this new world was able to emerge from obscurity. Hence, it should come as no surprise that iconography took on the role of a source revealing fundamental information and details – and even the role of creator of genuine means of representation such as what was known as *Turquerie* in the iconography of the 16th century. The engravers, and also the editors, deciphered the texts, decoded the information into images and, as with other men of learning, undertook a creative task in reformulating the boundaries and limits to the world. The silhouette that they outlined of the world and its inhabitants conveys the conscious affirmation of a work done out of a clear sense of duty.

Whilst these cultural agents had yet to explicitly formulate, as David Hume would do at a later date, “(...) that love of truth, which (is) the first source of all our enquiries” (in Benedict, 2001: 1), they were also already striving to ground their work in the credibility of those who saw, *ad vivum*. Hence, the iconography correspondingly endowed visibility on the very agents enabling the awareness of this new information. They serve as the representational go-betweens in the words of Alida Metcalf, especially mediators such as Amerigo Vespucci who would become the prototype of the scholar or missionary in his double role as explorer of new lands and as symbol of a European presence, bearing witness to the authenticity and credibility of the revelations made. In this sense, the artists are also dedicated to the visualisation of a reality hitherto unknown and thereby complying with a decisive role as mediators.

These cultural dynamics, which led some to describe, others to map and establish categories to order and classify whether according to words, schemes, sketches or in works of art, all express the mental will to learn and reflect, a characteristic of the emerging modern Europe. In different parts of Europe, we may encounter artists, authors, translators, editors, publishers, scholars commonly gathered around the printers' workshops and frequently and actively interconnected in networks enabling the

identification of the places and/or groups driving the production and management of knowledge (Burke, 1997).

However, this desire for visualisation which highlights vision as the most important of the senses does not mean that writings, images or even maps represent reality. As we know, and as Stuart Clark warns in *Vanities of the Eye. Vision in early modern European Culture*, (Clark, 2007), what we see is also a construction of the ways of looking and understanding the object under observation. The looking is also a process of apprehension and appropriation that may be trained, exercised and rationalised. Thus, and just as Voltaire would later come to state, just as we learn how to speak then so do we learn how to see with the exercise of this sense influenced by different variables, nature itself, external impulses, personal understandings or experiences. Though there might not be a linear history of perception, one has to recognize the efforts and the intentions to build up a visibility of what was observed. This indeed represents one of the criteria underlying the works produced, whether in writing or in image that both projected and rescaled that which was acquired through seeing.

Hence, reflection and the consequent learning also extend to the narrations, the tales told about the distant, far-off but equally feasible worlds. This encapsulates the success of Fernão Mendes Pinto, whose work, as with many travel accounts, initially elicited certain doubts as to the veracity of its information and details but that would in any case swiftly spread across Europe as demonstrated by the countless translations, and always carried out by men bound up with modernity, by the constructive spirit and the scientific content and which increasingly proved a text that extended beyond its literary qualities to stand as an important source of knowledge.

Furthermore, there were new literary genres invented or inaugurated as happened with the already mentioned poly-historian Eberhard Werner Happel. As in a *Wunder- und Kunstkammer*, Happel exposed and placed before the eyes of readers, in an ordered sequence of curiosities and curious accounts, a narrative of more knowledge and science as well as the products and realities of a world revealing its full extent and that wished to be understood given that its works, as if storehouses of curiosities, were a genuine and authentic place of curiosity (Frühsorge, 1974: 200). Within the scope of meeting the challenges set down by the material and by the need to ponder on them came long and intricate novels, many of them over a thousand pages long, written out of the desire and the passion to satiate the curiosity of the many readers avid for seeing and knowing more about

this world and the other possible worlds. Acquiring such knowledge then was simultaneously useful and a matter of pleasure.

Travel, Experience and Knowledge

In this “art of describing”, the physical and human representation of the globe takes on great relevance and reflects from the outset an essential facet and characteristic of the management of knowledge in the Modern Era. Thus, it was not by chance that the first projects expressed their clear and open homage to a new art: geography.

Recognising the world and mapping the many regions that were only now revealed to the eyes and the knowledge of Europe stemmed from the perseverance, courage and confidence of many young men who thus gave “new worlds to the world” (Luís de Camões) and were, to their contemporaries, a reason for great rejoicing as demonstrated by many of the geographic works of the Renaissance (Lopes, 1992: 104-131). Thus, it was no accident that, alongside a major proportion of the illustrated travel collections, much of the cartography was printed in the North of Europe with the atlas above all the object of an unprecedented level of production and profile. Known as “that which describes the world” or as “descriptions of the world”, the atlas presented a macroscopic image of the world to its readers and observers who, in turn, recognised in such sources an attitude of “amazement” at this singular and unprecedented portrait of the world. Map engravings undoubtedly constituted a highly effective instrument deployed in the discovery of the “causes of things” and in the consequent dissemination of the knowledge therein contained and an essential means of representing the spaces of the world. This also stands out as a theme that authors approached in their texts, with their descriptions striving to progressively complete those areas still left empty by the cartographic knowledge then existing.

Courtesy of these observations and their respective descriptions, it steadily proved possible to attain this feat of conquering and dominating a new *mappa mundi*. The history of an open world and all the intensive communication ongoing between the different spaces derives from the completion of the voyages of exploration and the euphoric writings set down in the early Modern Age.

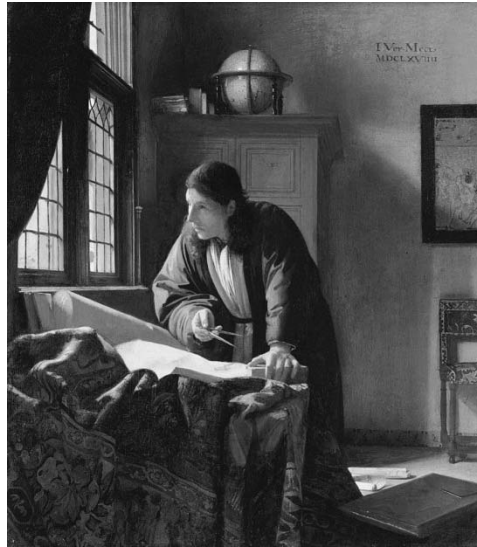


Fig. 1 Johannes Vermeer: *The Geographer*, c. 1668–1669

We would note how these *mappae mundi* emblematically portray the ongoing discovery and revelation of a contemporary world as indeed clearly expressed by the Dutch painter Jan van Vermeer in *The Geographer*, one of his works dedicated to representing this new field of knowledge. With his compass in hand, a symbol of knowledge and possession, this builder of the world undertakes preparation of yet another map: the distant gaze certainly recalling the zones and the lines requiring drawing. In the background, on top of a wardrobe, a globe and books blatantly reference this new knowledge and learning gathered by cosmopolitan and curious men, and such men who had described, measured, mapped and finally drawn with every confidence and mastery. This clearly embodies one of the greatest conquests of the Renaissance man: mastery of the world. That this was not a sense of pride exclusive to geographers may be confirmed by considering how, in a significant proportion of the paintings by Vermeer, we may identify various maps hanging on walls that, beyond serving as a decorative feature, bear witness to the geographic revolution of his time.

Indeed, the maps symbolised the construction of a new awareness about the world and its physical and human representations. Travel accounts established new readings of the world and were, therefore, interpreted as

the first geographies (or proto-geographies) on Africa, Asia and Brazil. For the first time, these accounts described the lands and peoples that had never before been seen, across different continents, and cartographically setting out a new map of the earthly planet. This is a source of great knowledge to the Renaissance world (Barreto/Garcia, s/d: 18) which quickly translated into European society and arts (Brook, 2009), fostering interactions and communications between different geographic areas and cultures and thereby projecting a *World in Movement* (Russel-Wood, 1998).

In learning of the geographies and the unknown continents, the accounts firstly formulated a recognition and a record of the different signs in the world. Whether in Africa, in India or in Brazil, the desired goal remained the same: recording and presenting the new “prose of the world” (Michel Foucault). Seeking out landscape and human similitudes within the scope of decoding this world, these texts and their observations prove essential supports to the making of new *mappae mundi* whether drawn or in text. Hence, these writings prove irreplaceable revelations about knowledge of the new world and correspondingly legacies of the capacities of the human being to search beyond the boundaries for the mysteries of the terrestrial orb as we may indeed encounter, e.g., in *Mapping Goa*.

Understandably gaining equal reference is the art of navigation without which the observations, experiences and knowledge in the meanwhile disseminated would never have been attained. The sailors thus came in for consideration and portrayal as true and significant scholars as without their intent, their wisdom and bravery they would never have engaged in the voyages they planned, structured and undertook. Amerigo Vespucci represents one such case, without ignoring many of the controversies bound up with his name, who would in graphical art particularly perpetuate the image of a student of the skies and the seas and able to stand alongside many of the other inventors of the modern world. Furthermore, whether their works be on-board diaries, route maps or descriptions, they constitute the earliest attempts to order what was seen. Structuring their view so as to rebuild routes, lines, these nautical works from the outset defined a desire to identify and classify.

With this passion for collecting, mapping and rebuilding the practice of experience arose. And these men with their maritime ventures are an example of just how knowledge gets acquired through invention, through the risk of the unknown or through the power of fiction. Elizabeth Spiller seeks in her book *Science, Reading, and Literature. The Art of Making*

Knowledge, 1580-1670 (2004) to draw attention precisely to the role that fictional works always held – even today whenever not seeking to duly recognise – and in particular in this period, over both creative acts and scientific undertakings. Science does not just result from the facts – it needs demonstrating and proving to which writing and the narrative are certainly an important, where not fully decisive, resource and an essential framework. Furthermore, Spiller defends the greatest of proximity between science and literature as we may duly witness in the case of the works by Garcia da Orta. Orta's *Colloquies* constitute one of the first encyclopaedias of oriental botany written in dialogue between two characters, Ruano and Orta, symbols of a meeting between two orders of knowledge, the classical and the modern. In a long and articulate text, which may be taken as a philosophical work, the reflection extends across the most recent observations and experiences of the oriental botanical world. This book, given its accuracy and detailed information, was picked up by Carolus Clusius, who translated it into Latin and rendered it an unquestionable source of knowledge on oriental botany and the discovery of plants.

The theoretical reflection resulting from the innovative practices and experiences does not in fact mean that the knowledge inherited and prevailing lost its value. As in the case of Garcia da Orta, the weighting of the facts acquired *in situ* along with the knowledge he inherited from the classics during his studies in Salamanca still persisted just as German cosmographers, within a humanist context, also made recourse to establishing relationships and parallelisms with the Greco-Latin authorities. Not always particularly well grasped, this humanist attitude displayed equal interest and curiosity in the discoveries on classical antiquity as in the new revelations made by the day-to-day developments, with the modern era scholar basing himself both on philological studies and the sources whether drawn from the Greco-Roman world or produced recently as in the admirable gaze over the newly encountered lands and their peoples. Such is the case with the renowned geographer Sebastian Münster who does affirm to gather in his cosmographical studies old and classical knowledge with new experiences (Münster, 1964: 159).

Whilst at first sight it would seem somewhat paradoxical to conciliate both realities, what is certain is that this does prove the means to open up ruptures and identify the scope for interjecting other facts, other ideas and then lead onto new reflections and new searches of nature, history or humanity, as indeed the German geographer does end up doing when introducing information on the different peoples of the world with these

details clearly gathered from the reading of accounts of voyages and resulting in questioning on cultural diversity and its origins. This also conveys the great impact of the ethnographic literature as Joan-Pau Rubiés (2007) characterises: the enabling of a diverse discourse, criticism that thereby becomes a pillar of new understandings. Equally prominent in the framework of humanist ideas, and as already formulated by Dante and Pico della Mirandola, was the notion that man, to attain his dignity, must strive to achieve virtue and knowledge. Hence, the grounds for their interest and curiosity in learning about other realities that enable them to sketch a more precise and correct draft of the world they seek to describe.

Therefore, and in keeping with our objective for this period, we may already encounter another profile for scholars: those who are commonly holders of great inherited knowledge and who simultaneously produce or appropriate the empirical discourse based upon a new reliance on their own experiences or on an *autopsy* of the experimentation of others.

The works of Sebastian Münster and of cosmographers in general reveal how they effectively result from close collaborations between different scholars at work in different parts of Europe and supplying the geographer with information and writings and images, as duly detailed by his respective correspondence, so that he might be able to gather a *summa* of knowledge. What is more, even after his death would his *Cosmography* continue to be published and, in the same spirit, always expanding the range of information contained in accordance with the latest new findings with the final edition coming out in 1628 in different versions and languages. This knowledge circulated through its printed format of production as a good to be possessed and enjoyed. Münster would thus serve as an example to other scholars like Richard Eden in Tudor England, another great collector and editor of travel literature and geographic works. A wide reaching and intensive circuit of knowledge became established between these actors in the culture of modern Europe.

Additionally, in works of different types, we shall encounter identical strategies and efforts to access the documental *corpus*, the illustrations and comments as is the case with the knowledge acquired on the field of botany. Once again, through the revelation of the world of oriental plants, we may trace the trajectories that the information will travel on its way to becoming knowledge on the nature of the planet.

Designing and describing the world *ad vivum* and reformulating knowledge, eliminating equivocations and errors, reflect the two major

successes taking place within this scope and leading onto another paradigm for reflection and knowledge. This experiment and the results of experience characterise openness to knowledge that reflected in the usage given to the products and objects brought back by the voyages. This also encapsulates the evaluation and appreciation applied to the cultural experiences that undergo their own reformulations taking on increasingly critical perspectives. In place of a greater approximation, continuous contacts with these new worlds would seem to have reinforced the notion of difference and otherness and thus bearing witness to the complexity of the debates and reflections that the new cultural dynamics of curiosity were susceptible to triggering.

The travellers, scholars, writers and scientists contributed in one way or another to the construction of a world. The 18th century shall respond to the cultural dynamics of curiosity in early modern Europe with new approaches whether in universal science or in colonial policies. The legacy of the 16th and 17th centuries would prove the foundations for an unending process in which the loose ends of former curiosity constitute the points of departure for future knowledge.

I

COLLECTING NEWS

CHAPTER ONE

ALVISE CADAMOSTO AND THE DISCOVERY OF A NEW WORLD

In returning to previously ignored lands, across unknown seas, the Portuguese sailors and explorers revealed unusual and surprising discoveries that mesmerised both Portugal and the rest of Europe (Dias, 1988; Elliot, 1970).

It fell to Portuguese travel literature to present that which was new to the various authors that saw and disembarked in these new docks (Barreto, 1983). These texts thus represent the bearing witness to the surprise, the account of the unusual, the whether enthusiastic or apprehensive testimony about these new physical and human realities.

Another New World

It was the desire to discover new worlds that led the Italian Alvise Cadamosto to accept the invitation of Prince Henry the Navigator to embark on the Portuguese caravels. And, as we may learn from his accounts, his voyages did not indeed let him down. In fact, what was offered to him was the chance to see unprecedented and marvellous circumstances that the sailor then accounted for as if another world that had hitherto not been known. This represented the beginning of a new perspective on the African west coast, or better, an unknown world.

And marvellous things did appear to me, that on this side of the river they are all so very negro; and beyond being very black, big and fat and very well built; and on the other side, the aforementioned *Azenhaji* are brown, thin and small in stature. And on this side of that same region, the entire region is arid and dry and, on the other, abundant with enormous species

of fruit, new to us for not having such fruit in our lands. And this region is so very fertile (Cadamosto, 1988, 115-116).¹

From the outset, there is the surprise at a landscape which, on the one hand, gets measured by the strangeness of the differences, whether of the peoples present or the lands on either side of the river and, on the other hand, how these lands that were thought to be inhospitable prove to be fertile regions just as how the author testified to the diversity of the different fruits encountered.

As Michael Harbsmeier (Harbsmeier, 1982) highlights in relation to the description of such voyages, here we also end up learning as much or more about the authors than about the reality described, given that what comes in for comment always conveys the knowledge, values and criteria of those casting their gaze (s. also Nünning, 2009). The portrait made by those describing either novelty or the Others, as already seen, is inherently conditioned by the gaze and perspectives in this case of Cadamosto, who either registers the image in the negative or fails to incorporate such facets into his views.

In Africa: The European Gaze

Impelled by this desire to inform and establish a memory of the sense of surprise and leave an account of these startling facts, Alvise Cadamosto details the voyages carried out in 1455 and 1456, and within which stands out a particular fascination for the landscape. Alvise Cadamosto refers to how the coastline of Cape Verde was as beautiful as any that he himself, who had already travelled to so many different places, had ever seen such was its beauty and richness (Cadamosto, 1988: 147). His enthusiastic description is replete with adjectives and qualified expressions in an attempt to find a way that fully corresponds to his amazed observation and appreciation. This unbounded enthusiasm, which is not exclusive to this explorer given that we shall find many other texts referring to this region engage in great praise of a landscape deemed of such great beauty and wealth, would indeed be one of the characteristics of writing from the beginning of the modern period or even just from this particular historical period, as Stephen Greenblatt (1991) has shown. Greenblatt defends that astonishment and amazement represents a characteristic feature of the

¹ All translations from Portuguese and German sources are on our own responsibility.

Modern Era. And had Greenblatt made recourse to Portuguese writings on the discovery of different regions of globe other than the Americas, he would have highlighted Alvisé Cadamosto as one of the most representative examples of the dawning of modernity and the idea of the discovery of another new world – and well before the discovery of the American continent.

The description drafted by Alvisé Cadamosto of a new and unusual natural landscape highlights two aspects: the abundance and the quality. In fact, he bears witness to an unexpected variety and abundance of species as well as the surprising quality that proves rich in unknown plants and animals or the various different species different to “ours”. Should their bewildering multiplicity incite their recording, we shall here encounter the difficulties experienced in describing many of these species given that he lacked, purely and simply, any terms or denominations for such ends. Hence, Cadamosto, similar to other authors, commonly makes recourse to comparisons to his known reality in order to better describe and illustrate the novel characteristics found overseas.

At the outset, he reveals enormous surprise in verifying that this region was inhabited, since, as already mentioned, according to the classical authors, the very human existence in these lands would be impossible. Whilst the Portuguese sailors would report to the contrary, the Venetian in the services of Prince Henry the Navigator was already detailing the effective and ongoing relationships that he set about creating with the inhabitants of the West African coastline and in his text conveying some of their forms of organisation as well as the usages and customs in these parts.

One of the best exemplifying passages found about this new world and its indigenous peoples comes when Cadamosto describes his stay in Senegal, “the first river in the land of the Blacks” (Cadamosto, 1988: 115). In truth, his writing simultaneously provides a precise and clear image about this kingdom, putting across information about its prevailing form of rule, the way in which local society was organised, their livelihoods and what faith prevailed in their hearts. Furthermore, Cadamosto reveals the inventory structuring his gaze on Senegal. That is: we learn just what questions most interested the observer or what he considered fundamental to the description of his object as these are the foundation stones determining the structure of his writing. Additionally, in this particular case, his witness account reveals a society that lives, from the gaze of the Europeans,

without many of the refinements known or in effect in Europe.

When Cadamosto speaks of the king of Senegal, he affirms:

And you should know that this king is nothing at all similar to our kings of Christianity: because the king is the lord of a wild and very poor people; and, in truth, in this country, there is no city nor walled place apart from villages and houses of straw (that they do not know how to make houses with walls because they have no mortar and have a lack of stones) (Cadamosto, 1988: 117).

And he continues:

The way of life of this king is the following: he has no certain income, beyond that given by the lords of this country each year in order to retain his favours; of which such presents are horses that are very much appreciated there as they are short of them, as well as horse harnesses and some cattle such as cows and goats and some camels and things similar to these (Cadamosto, 1988: 117).

The Senegalese do not know, he concludes based upon this example, the European standards; they do not know, as the author highlights, houses of stone and mortar – despite Cadamosto adding that they have no mortar and a lack of stones –, however, this is jotted down as a shortage. They do not know about naval construction as they do not have any vessels and they do not wear their weaponry – irrespective of recognising that it would be difficult to do so because of the great heat –, in summary, they are so different. Here, mention has to be made of a certain sentiment of superiority of the European traveller who sees in such absence an inevitable failure in their way of being and existence. While he does not hesitate to admire the physical qualities of these men who he considers “the greatest swimmers that there are in the world” (Cadamosto, 1988: 123) according to what he saw, what is certain is that there is also the Aristotelian vision of man, unaware of the spirit that determines his vision of the Other. Strong, corpulent – we would recall the praise in the mention of their being such good swimmers –, without fearing their death and hence their corporeal facet is that which comes in for greatest emphasis.

The Traveller – this New Man

The appearance of a work such as this becomes endowed with enormous significance. We face a text that emerges out of the personal experience of an individual who displays an overwhelming need to provide a first person

account of his experience and his history. In this case, this involves a traveller whose writing tells of the incidents and ambiences encountered in the travels undertaken, even while not emerging at the same time as the actual travelling as would later be the case with other authors such as Álvaro Velho. In the case of Cadamosto, his report came about *a posteriori*. Already back in the land of his birth, Italy, the traveller sets about recalling and setting down on paper just what he had seen and heard in the equatorial lands of the African continent. While the subject incorporates the description of the lands visited and their peoples, what is actually very much in the foreground of this description is the first person putting forward the account. It is his vision, his perspective through which we are going to see the reality that gets told of (Opitz, 1997). Driven by a desire to write, the traveller relates a particular experience and his own gaze. Cadamosto says that, in his case, it was the relevance of the things he saw in this other, new world that led him to pick up his feather and set about writing. This held true to such an extent that he considered this unprecedented and thoroughly worthy of putting down on paper his voyaging for future generations. Out of personal experience came the need to erect the fundamentals of an archive of his memories.

Just as Michael Harbsmeier emphasises in his work *Wilde Völkerkunde: Andere Welten in deutschen Reiseberichten der Frühen Neuzeit* (Harbsmeier, 1994), this genre of author emerges exactly out of the pilgrimages and travel literature. They reflect the experience of a writer on “discovering” other realities as is indeed the case with *Navegações* by Alvise Cadamosto. Similar to autobiographies and memoirs, such works reveal the discovery of the individual, expressing an innovative character in the nature of the then contemporary literary production as we here encounter an author writing in the first person about his voyage and conveying the circumstances and events experienced in far distant lands.

However, in the travel accounts, the act of writing takes into account the potential reader and is no mere exercise in self-reflection. In fact, first and foremost, such personal accounts do not overlook – and this aspect proves highly important – that the main function is rendering this experience and also the real and precise knowledge thereby acquired to those who were not able to travel with him and wishing to share either his adventure or the documentary value of his writing.

Therefore, this thus established a new cultural panorama. Who were these travellers and authors who produced such outputs in the Portugal of the

late 15th century?

In effect, there were few persons actually writing and in their majority they were most certainly men of the church. The cultural turning point came precisely with the Avis generation as highlighted by João Gouveia Monteiro (Monteiro, 1988). Here, we verify a profound change with the emergence of lay authors and, among them, men of the court, taking on this office out of personal interest and pleasure and assuming a decisive role in nurturing patronage for such written endeavours. Without wishing to dwell extensively on this aspect, we should stress the novelty and peculiarity that such textual production of travel literature had on the world of writing and culture in Portugal.

As Barradas de Carvalho defined for the case of Duarte Pacheco Pereira (Carvalho, 1980), Alvise Cadamosto also represents an entrepreneurial and active man who knew how to take advantage of the experience that life had handed down to him. He provides yet another example of an individual aware of the present moment and capable of identifying and diagnosing the transformations ongoing and confidently facing his own future. He is a man of his times, even while as a traveller and trader he does not give up on debating matters of faith with the king of Budomel, who seemed to already hold promise as a Christian convert as he confides:

[...] he would say that our faith he saw as good as could have been no other as it was God [that] who had given us so many good and rich things and so much skill and knowledge and must also have given us a good law (Cadamosto, 1988: 132).

Furthermore, as may be witnessed in the chronicler Gomes Eanes de Zurara, Cadamosto also reflects on the otherness resulting from the novelty and cultural differences:

God our lord proved in this world and at each second his needs: therefore, we who live in the cold without the woollens, to live, we cannot be; and [for] them, Blacks, who are born in the heat and who have no need to wear such clothing, God did not give them sheep (Cadamosto, 1988: 137-38).

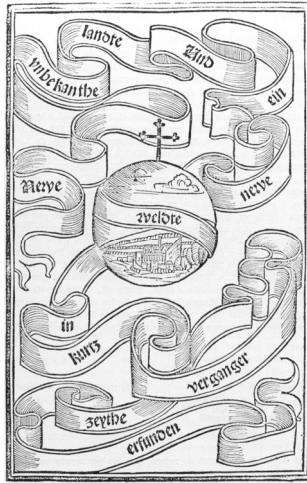


Fig. 2 *Neue unbekante landte*, 1508

The extent to which this account conveyed and defined the enthusiastic novelty of a new world, may be verified from the fact that the humanist Francazano Montalboddo was publishing the text by Alvise Cadamosto in a collection entitled *Paesi novamente ritrovati* in as early as 1507... And that was soon followed by many other editions throughout all of Europe. For example, an edition was published in Latin in 1508 under the title *Itinerarium Portugallensium* and this same year would also see the German version come out: *Neue unbekante landte und ein neue weltte in kurzer zeythe erfunden*. Jobst Ruchamer, a physician from Nuremberg converted the text to German and tells us of his amazement at reading such shocking and unusual reports from such far off lands inhabited by black skinned peoples with usages and customs so different to those otherwise known. This was indeed the very reason, as he sets out in the prologue, the motive that led him to translate the Montalboddo anthology into German. These new realities stirred such admiration that he felt impelled to make them familiar to his country. The discovery of new regions to the earthly planet, which after all were inhabited, had to be considered a “wonder” – using exactly the same word which Stephen Greenblatt has identified as a key concept in the early modern times.

CHAPTER TWO

HANS STADEN: THE “TRUE HISTORY” OF A 16TH CENTURY VOYAGE TO BRAZIL

Hans Staden, born in Homberg in Hessen, would become another of the many adventurers who, drawn by reports of unknown lands and peoples, decided to abandon his own country and set off for India. Much had already been told about the marvels of this land situated in the Indian Ocean and hence the curiosity to see and discover these far distant destinations would motivate many young persons in the Holy Roman-German Empire (Dharampal-Frick, 1991: 93-128; Lopes, 1999). Therefore, it comes as little surprise that the crew members of the armada led by Francisco Almeida included the Germans Balthasar Springer and Hans Mayr, or, somewhat later, in 1517, there are the accounts of the time spent by Lazarus Nuremberger in India (Ehrhardt, 1989). Similar to such cases, there was Hans Staden who, arriving in from the Netherlands, reached Lisbon with the objective of travelling on a Portuguese vessel as far as India. As at that moment it was not possible to depart for the Orient, Staden did not hesitate to join a vessel setting off for Brazil and in the company of two other Germans, Hans von Bruchhausen and Heinrich Brant from Bremen, as he tells in the prologue to his account of his travels (Staden, 1557: Vorrede) who, correspondingly, bears witness not only to a strong attraction to these new worlds then undergoing discovery but also to the regular participation of foreigners in the Portuguese armadas.

Hans Staden set sail from Lisbon in 1547 as a gunner on a vessel belonging to a merchant called Penteadó and on this first voyage reaching the Brazilian coast specifically in Pernambuco and Olinda, one of the settlements founded by the Portuguese where he met the celebrated commander Duarte Coelho (Johnson and Silva, 1992: 121-124). On this commercial based voyage, which lasted a total of sixteen months, they also stopped off at Paraíba to bring back to Portugal the very much in

demand Brazil redwood (Couto, 1995: 281-83). This experience certainly seemed to have fostered his enthusiasm as, on his return to the Portuguese capital, he immediately resolved to join some Spanish on another voyage to these new lands – this time in search of greater riches in Rio da Prata. Thus, he embarked on his second voyage in 1549, this time setting off from Seville in direction of the Americas. However, the voyage would not reach its destination due to being shipwrecked near the settlement of São Vicente, where Hans Staden began working with the Portuguese. Here, the adventures of our explorer truly began as, a few months later, on one of his treks through the jungle, he would be taken prisoner by the Tupinambá Indians.

Throughout almost nine months, Hans Staden was held prisoner by the Tupinambá and always under the fear that they would one day eat him. His adventures among such an unknown people with such correspondingly strange customs would constitute the central theme of his travel account – spread out over various chapters of his story – which, right from his very first edition in 1557, gained a very significant reaction in Germany.

In fact, the Hans Staden work that first came into the public domain in Marburg was entitled *Wahrhaftige Historia vnd Beschreibung eyner Landschafft der Wilden/ Nacketen/ Grimmigen Menschenfressen Leuthen in der Newenwelt America gelegen...* and provides one of the very first witness accounts published about the New World, more specifically about Brazil, by a German author. This fact of being one of the first document sources about this region had a very strong influence on the extent of its profile – with editions coming out, for example, in Marburg and Frankfurt/M. in early 1557, in Tübingen and Frankfurt/M. in the year of 1567 and, furthermore, in 1593, also in the city of Frankfurt/M. –, as well as the stimulating adventures related to his experience among the cannibal peoples, an aspect that led many historians to stress this, and excessively from our perspective, as the main motive for the editorial success attained by this work (Memminger, 1995).

With the art of printing now fully established in Germany, there would be many works published there throughout the 15th and 16th centuries. Hence, the accounts of the maritime voyages made by the Iberian countries did not pass by unnoticed by the German editors and compilers. In truth, we may affirm that Germany was one of the European countries that displayed the greatest interest in this unprecedented maritime enterprise. The discovery of new maritime routes reflects clearly and indisputably in

the list of German publications (Lopes, 1990 and 1991). Across an enormous variety of texts, German publishers made available to their readerships everything from short informative texts, collections of travel accounts, such as the famous and already mentioned German translation of *Paesi novamente ritrovati* (Vicenza, 1507) undertaken by Jobst Ruchamer and compiling texts by Alvise Cadamosto, Amerigo Vespucci and Christopher Columbus, as well as geographic based works with maps and, in sum, a vast and diverse panoply of information sources about the discovery of these new worlds and whether located in Africa, Asia or the Americas. The surprising novelties revealed by these travel accounts fostered and enabled the publication of these works with the key purpose of providing insights into these unknown seas, distant lands and especially on their strange peoples and bizarre customs.

At the beginning of the 16th century, we correspondingly find a vast list of works published in the most diverse German cities within the framework of opening up an awareness of these new worlds. While, on occasion, we may verify a strict connection between the publication of the works on maritime voyages and those cities most closely interrelated with the Portuguese maritime undertakings, such as the cities of Augsburg and Nuremberg (Lopes, 1992), due to the commercial contacts established between the major German trading houses and the Portuguese crown, what is certain is that this type of work was equally to be found in cities such as Cologne, Strasbourg or Leipzig, among others.

While, on the one hand, the discovery of new worlds led to new commercial trading posts, new mercantile advantages, on the other hand, the sheer surprise of this different planetary vision reflected an overriding and urgent need to study all this recent scientific-cultural acquisition. Hence, there are various and different interests leading to the compilation, on occasion, translation and publication of new works. The German publishers swiftly grasped the relevance of this fruitful and interesting area of publication in the full knowledge of the innovative character of an art that, despite being only recent, had already become the vehicle for publishing and reproducing the works of well-known authors. In practice, printing emerged as an outstanding means of spreading knowledge, formulating and enabling dialogue between the different fields of knowledge and including the approximation of men of learning and letters. These might have been cartographers, geographers, theologians, historians, philosophers, but also doctors and botanists who were dedicated to the publication of texts related with the maritime voyages and

drawing upon them to engage in the admirable and prodigious art of exalting the different facets of humanity (Lopes, 2012).

If, in fact, in a first phase, more specifically at the beginning of the 16th century, we may note that the primary objective involved gathering and compiling contemporary accounts in order to satiate an avid desire for new information, by the middle of the century the compilations, the extraordinary anthologies were no longer able to satisfy the curiosity of readers given that beyond the already established generic vision now required more precise and exact details on the different regions and realities then undergoing discovery. We thus encounter a new editorial flow that leads onto texts with greater breadth, even while in their majority remaining travel accounts written as authentic monographs with such examples including *Wahrhafftige Bericht von den Landen/ auch geistlichem vnd weltlichem Regiment des Mechtigen Königs in Ethiopien*, published in Eisleben in 1566, which includes the text on the Prester John, authored by Francisco Álvares. *Warhafftige vnd volkomene Historia/ von Erfindung Calecut vnd anderer Königreich/ Landen vnd Inseln* saw the light of day in 1565 and corresponds to the first book of the chronicle by Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, as well as *Warhafftige vnd Eigentliche Beschreibung dess Königreichs Congo in Africa*, an edition of *Relatione del reame di Congo* written by Duarte Lopes and Filippo Pigafetta and published in Frankfurt/M. in the year of 1597.

This represents the context out of which emerged the work of Hans Staden, the first written text by a German voyager about the Tupinambá. The Hans Staden work thus met the avid desire for information about these new worlds on a new continent on which the geographic and human environments were the most difficult to define and understand. Whilst the limits and the profiles of India, or even southern Africa, were not then well-known, what is equally certain is that there were some representations inherited from Classical or Medieval times; however, in relation to the new continent everything was new and hence strange. The discovery of this continent furthermore led the illustrious cosmographer Abraham Ortelius to affirm in 1572 that it is so much to admire that it leaves all admiration behind (“[...] ist so sehr zu verwundern, das es (meins erachtens) all Verwunderung vbertrifft”; Ortelius, 1572: 2).

Hence, whilst some authors referred to new islands, the West Indies, others to a *Novus Orbis*, or, after 1507, according to the suggestion made by Martin Waldseemüller, some – if only a few – adopted the designation

of America (Lopes, 1995a) – the very title adopted by Staden demonstrates the difficulties in coming up with an appropriate denomination.

First published in Marburg, another version would come out in the city of Frankfurt in the very same year of 1557 and there were various subsequent editions as well as various studies on its contents. Just which particularities of the Hans Staden work justified the interest raised among his contemporaries? As mentioned, we are dealing here with an individual account of the voyage, thus, a work that sets out the particular experience of a traveller who actually saw and lived this adventure. Just as Michael Harbsmeier (1994) highlights, this genre of writing very much stemmed from the *peregrinatio* and travel literature. They reflect the experience of an author “discovering” these other realities – within the framework of which we may point to the already referenced and elucidative example of *Navegações* by Alvise Cadamosto (Cadamosto, 1507). As with autobiographies and memoirs, these works, revealing an individual level of discovery, express an innovative character in the existing literary production as we here face an author who writes in the first person about their travels, reporting on the circumstances and events witnessed in far flung lands.

The Staden work puts forward a personal account of his voyage to America even while not forgetting that his main function is to render this experience and also the knowledge acquired both real and precious to those who had not been able to share his adventure and hence the documentary value of his writings.

Here, we should bring in the figure of Johannes Dryander, rector and professor of medicine at the University of Marburg, whom Hans Staden requested review the text as the former explains in the prologue that he annexed to the Staden work. This preface is a clearly valuable document in its own right as it informs us upon the editorial practices of this book and, furthermore, on the scientific and documentary interest that such works actually represented as alluded to above. Based upon this preface, we may talk of a project jointly designed and defined by Hans Staden, the author, and Johannes Dryander, the editorial adviser. Let us consider the following.

Dryander accepted taking on this task not only for personal reasons given that he was an acquaintance of Staden’s father, but also, as he himself expressed, because its theme drew his interest, mainly his interest in

Geography. Hence, this was for predominantly scientific reasons: the desire and the will to acquire new knowledge and data about the description of that far-off part of the globe. However, furthermore, Dryander accepted because he knew that this book described a journey based on the author's own experience ("aus seiner eygen erfahrung"; Staden, 1557, Vorrede). Thus, this is the account of a personal experience that Staden presents sincerely and truly ("Vffrichtig vnd warlich"). The theme of historical truth and the accuracy of this work – take the title for example – as indeed happened with many books of this period, only serves to confirm this idea: *Wahrhafftige Historia* – the true history is subject to lengthy discussion by Johannes Dryander in his preface that does in fact highlight how adventures with their ridiculous lies and false narratives contributed to an otherwise lack of attention being given to these accounts of far distant and unknown events as they prevented any meaningful confirmation as to the value of the affirmations made. In the case of Staden, others had since confirmed his story to the point of an unquestionable degree of reliability. However, Johannes Dryander, aware that the lack of knowledge led many not to believe in what they were told, considering out of pure ignorance that many of the facts and events were simply impossible, made recourse to this knowledge and mentions some of these astronomic facts as having elicited this lack of belief. However, he then moves on to propose as he himself had the opportunity to confirm that daily and regular experience would enable the advancement of knowledge – with his discourse recalling the testimony of men such as Duarte Pacheco Pereira who had defended the value of experience as a method of knowledge. In his reflection, he makes allusions to the examples of Saint Augustine and Lactantius who, despite what was advocated by the men of science, did not recognise the existence of the antipodes. Thus, science is an eternal reflection that only slowly goes about generating justifications. Hence, for example, the recent voyages had reawakened debates on discoveries made to the south of the equator and above all as regards the fact that this was an inhabited zone, as well as the very often allusions to the quantifications for the extent and dimensions of the waters and the land stretching over the earthly globe. This erudite scholar showed that he did know the most recent data by referring to the Portuguese and Spanish voyages which had confirmed life beyond the equator – a fact seen as impossible in traditional cosmography. Curiously, Johannes Dryander does not hesitate in trailing the new as the main fundamentals of a new geography and, furthermore, shows no fear in disrespecting the authorities prevailing. Given that this is not always the posture of dialogue established with the inherited wisdom, we may state

that this most certainly registers the premise of an intellectual who considers experience prevails, as stated above, and thereby freeing learning from the weight of tradition and book based learning – this representing one of the indications of pre-scientificity in the modern era. Despite the new details having been revealed, and in his words, by a simple man, Dryander believes in his affirmations even while understanding that such facts may elicit certain doubts.

As his preface draws to close, he also highlights that there were no motives of any personal nature, such as fame and renown, that led Staden to publish his work, but rather of a religious order and especially as a vote of public thanks to God who helped him not only in surviving the voyage but also securing his release from captivity after his seizure by cannibalistic Indians. In this era of heated religious debate, such a stance hardly comes as any surprise (Hananberg, 2003: 57-64).

The profile traced here of a profoundly curious and erudite scholar interested in the new opens up, on the one hand, yet another example of the impact of this information on means erroneously considered as holding little interest in such breakthroughs – earlier research in Germany had already conclusively demonstrated the interest of this country and, in particular, its humanist men of letters (Wuttke, 2007) –, on the other hand, highlighting the important contribution of a man such as Dryander to spreading and raising awareness about new facts and details in an attitude similar to that of men of letters such as Jobst Ruchamer, Simon Grynaeus in addition to Sebastian Münster (s. chapter 16). In truth, historiography has already signposted their influence on the actual structuring of the text, in particular, its division into two books (Harbsmeier, 1994 and Neuber 1991). The first tells of the adventure itself whilst the second provides a precious description about the habits and customs of the Tupinambá. In a clear and structured form, he presents this other reality to the reader by chapter and provides what may be termed an anthropological description of, for example, how they sleep, where they live, the names that they give to their children, what tools they use or how they do war. It is certainly also this characteristic of detailed description about the culture of a people that had hitherto been overlooked and, indeed, very different in their usages and customs that certifies the recognition subsequently given to this book. Its readers would duly recognise its documentary value in terms of its clarification as regards a new land and an unknown people worthy of getting to know within the framework of setting out a new geographic-cultural panorama. In fact, its clear objective of providing a correct and

descriptive outline ensures that its statute approximates that of a genuine and documentary study.

This particularity of raising awareness and clarifying the known reality was certainly also behind the publication of the engravings that accompany the text of Hans Staden. If, in Germany, we may find such illustrated texts with relative frequency, given the progress and the perfection in the art of printing in this country (Lopes, 1998), however, we may also highlight an educative and didactic factor attributed to the images which emerge in close relationship to the written text in the vast majority of cases (Obermeier, 2000) with the engravings thus confirming, specifying and clarifying the text with another, in this case, visual language. In truth, the engravings acquired the status of documentary source and this certainly encouraged other engravers that enthusiastically set about illustrating this text all over again, as for example with the Bry family. In fact, some years later, specifically in 1593, the Staden account is published in the famous collection of travel accounts authored by the Bry family. The text, and a particularity of this work, is accompanied by engravings purposefully designed for the publication. The themes and the sequence of images demonstrate affinities with the first set of illustrations, engraved according to the orientations handed down by Staden himself, but the aesthetic and ideological expressions differ in execution and style (Duchet, 1987).

We may thus conclude that stronger than any impact generated by an account of cruel and bestial peoples, given their cannibalistic nature, it was the innovative character of a work which turned perceptible a region and a people that had hitherto been totally unknown, exploring the means of “talking images and visible words” (Warncke, 1987).

CHAPTER THREE

BETWEEN FORCED SETTLEDNESS AND EXPULSION: THE SITUATION OF THE KHOIKHOI IN THE CAPE COLONY

As the Tupinambá in Hans Staden's report, other peoples have been the subject of European interest and curiosity as, for example, the so called Khoikhoi in the Cape colony. The inhabitants of the Cape of Good Hope were named Khoikhoi, which broadly means something along the lines of Men of Men. However, the history of their encounter with Europeans is everything but a history of men (Bitterli, 1983). We describe below some of the conditions prevailing when Europeans and Africans met on the Cape. Furthermore, we shall present the ways in which the Africans were perceived and described in European eyes, highlighting the ways in which this description itself reveals a conditioning factor in the process of exclusion that the Khoikhoi, denominated Hottentots, were subject to.

I

The Cape of Good Hope only took on greater interest thanks to the activities of the VOC – the Dutch West India Company. The need for a logistical support facility on the long route to India led to the Dutch setting up a supply point for its vessels on the Cape of Good Hope (Elphick, 1977). Here, they would be able to take on water and other supplies and provisions. This Cape of Good Hope facility would enable them to overcome the difficulties experienced on the route to India. The majority of sources mention the fertility of the region, the healthy air and the purity of the water supply. Within this context and right from the outset, the indigenous inhabitants proved important suppliers of meat in exchange for tobacco, copper and other products. These good conditions certainly weighed upon the choice of this location that began to be

considered as a VOC possession as from 1652 (Elphick, Giliomee, 1979).

Nevertheless, the region around the Cape of Good Hope was already inhabited prior to the arrival of the Dutch and hence it is worth enquiring just how they set about establishing contacts with these inhabitants (Fisch, 1989). Just what relations did the Dutch cultivate with the Khoikhoi, whom they referred to as Hottentots? In order to better grasp the way in which relations developed between the Khoikhoi and the Dutch, we have to look back to the beginnings of their relationship, especially the image conveyed by the European descriptions of this people. This also needs to take into account the conditions in which this encounter took place, which displays identifiably different conditions to those occurring in other places. The key and overriding interest for the Dutch did not directly relate to the Cape of Good Hope in itself and certainly not to its respective inhabitants, but rather with its location as a trading and re-supply post at a point lying half way on the route to the far distant Orient.

However, this did not initially appear as an especially important or promising region but more simply as a trading post – even while necessary – between Europe and Asia. This trading post dimension, as defined by the interests of the Dutch company, naturally also determined the activities prevailing on the Cape (Elphick, Giliomee, 1979; Fisch, 1990). The needs of the boats en route to India were always at the very forefront of priorities. The boats and their crews underpinned the rationale behind the construction of both the fortress and the hospital. What role was therefore left to the inhabitants of the Cape?

In fact, they were attributed only one very well defined task, specifically as suppliers of meat for the supply not only of the passing vessels but also of the fortress and the hospital. However, this task did not suffice for the uncontested and safe occupation of this site as planned for by the company.

Right from the outset of the first fortress commander, van Riebeeck, a defensive network was set up around the Dutch properties and serving to control contacts with the Hottentots. They were placed beyond the scope of the VOC world from the beginning. Whilst those denominated the ‘Seventeen Sirs’, the directors of the VOC, had stipulated that the Hottentots should both be respected and live in freedom, van Riebeeck immediately proposed their enslavement in order to thereby guarantee the supply of meat – without however managing to impose this on the

Seventeen Sirs. Thus, contacts between the Dutch and the Hottentots were initially limited to trading in cattle, with the deals largely closed during expeditions the Dutch engaged in to survey the inland regions (Schmitt, 1988).

The reaction of the Hottentots did not at first involve any concerns as they had become accustomed to the movements of vessels out at sea ever since the time of the first Portuguese voyages. Soon afterwards, however, this lack of concern began proving harmful to Dutch interests as the supply of meat did not meet the needs of the company. Thus, in 1657, the decision was first taken to give land to colonisers so that they would be able to raise cattle. As the lands that the Dutch had hitherto occupied no longer proved sufficient, they moved to settle on lands belonging to the Hottentots. This situation led to the first conflicts with the indigenous inhabitants who, in the meanwhile, had not only been forced from part of their pasture lands but had also had their access to non-occupied regions blocked off.

In 1659, the Hottentots invaded some of the farms and destroyed their harvests forcing the embryonic settlers to retreat to the fortress. Only with military support were they once again able to resume their agricultural practices. Military protection proved necessary throughout the following year with Olfert Dapper providing an account of events in 1659. Consequently, Doman, who had previously worked for the VOC and who had spent five years in Batavia, and Garabinga, were the leaders of this land grab. In one of the battles, one Hottentot was taken prisoner and held in the fortress. Questioned about the causes of the uprising against the Dutch, the prisoner responded:

[...] why is it that they / the Dutch / work their own lands / and sowed cereals / but they had to graze their cattle; did they not intend to take from them the bread out of their mouths? adding to this / that they would never again have any other pasture lands. And for this reason / he continued / they had not gone to war for any other reason / other than seeking revenge for such an injustice that had been committed against them: still furthermore because they were not only prohibited from using this or that pasture land / that they had held without any such obstruction since the beginning of times / that their lands / without any prior knowledge / had been divided up among the Dutch themselves by the Dutch commander / and for them / the Hottentots / had had certain borders set before them / through which they were not able to move with their flocks. Next / he finally asked: when had such a thing happened to the Dutch / that they had done so well. Furthermore, / he continued / they had understood / as the Dutch worked daily on the construction of their fortresses / and if they had

fortified them excessively: what they / in their opinion / were not doing for any other end / apart from accommodating themselves and their belongings gradually into their territory / and place their yoke around our necks (Dapper, 1671: 605).

Reason was due to the prisoner. Because the Hottentots were not in any position to seriously confront the Dutch, to a large extent because they were divided into small and fractious groups, they were soon forced into agreeing peace treaties with the Dutch before, in 1660, finally recognising the sovereignty of the company.

The Hottentots faced a situation of impotence regarding the farms and estates of the colonisers that were undergoing constant expansion. The German astronomer and traveller Peter Kolb tells, for example, of how, on the occupation of new lands in the Stellenbosch district, the Hottentots had to patiently put up with the contracts dished out by the Dutch:

[...] especially because they were neither able to negotiate nor challenge the gunpowder and the lead that would be awaiting them were they to prove obstinate: in this way, they were expelled from their territories and forced inland / so that the new plantations of the people were able to gain additional space and expand ever further onwards to establish security that would prove ever greater the larger were the landholding. / Partly also to provide greater resistance to the Hottentots themselves wandering around its surroundings; when they, in times past, / after having purchased for security / still disturbed the Europeans with incursions and pillaging (Kolb, 1719: 78).

Kolb, to a certain extent an admirer of the Hottentots – a subject we shall return to below –, leaves absolutely no doubt that the inhabitants were left with no alternative in the face of the Dutch weapons. In his description of the successive expansion of the colonies and the installation of new districts, Kolb conveys an understanding that the Hottentots did try and gain some influence over this process, that is, tried to check the expansion of the colleague in the most varied of fashions. Thus, and for example, in the Drackenstein district, the Dutch had established an armed post with a detachment of 100 armed men as they feared an attack by the Hottentots at any moment. Kolb tells of how:

In the past, because the Hottentots still had more courage in their bodies / and were still able to risk providing opposition to the Dutch and even to the extent of robbing or pillaging their belongings / and in any case rendering them dependent: the gentlemen governors found themselves

obliged to install here a strong outpost to the benefit of the residents and employees of the illustrious company and deployed many men here / who had to have and maintain a vigilant eye over the incursions of these barbarians. To this end, they ordered the construction on this site of a building for 100 men and a stable for their horses; so that, should by any chance some thousands of them make an approach / they should be neither too weak nor too slow to chase them down (Kolb, 1719: 105).

Such conflicts characterised the contact between the Dutch and the Hottentots in the early years of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope. However, shortly afterwards, the Hottentots had to – as Kolb has already accounted for – succumb and perish before the gunpowder and the lead of the Dutch. Furthermore, the company engaged in a strategy of reaching out to some tribes not only because this enabled surprise attacks on others and their effective destruction, but also because this maintained a certain number of possibilities for doing business and thereby guaranteeing the supply of meat. Between 1673 and 1677, this strategy once again took on a military guise and resulted in what became termed the second war between the Dutch and the Hottentots. Foremost among the Dutch interests was, as before, guaranteeing the supply of meat as the number of people in the company continued to grow as did the number of vessels dropping anchor off the Cape in order to take on fresh meat and other provisions. The production of the colonies was no longer capable of matching these needs and so they were again forced into negotiating with the Hottentots and indeed teaming up with them.

Falling within this framework, for example, is the case of the tribal chief Gonnema, who closed the first peace contract with the Dutch, according to which he was forced to pay an annual tribute of 30 head of cattle. Henceforth, this agreement effectively served as a model for the obligations the Hottentots assumed towards the Dutch. Step by step, the company proved able to control the diverse tribes of the Khoikhoi to the extent that by the end of the second war, over 1676 and 1677, it was able to claim jurisdiction over disputes between the tribes and ensure its interests prevailed. Furthermore, the company commander, Simon van der Stel, also managed to gain influence over the election of tribal chiefs as each new chief began to require the confirmation by the company with van der Stel himself leading the confirmation ceremony.

Given such a wide reaching expansion in the company's rights and influences, as well as their respective scope – now already extending inland – increasingly under demand by both the companies and the

settlers, we may indeed question just what was now left for the Hottentots. The more and the deeper reaching compromises that they were forced to accept, the less there remained of the only asset that they had to bring to the table, that is, cattle. Thus, the Hottentots were forced to face up to a reality that effectively left them with only two options: either set off in search of new pasture lands or enter into an unequal business partnership and agree to work for the Europeans.

As the livelihoods of the Hottentots depended to a great extent on the raising of cattle, the loss of their pasture lands meant the need for a totally new beginning. This effectively led many of them to accept working for the company as their only real option. In as early as 1650, there were many Hottentots serving as shepherds for the Europeans and, by the 1690s, that had already become practically the norm. The growth of the colony required substantial amounts of labour and hence what was to the Europeans a welcome solution meant to the Hottentots a promise of a certain degree of security and sustenance.

Firstly, only the head of the family would work for the Dutch and only during the agricultural season but, slowly but steadily and especially after 1690, entire families began living on the farms and estates of the Europeans. At the outset, they primarily served to tend the cattle but, with the passage of time, they took on all types of tasks and even those that had previously been done by slaves. Therefore, the Hottentots began playing a growing role in the economy of the colony and to such an extent that thoughts turned to their integration into the social organisational and juridical system. While company procedures had thus far been justified as based on the fact of dealing with contacts with independent tribes, this clearly was no longer the case.

From 1607 to 1701, the situation evolved to such an extent that, in one way or another, all the Hottentots were now dependent on the company. The European consumed a large proportion of their outputs, swore in their tribal leaders and, finally, transformed them into an integral part of their own system in order to thereby enable an accelerated expansion of the colony. The combination of these factors drove the breakup of the communities that the Hottentots had lived in after they lost both their pasture lands and their cattle and thus their liberty. In fact, they were declared free subjects and were not susceptible to enslavement but, in actual practice, they were denied a core right – that the colonists were able to claim – that of receiving land grants from the company.

Hence, the Hottentots were ascribed a role between the slaves – whether originally from West Africa, Madagascar or Asia – on the one hand, and free citizens on the other, and thereby endowed with a very dangerous intermediate position in the Cape of Good Hope society. Deprived of any clear economic or juridical status, the Hottentots ended up having no other avenue to explore apart from remaining that strange and gentile people not accepted by the society in which it had to live.

II

This unsustainable situation also stemmed from the descriptions that were conveyed about this people by various travellers. Right from the very first contacts, the Hottentots got characterised as a strange and barbaric people (Jopp, 1960). This prejudice proved very long lasting and throughout a long period of time determined contacts between Europeans and the inhabitants of the Cape. Almost all travellers described the Hottentots in the same fashion and, thus, as a rule repeating the topoi that had been put forward by the very first observers. Even prior to the foundation of the colony, for example, the German Johann Sigmund Wurffbain, a VOC employee, wrote about his return voyage from the Moluccas:

[...] The inhabitants, in terms of their figure, are in fact similar to humans, however in their customs and other behaviours, they are no different to irrational animals and they drape themselves in, instead of clothing, crude skins of goat, sheep or lion [...] furthermore, they are very indolent and lazy and do not show any concern whatsoever about tending their fields or fishing even while they have the very best opportunities to do so and instead content themselves with only that which they are able to gather through hunting for which they use bows and arrows and also spears made from wood with their tips in either iron or copper before eating the meat raw or roasted over a flame and, sometimes, they run around even with the stinking innards of the animals wrapped around their necks and such a monstrosity comes in addition to the fact that they eat their faeces (Wurffbain, 1686: 136).

This traveller had already referred to how the Hottentots did not know any language or at least any voice understood by man, as they “gurgled and uttered sounds with a language in a fairly strange fashion”.

We may immediately verify a certain lack of understanding as regards the habits and the customs of the Hottentots. To begin with, their clothing and the fact that they did not work their lands, followed by a complete list of

their particularities as regards the way in which they hunted and handled animals as well as the way they prepared their food. The authors informed on all of this in a highly critical tone, overwhelmed by ill-feeling as regards the behaviours of this people.

A few years later, more precisely in 1653, Johann Jacob Merklein, a German doctor also in the service of the VOC, on his return from Java, described the colony that had been founded in the meanwhile. The account from Merklein is one of the first to cover the presence of the Dutch in the Cape. After some general observations about the characteristics of the landscape and the climate, he says the following:

The inhabitants of this land are savage persons, not tall in stature, thick, greasy and obscene, cackling with their language almost as if the chickens of India; they live off their cattle that they have in great quantity.

He then follows this up with a brief description of their homes and continuing thus:

Their clothing consists of a length of untreated leather and a piece of sheep skin to cover over their intimates. In general, they go about naked even while it is sometimes very cold; [...] In their eating, they are very disgusting as, although they have many cattle, whenever the Dutch slaughter a bull, they want its guts; from which they extract only the faeces, passing them through their fingers and expelling them outwards, and then placing the guts over fire: and when they are still not even halfway to being roasted, they chew on them with such appetite that any person would be horrified by what they would see. The fat from these innards dribbles down their uncovered bodies, considering this to be an adornment; hence they smell so foul that one cannot live along with them. (Merklein, 1663: 107-108)

In this way, Merklein sketches the outline that henceforth would serve for the characterisation of this people. Right from the very first sentence, he lets it be known that, from his perspective, there would seem to be no doubt that he writes about a savage people. The motives for such a description may already be clearly recognised here. In fact, the customs of the Hottentots differ substantially from that which was familiar and known, such as, for example, the fact of eating practically raw cattle intestines or smothering themselves with the fat of the animals, which could only but cause an impression of filth or obscenity in the eyes of the Europeans and an unbearable smell to their noses. Such observations left the Europeans intimidated over making more descriptions.

The idea that the Hottentots had to be a savage people got conveyed in multiple different ways by different authors. Alongside other customs, it was commonly reiterated and highlighted just how this people did not know absolutely any type of religious practice. Their state of complete non-religiosity enabled, and for example the Dutch VOC trader, Johan Nieuhof (1640-49), to conjecture that the Hottentots would have to be, without a shadow of a doubt, the most savage people on the earth. Many people, he said, might not in fact know the true God but they certainly did know many gods or at least the veneration of sacred idols, the adoration of the moon or other objects. However, amazingly, there was here absolutely no reference to any religious praxis.

Jürgen Andersen, who was in the Cape in 1644, reached a conclusion still more dismissive than these observations, writing that “[...] in their lives and habits (they are) animal like and savage people / that bear little resemblance to rational persons”. They smell bad and talk so “badly as if barely able to understand / that they are / human”, the faces are ugly and shrivelled, naked, they do not build, they live off grasses and do not know anything “neither of God nor of the Devil” (Andersen, 1669: 4). When describing a scene of cannibalism, the author ends up finally concluding that the Hottentots are “unmenschen” (“inhuman beings”). Furthermore, Andersen proves the only writer to relate this anthropophagic dimension: two men from the garrison were seized by the Hottentots and then cut into pieces and eaten (Andersen, 1669: 5).

The absence of certain values, which were perceived by Europeans as core indicators of civilisation, led to this attribution of the Hottentots as animals in the eyes of the newly arrived. This was believed to be the very first time that a people had been encountered who did not know any of the norms and who, for this same reason, must truly be the wildest of all peoples. Naturally, other peoples who had been encountered along the African coast also led equally simple lives and all but fell short of being human beings. However, it had at least proven possible to detect some notion of culture such as, and for example, these peoples had demonstrated their ability to cultivate crops in their own fields or had properly constructed homes and, above all, whenever they practised some form or other of religion. Nieuhof, to take one example, makes recourse to theological declarations according to which no people may be as barbarian as that which knows absolutely no other god – even if deemed a false god (Nieuhof: 1669: 20).

However, the Dutchman Wouter Schouten, in his “Ost-Indischen Voyage” (Voyage to East India), in 1676, considered how regrettable it was the conditions that the Hottentots were subject to as, after all, they must also be when, all is said and done, descendants of Adam. Yet, they lived so distant from that which might be considered as Humanity that he preferred to approach them more as animals than as rational animals. They were, thus, a people extraordinarily worthy of pity, who had sunk into a state in which neither God nor joy nor salvation might be reserved to them.

Based upon these assumptions, the authors set out in search of even a minimum register of religiousness among the Hottentots. Johann Jacob Saar, for example, writes in his diary spanning fifteen years of travel:

It is not possible to ascertain just what is their relation; however, in the early morning, as dawn breaks, they gather and hold hands and dance and scream in their language whilst looking upwards towards the heaven from which one may presume that they do in fact have some knowledge of God as they themselves once said on being asked about their beliefs; that they believe in that which created everything, heaven, earth, sea and everything existing on the earth (Saar, 1672: 179).

The German chaplain Johann Christian Hoffmann also strove to understand as to whether or not the Hottentots still held the remnants of religiousness to be discovered. Before all of this, he however declared that he perceived them “more as monstrous monkeys than as integral persons without any doubt at all! Due to their inhumanity, they do not in themselves hold almost anything that resembles a human being and for this reason are truly the most miserable of all of the peoples that I have ever seen” (Hoffmann, 1680: 26). Nevertheless, he also clearly declared that whenever there was a full moon, the Hottentots would run through the streets, singing and dancing in what might easily be understood as an adoration of nature. Hoffmann also questioned just how a people that had descended from Adam ended up “more among the stupid cattle than in those numbering among as rational beings”. The observations of Hoffmann lead up to an exclamation that proves simultaneously a complaint and an offering of thanks:

Oh, miserable abandoned people, how lamentable is your state! However, we would give thanks to God who called us up out of this abyss of darkness and into His marvellous Light (Hoffmann, 1680: 31).

It is surprising, based upon such an exclamation, that there was not in the meanwhile any attempted effort within the framework of releasing the

Hottentots from the darkness described throughout this section. In this case, such liberation would seem to have provided a genuinely missionary objective; however, this was not in fact taken into consideration by the Europeans and different to that verified with the other peoples of Africa.

The only exception is that of the Jesuit priest Guy Tachard, who, in the year of 1685, complained of the lack of any religious teaching of the Hottentots. The knowledge of God should not, however, be deprived to them – as he himself wrote – so that, at least, they had the opportunity to save their souls. For the Europeans, it proved no more difficult to overcome such a missionary task than prospecting the inland regions in search of mines or goods to trade with.

We should question whether the partially repugnant descriptions that the European travellers made of the Hottentots was not also a motive for considering that such a missionary task was both impossible and unnecessary. The perception of the Hottentots as savage and animals not only expressed criticism and a lack of understanding but also especially hindered the relationship between the Europeans and the Hottentots, and hence also closely interrelates with the rejection of the missionary role, which has received such great highlight here. However, some researchers are of the opinion that the rationale underlying this rejection of any missionary goal and this special treatment of the Hottentots extended to another factor, the Protestant faith. In fact, Protestant theology does not come out in favour of missionary work because all beings have already had, at some stage, the possibility to know the word of God. Should they not have followed that word, this means that their souls were not prepared to receive it. This rejection of the word of God represented the great sin of gentiles who thereby had left the doors entirely open to the devil. If, in the meanwhile, the word of God had already been spread across the earth and all beings were endowed with reason in order to decide upon this, then each and every missionary effort made absolutely no sense. Should God so wish, he might immediately proceed to introduce His true light to these souls. The gentiles received the punishment of God as they had not listened to Him.

The reference to the Protestant perspective on missionary work and on the role of the gentiles may assist in understanding just why the Hottentots got perceived with such a sense of distance. Irrespective, this does not naturally explain the specific type of society that came into effect in the Cape of Good Hope. This was not Protestantism but rather the VOC who

brought about the social groupings within the framework of which the Hottentots were condemned to an unfortunate intermediary position between the Europeans and the slaves.

The Cape of Good Hope was therefore where people were encountered whose culture seemed to bear no points of connection with what was previously known. Given this supposedly insurmountable distance, this inevitably raises the question of just how should contact be established with this people. Were there, in whatever the shape or fashion, the opportunities for acculturation? Just how should this people be integrated into this new Cape society? Should they simply be left to live side by side with the newly emerging realities?

Right from the outset in the earliest sources, there are accounts of how some Hottentots were taken in to learn Dutch and subsequently serve as translators. One very particular case is that of the Hottentot Eva who was raised by the Dutch. Eva entered into a Christian marriage with the Danish surgeon Pieter van Meerhoff; however, following his death, she abandoned her children and returned to her own people and, in 1674, following countless detentions, her life ended as an alcoholic and a prostitute. Unable to live between the two cultures, she ended up as a stranger both to one side and to the other (Elphick, Giliomee, 1979: 118-119).

Just like this case, there are other known examples testifying to attempts at acculturation that seemed set to failure from the outset. The VOC employee Martin Wintergest, for example, refers to how there had already been attempts to “remove children from their mothers and educate them in a different fashion but just as soon as they reached a certain age, they would abandon the good life and take up the primitive livelihoods of their parents”. He details the following case:

[...] the great and famous general Reh also maintained a Hottentot in his care. He taught him German and dressed him in a red outfit with silver linings. However, just as soon as the man returned to his peers, he ripped off his clothing, wrapped himself up in a sheepskin and went back to living like any other Hottentot. He only continued to wear a silver chain around his neck and self-named himself captain Peg, which everybody heard with great pleasure (Wintergest, 1712: 173).

The motives attributed to this situation are sought out by authors from highly diverse perspectives. Some thought that this simply demonstrated that the Hottentots lived like animals because they feared labour and were

therefore considered lazy. This was what Volquart Iversen wrote, for example, on spending a month in the Cape on his return from Batavia:

They are lazy people / they do not like to work / the Dutch brought some in close to them / because they carry out the dirty work / they receive tobacco in exchange / along with rice and other things to eat / indeed, they like to be sat down and watching. [...] When you want to set them to work: such as, for example, digging / pulling carts / sweeping / tending the cattle / well, you have to give them something beforehand / and promise them that / when they have the task done / they shall receive still more. And, when they do manage that, / they swiftly flee (Iversen, 1669: 173).

Johann Schreyer, who, from 1669 to 1677, spent eight years working as a surgeon in the Cape, was of the same opinion writing that the Hottentots would only work when hunger forced them into doing so:

The men shirk the majority of working tasks apart from when hunger forces them into working for the Europeans for a little tobacco and a handful of rice. As soon as their hunger is satiated, they once again flee from there and, hence, they do not get given any food prior to having carried out the work set (Schreyer, 1681: 40).

This impression is shared by many authors, including Christopher Fryke from Ulm who states how absurd it is that the Hottentots live without any major concerns, they eat precisely that which they find whenever they get hungry or do a little work in order to get some sustenance; however, just as soon as their needs have been satisfied, they return to their hollow lives. Johann Wilhelm Vogel was, thus, in a condition to account for how, in the eyes of the Hottentots, the Europeans were enslaved to their own particular ambitions, engaging in such great efforts as the cultivation of the land, the building of fortresses, etcetera.

The French Jesuit priest Tachard emphasised this opinion about the Hottentots reporting how a youth, who had been adopted as a child by a Dutch military commander, abandoned him on reaching adult age. Questioned about the motives for such a decision, the Hottentot responded that he could not live like the Dutch because his people did not allow themselves to be enslaved, they ate whenever they felt hungry and purely and simply followed the law of nature to live happily and contentedly. In these responses, the authors conveyed the image of the *noble savage*, immersed in a simple and natural life, to which they were habituated prior to the arrival of the European and that, in their own simplicity, still seemed superior in the face of the demands of civilisation.

III

On the one hand, this attitude led to major difficulties between the two peoples as, in fact, what was at stake here was a confrontation between two entirely different ways of life that shared practically no common ground for either mutual exchanges or approximation. On the other hand, there were ever more authors attempting in the meanwhile to understand the lives of the Hottentots and overthrow the initial prejudices. For example, this is the case with the work of Georg Meister in 1688 with the representations and characteristics put forward by Peter Kolb providing another significant input to a more intense and impartial debate over the Hottentots and, simultaneously, the author of one of the first monographs on this people.

Peter Kolb studied mathematics, physics, metaphysics, oriental languages and theology, prior to beginning work in 1702 as a secretary and preceptor to the house of the German Counsellor of State, Bernhard Friedrich von Krosigk. In the year of 1705, the Counsellor sent Kolb off to the Cape of Good Hope in order to carry out studies in astronomy and meteorology. His stay there lasted until 1713 and ended up being violently interrupted when, in 1712, Kolb was suddenly struck blind.

Throughout seven years, Kolb had the opportunity to maintain contacts with the Hottentots and was correspondingly able to compile a large quantity of material on the habits and customs of this people at the beginning of the 18th century. In fact, he was able to develop a more precise image of the Hottentots and correct some of the erroneous ideas that earlier authors had propagated. In 22 letters to Baron Krosigk, Kolb set out his observations, experiences and knowledge about the life of the Hottentots. Kolb thus attempted to dispel the opinions hitherto conveyed in order to ensure that the motives behind the behaviours and the way of life of the Hottentots were rendered understandable. In as early as the second letter, he wrote:

[...] thereby, many wanted to present the Hottentots as a species and in their genetic nature, they would say, among other things that they were very stupid / non-understandable and simpletons / because they did not know anything either about GOD or about anything else necessary to a normal life; furthermore, they appeared very dirty in their dietary habits and in every aspect of their life / also overly greasy with a stinking fat to such an extent that, at a distance, they were more easily able to detect by their smell than by their being seen.

And, in continuing to refute those authors, he added:

In general, persuaded of this / they did not write, in effect, nothing of harm / or spoken lies: however, it is extremely important to observe here a very useful difference. That they / when observing our or other peoples, would seem stupid / without a shadow of a doubt / because they did not in fact live either in accordance with the bourgeois codes or with any others / as do civilised peoples: on the contrary, even while sufficiently intelligent, only in their own manner / and they know how to deploy their intelligence just as well as any other people (Kolb, 1719: 365).

As in this instance, in the letters that followed Kolb also attempted to justify his opinions. For example, experience demonstrated that the Hottentots held every capacity to perfectly learn Dutch, English and Portuguese, which meant that they simply could not be as stupid as formerly portrayed. This author also proved that they worked throughout many years for the Europeans and, once again – there are examples testifying to this – that they showed clear dexterity and ability. Furthermore, the situation criticised by many other authors, that the Hottentots were a savage and simplistic people, who anointed themselves with the stinking fat of animals, also gets relativized by Kolb: the stink of the animal fat, for example, faded through habituation, indeed, just as the opinion on this people would become less condemnatory through daily interaction. As regards another detail – the much criticised strips of sheepskin covering their legs – Kolb found another explanation for this piece of clothing as he had for many other things:

[...] because they run a lot throughout wild fields and pastures / and they have to get through thorns and brushes / when seeking out roots / and wild almonds / and even Hottentot figs / [...] as their regular foodstuffs: then they would be covered in injuries if they did not use these rings around the thighs of their legs (Kolb, 1719: 483).

Furthermore, in the description of their professions and manual activities, Kolb did not find any motive whatsoever for the Hottentots to feel embarrassed about European endeavours. In terms of artisan leathers or wicker weaving, the Hottentots understood as much of such skills as their European counterparts.

[...] which [the work of the tanner] they understand perfectly / preparing at least as well sheepskins and other crude leathers, they also sew these together with just as much delicateness and graciousness and endowing them with whatever the shape necessary / that they should have / as any

tanner in Germany or any other part of Europe would be able to provide them with (Kolb, 1719: 505).

Furthermore, they produced highly perfect chains and, as butchers, even exceeded the Europeans.

Given such observations and experiences, Kolb cannot but disagree with the prior affirmations that all but denied Hottentots any status as humans. On the contrary, while displaying certain defects, in many aspects, they might cause the Europeans to blush with shame. As regards the criticism that the Hottentots were lazy and only worked whenever experiencing hunger, Kolb agreed that this was indeed the case; however, he also suggested that among the Christians there were also “lazy and idle” persons:

Unfortunately, I believe so! / that there are more than just many and you might see a clear example of this in the young, healthy and strong beggars in Germany who prefer to live off the charity of other persons / who wish to accommodate themselves, on their own free wills, to a certain miser. Were it as easy as it is for these to manage their own sustenance, I fully believe / that there would indeed be many, many more (Kolb, 1719: 541).

Furthermore, even in their more modest drinking habits, the Hottentots prove preferable to the Europeans in whom a lack of moderation very commonly ends up in violence and murder.

Another equally admirable aspect stemmed from how the Hottentots kept to their words as long as there was peace and an agreement had been sealed and even when not set down in writing. The admiration of Kolb got expressed in the following terms of praise:

Which is, quite certainly, worthy of a nation previously identified as so brutal and stupid. – Should they not / when now seeing these things in blind gentiles, many of the great powers in the world that want to be thousands of times wiser, more intelligent and better understood than the stupid Hottentots, experience shame at all of this? (Kolb, 1719: 560).

As regards the supposed inferiority of their culture, Kolb defends the right to be different. As regards aggression by third parties, the Hottentots sought to save their own cultural rules and their liberty and not to give up on these:

[...] they do not like being subject to anybody; rather preferring to suffer poverty and homelessness / than knowing they have been sold: even when the greatest of misery forces them to provide services in the house of

somebody for a period of time: however, this only ever happens on the condition that their liberty cannot, in any way, experience any coercion or harm (Kolb, 1719: 547).

Recognition should also be paid as much to this desire for liberty as for the circumstances in which Hottentots are content with that which they have always had: they do not demand precious goods, riches, mundane treasures, honour or any heightened sense of dignity.

Peter Kolb duly appreciated and valued this concern of the Hottentots in maintaining their own specific cultural identity. In fact, they always displayed certain reluctance towards the rules that the Europeans wanted to impose on them and maintained a certain distance towards all Europeans. Hence, for example, they retained familiar structures even after having begun work for the Europeans; they continue to dress in their usual ways, to rub themselves down with animal fat, etcetera. Indeed, we have already made reference to the frustrated effects at acculturation undertaken by some Hottentots.

The appreciation and sympathy of Peter Kolb for the Hottentots was clearly not the rule and especially in European Cape society. However, even the defence of the *noble savage* put forward by Kolb holds its own completely defined limits, for example, in the fact that on absolutely no occasion does he criticise or call into question the advance of European culture and its inevitable associated forced relocation of the Hottentots from their homes and their pasture lands so essential to their subsistence.

IV

As seen, in the Cape of Good Hope, we find two cultures coming up face to face who did not attempt to maintain any mutual dialogue and whose relationship therefore did not consist of any interchange. The company and its employees held some very specific objectives with their attainment of interest only to themselves. On the other hand, the Hottentots did not have and nor did they perceive any reason whatsoever to alter the livelihoods that they had hitherto been living. However, the presence of these two groups in the same place rendered their mutual encounter and influence inevitable to such an extent that the Hottentots, over the course of a significant period of time, underwent a partial conversion within the new society that was being built on their homelands. At the end of what became a process of completely forced integration, the Hottentots lived

side by side with both the Europeans and their slaves as a social group that gradually lost its original strengths and liberties and fell into dependence on the Europeans. This encounter ended for the Hottentots with total cultural annihilation through their forced accommodation.

Concrete and actual relations between the Europeans and Hottentots are, in the 17th century, first and foremost an exception – as in the case of Eva –, whilst relations between slaves and the Hottentots prove far more frequent. However, with time and in specific rural regions, ever larger European settlements were living side by side with the Hottentots whose lands in the meanwhile had been appropriated. Furthermore, this was exactly the time when, as the 18th century steadily advanced, more deliberately repressive measures were taken against the Hottentots. There had thus far been attempts – while not constant, to take into account the actual benefits – to foster their integration into Cape society, before entering into an overwhelming conflict within the framework of which the Hottentots were definitively swept aside through a diverse set of means and measures that ended the effective living conditions of the Hottentots: as from 1786, Europeans were socially proscribed from engaging in relationships with Hottentots. Meanwhile, the authorities introduced an obligatory identification policy that curbed the freedom of movement of the Hottentots. In addition, relations between slaves and the free Hottentots, hitherto allowed, became subject to more rigid laws: the offspring of any such relationship, who had previously obtained their liberty, after 1775 became obliged to work for the owner on the enslaved paternal side through to the age of 25.

From being strange, uncivilised, animalistic and pagan in the eyes of the Europeans, the Hottentots finally ended up being made “bourgeois” even if clearly without any fixed place in society, landless and without any rights whatsoever. Not even the *noble savage*, as Peter Kolb had described them, was able to stand up to such a power of acculturation.

CHAPTER FOUR

OTTO FRIEDRICH VON DER GROEBEN: A VOYAGE ACROSS THE ATLANTIC ON BEHALF OF BRANDENBURG

At the end of the Thirty Year War (1648), the German principality of Brandenburg sought to build up a modern state capable of returning clear development and growth. Frederick William, known as the “Great Elector”, ended up playing a decisive role in the political and economic transformation of the small territory of Brandenburg. Trapped between other major European powers, the regent admired mercantilist ideas and the creation of wealth with state intervention and commercial monopolies, and hence set about developing a project leveraging territorial expansion. Following the failure of efforts to get established in Tranquebar in India, where the principality acquired a fort from the Danish in 1651, Brandenburg decided to set up a base on the African continent. The network of routes and international trading posts sought after took the Low Countries as its example, given that, through commercial companies such as Verenigde Ostindische Compagnie (VOC), they had managed to monopolise various parcels of European trade and thereby generate great wealth. Directed by a general governor and influential traders, these companies took responsibility for the main tasks and assumed the risks as a company, a model that greatly appealed to the “Great Elector”. Such enthusiasm would thus lead to fostering the conditions necessary to join in with an already up and running international economy.

However, there would be many difficulties along the way and beginning with basics such as the lack of financing, control over not only ports and naval dockyards but also maritime and fluvial thoroughfares were among the various obstacles faced along the way. The territorial expansion achieved through participation in the Thirty Year War had however brought an open sea port, and with the cooperation of a trader and ship builder, Benjamin Raule, who placed ten of his vessels in his service, the

“Great Elector” was finally able to bring together a fleet under the flag of Brandenburg. In command of an armada, Frederick William subscribed to navigation and trade as the crucial pillars to securing the state of Brandenburg, appealing to citizens to produce the manufactures and foodstuffs necessary both for internal subsistence and for the overseas companies (Jones, 1985; Heyden, 1993).

Similar to Portugal on the threshold of its first expeditions, Brandenburg, a country very small in scale, perceived in expansion in Africa a means of not only strengthening internally but also attaining political legitimacy. Hence, in 1680, the first armada set off in the direction of the African west coast with the objective of exploring the opportunities and conditions for future settlements in this part of the globe. One year on, the Brandenburg Company had been founded and, in 1682, had already begun construction of a fortress in Africa.

News of Africa as reported in Germany

While, at first sight, the interest in the African continent might seem unusual in this territory distant from the Empire, we should take into account how Germany had practically from the outset shown great curiosity in the Portuguese maritime voyages (Lopes, 1990, 2012). In fact, this country avidly followed the advance down through the South Atlantic as may easily be demonstrated by the publication in 1493 of the famous world chronicle by Hartmann Schedel (Schedel, 1493). A chapter dedicated to Portugal not only makes reference to the wealth already being generated by the island of Madeira, especially the lucrative sugar trade, but also attributes great prominence to the voyages of Diogo Cão (Schedel, 1493).

In truth, Hartmann Schedel was able to count on the knowledge of two compatriots, Martin Behaim (Crone, 1961; Hamann, 1968, Cortesão, 1969) and Hieronymus Münzer, both in possession of information about Portugal and its maritime undertakings. Originally from Nuremberg (Schwob, 1969, Sporhan-Krempel, 1968), both had already visited the Portuguese kingdom and had much to tell on the new reports and accounts that they had heard in Portugal in addition to that which had been brought back from these other new worlds. Behaim is the well-known author of

one of the first ever globes¹ containing representations of the South Atlantic as well as texts that would have been compiled according to the testimony of Diogo Gomes. With the suggestive title of *De prima inventione Guinee* (Garcia, 1983), between 1485 and 1490, this text compiled information from first hand sources on the West African coastline.

Hieronymus Münzer² arrived in Portugal in 1494, along with three traders, Anton Herwart of Augsburg, Kaspar Fischer and Nikolaus Welkenstein of Nuremberg, with the objective of learning more about the knowledge generated by the Voyages of Discovery and would also bequeath an account of his journey throughout Portuguese lands where he was able to make contact with the new worlds revealed by the Portuguese sailors. Correspondingly, his *De Inventione Africae maritimae et occidentalis* (Münzer, 1932) tells of how King João II made a point of showing him the skin of a snake brought back from Guinea, how in Lisbon he admired an embalmed crocodile that was then hanging in a convent choir, as well as the beak of a pelican also brought back from Guinea. And on the streets of the city, he could not but notice singular characteristics that differentiated Lisbon from other European capitals: the presence of significant numbers of Africans, an image that he took back to Nuremberg and did not forget to include in his report on his voyage to the Iberian Peninsula.

Some years later, there comes the account of Balthasar Springer, one of the Germans who sailed in the fleet of Francisco de Almeida (1505), which would see the light of day in Germany in 1509 before going onto become one of the most important documents for the beginning of the Carreira da Índia (the India Run) beyond the Pyrenees.³ In fact, this text, accompanied in the Flemish and German editions by illustrations of the peoples encountered, would significantly contribute towards spreading

¹ According to Kellenbenz (Kellenbenz, 1967), Behaim would have visited Nuremberg with the goal of convincing the traders of this city to participate in these maritime voyages; the globe would be the evidence of the very latest data collected. In fact, the globe would be financed by the magistrates of Nuremberg. On the inscriptions on this globe, see Ravenstein, 1908.

² Prior to arriving in Portugal, Hieronymus Münzer wrote to King João II (1493) suggesting sailing westwards as this might prove the best route to reaching oriental *Catay* in a short period of time. It is feasible that Martin Behaim had brought back that letter on his return to Nuremberg (see Münzer, 1932; Albuquerque, 1965).

³ Springer, 1509. On Springer and his account, see Kleinschmidt, 1966; Jones, 1989.

reports on the voyages of the Portuguese throughout Central Europe.

Whilst these accounts about the exploration of the African coastline circulated around Europe, in particular around Germany, other contemporaries had already had the opportunity to appreciate some of the rarities brought back from these lands to Europe. Albrecht Dürer, in his travel diary to the Low Countries, identifies the marvellous and new things arriving in from Africa and India that he discovered and saw in Antwerp (Dürer, 1982: 55-101). In addition to the renowned engraving of the rhinoceros sent by King Manuel I to Pope Leon X, the artist also left behind sketches of Africans, in particular Katherina, a slave of a Portuguese overseer (s. chapter 9, Fig. 19).

Furthermore, interest and curiosity in the Lusitanian feats led Konrad Peutinger,⁴ the humanist and secretary to Emperor Maximilian I, to defend the participation of German commercial houses in the Portuguese voyages,⁵ with the Fugger, one of the most influential trading families in the south of Germany and with great power within the scope of Iberian trade, compiling and collecting witness accounts and books on the lands discovered throughout all of Europe and thereby establishing one of the most important libraries of the Modern Age (Lehmann, 1956-1960). Men of letters, such as Martin Waldseemüller, who published a *mappa mundi* in 1507 based on the Portuguese voyages of discovery, also contributed to revolutionising the image of the world. Waldseemüller would later publish *Geography* (1513) that, understood as a re-working of Ptolemy, proved a genuine landmark in European cartography. Others would follow this geographer and deepen efforts to represent the world as it was defined at the beginning of the 16th century.

As we may verify, distance represented no obstacle to these wise men of learning. Traders, diplomats, artists and scholars shared the same interest in learning more about the world.

The reports brought back by the Portuguese sailors contained new *truths* about the earth and its inhabitants. They revealed unknown facets about the African coastline and affirmed that the region to the south of the

⁴ On the close friendship between Valentim Fernandes and Konrad Peutinger in whose house he would come across the celebrated *Manuscrito de Valentim Fernandes* and the interest of both in the Portuguese discoveries, see chapter 6.

⁵ As may be demonstrated from his correspondence to the Emperor. Cf. Lutz, 1958.

equator was inhabited (Mollat, 1976; Matos, 1966). Hence, the multiple efforts of humanists to formulate a true and exact image about the world and humanity clamoured for the reception and transmission of information about this recently discovered world. Aware that not only the world of Classical Antiquity would be able to bring them true knowledge and capable of immersing themselves in new principles and methodological parameters, erudite German scholars cultivated dialogue with Portuguese sources as a vehicle of intellectual communion with knowledge about “the facts of humanity”.

Hence, in an initial phase, brief news reports were published in Germany even while it swiftly became clear that there was a need to discover the writings of greater depth and breadth about the maritime undertaking. Names such as Alvise Cadamosto, whose travelogue appeared in the celebrated travel collection *Paesi novamente ritrovati*,⁶ the works of Damião de Góis on Ethiopia (Góis 1532, 1540), the first history works by Fernão Lopes de Castanheda (1565), detailing the first voyages out across the Atlantic, or the work of Duarte Lopes⁷ on his time in the Congo, were naturally among the keynote works deemed necessary to convey to a German speaking audience.

In the late 16th century, the Dutch Jan Huyghen van Linschoten (Bry, 1598) or Pieter Marees⁸ stepped in to satiate curiosity about these lands as well as other Germans who, in the service VOC, navigated and traded over the waters and along the coasts of the Atlantic. Such is the case of Andreas Josua Ultzheimer (1616), Samuel Braun (1624) and Michael Hemmersam (1663) who, on board VOC vessels, provided accounts of the lands, peoples and goods of the West African coastline.

However, the waters of the Atlantic were also getting visited by vessels from other nations such as Sweden and Denmark, countries that would

⁶ Montalboddo, 1507, a work published in Nuremberg one year later under the title *Neue unbekante Landte und ein neue weldte in kurz vergangener zeythe erfunden* and also in Latin; s. chapter 1.

⁷ Lopes & Pigafetta, 1597. Reference should also be made to the work of Albertinus Aegidius (1609), as this follows the text by Fernão Guerreiro (1603-1611). This work was published in Lisbon in 1611, with a major proportion translated directly into German.

⁸ Pieter Marees published his description of the kingdom of Guinea in the city of Amsterdam in 1602. Gothhard Arthus would translate some chapters into German that would reach a public audience one year later in the work by Bry, 1603.

begin ploughing ever further southwards as from 1640 onwards. In order to engage in local commercial dealings, the Danish built a fort on the West African coastline in 1658. The Danish African Company would receive from King Frederick III of Denmark and Norway the right to trade on the West African coast in 1659. Wilhelm Johann Müller, a German priest, set off in 1662 for the West African coast in the service of the Danish African Company and remaining there through to 1670. His account, published in 1673, in the city of Hamburg, reflects on his eight years of working and corresponding experiences in the region and in the period just shortly before the arrival of Brandenburg.

Finally, one further particular highlight comes with the work of Olfert Dapper due to its importance in constructing an image of the African continent and its West coast in particular. Dapper, contrary to the other authors that we have just considered, was not *in loco* but his work holds the merit of, for the very first time, and as was his direct intention, compiling “[...] a general description” that came out in 1671 (Dapper, 1671: prologue, p. iij). A profound expert on travel accounts, the author undertook the arduous task of compiling a monograph on Africa that he eventually entitled *Umbständliche und Eigentliche Beschreibung von Africa*. Within the framework of the traditions of world descriptions, Olfert Dapper traces a portrait of the regions and peoples of Africa. Without ever having visited any part of the continent, Dapper wrote a reference work on it. To his success contributed the fact that he assumed or corresponded to the role of a historian:⁹ gathering and grouping, in accordance with their respective relevance, a vast pool of facts.¹⁰ Furthermore, Dapper, in attributing the primacy of the documentation, does not interject any personal commentary. Rarely interfering, the author avoids any opinions or concepts that would reflect his position as a European.¹¹

In summary, Germany, as we have had the opportunity to grasp based upon these examples, was very much aware of the news and accounts made on Africa and the extent of the European presence on this continent.

⁹ Dapper is also the author of translations of works by Herodotus and Homer.

¹⁰ Dapper certainly had the opportunity to access manuscripts existing in the Dutch archives. On his work, see Jones, 1989, 1990.

¹¹ Adam Jones (1989a: 79-80) draws attention to the fact that Dapper represents one of the first authors to take into consideration the African perspective in his writings.

Otto Friedrich von der Groeben and his *Guinesische Reise=Beschreibung*

At the end of the 17th century, as is known, the European states were engaged in exercising their political and commercial interests at sea and more particularly in the Atlantic.

On the Gold Coast, over a stretch of only 300 km between Axém and the river Volta, there were close to forty trading posts belonging to the different European powers, specifically Portugal, Spain, France, Britain, Sweden, Denmark and, as from 1680, the Brandenburg fleet arrived in the region.

The location chosen by this latter country would be in Axém, near to the Cape of Three Points and, later, on the island of Arguin – precisely where the Portuguese had built their first ever trading post/factory. Whilst as from 1683 interest began building around Arguin, it was in 1685 that the Company of Brandenburg chose this island as an important stopover point on the Company's routes. This new strategic location would be handed over to the rule of Cornetins Remeis, yet another Dutchman in the service of Brandenburg.¹²

The abundance of freshwater inland and fish in the surrounding waters contributed to the choice just as had previously been the case with the Portuguese occupation in 1455. Meanwhile, the Portuguese post had already been taken over by the Dutch in 1638, whilst the French were in occupation forty years later in 1678.

The product of greatest commercial interest in this region was Arabic gum or cola, a thick substance, extracted from trees such as the acacia Senegal and deployed for medicinal purposes and in the textile industry. Just as the Portuguese sources had already described it on the West coast, the Brandenburg trading post factor said that this was a fruit similar to the chestnut, purple in colour and somewhat acidic. He furthermore detailed that the Africans eat and drink the cola – “the most African of plants” (Margarido, 1994) – helping them to suppress hunger (Groeben, 1694: 51). Demand for the product was so significant that the Portuguese would sell it on in other regions where it would serve as a means of exchange.

Otto Friedrich von der Groeben, a young person of 27 years of age but

¹² On the Brandenburg presence in Arguin, see Monod, 1983.

with military experience, was chosen by the “Great Elector” to lead the 1682 expedition. He was accompanied by fifty men including a contingent of engineers and soldiers with its core mission of coordinating the construction of a fortress. On 1st January 1683, the ship’s flag was raised over the mountain that was then baptised with the name of the Great Elector, Grosse-Friedrich-Berg, just as the fort later became Grossfriedrichsburg and, standing on a small peninsula, was ideal for shipping. This fortress, as the contemporary accounts reported, resulted from an agreement reached with the inhabitants. They were allowed to trade in the area just so long as the Brandenburg deployment provided due protection from potential invaders. Indeed, the construction of a fortress, the very symbol of a European presence, was, first and foremost, protection against the dangers that always came from the sea. Nevertheless, as Groeben mentioned, many of the fortified positions that he visited did not contain any more than a couple of dozen soldiers (Groeben, 1694: 64) with their core activity very much commercial trading.

The arrival of Brandenburg would immediately be perceived, in particular by the Dutch, as an open door for divisions in the indigenous populations. The Dutch captain of the Mina castle moved swiftly to express his displeasure, as Groeben duly reports. To the protest that the new arrivals held no right to trade on the Gold Coast, Groeben, who knew very well that the Dutch were not able to prohibit them, told the captain to take up the issue with the authorities in Berlin. As he affirms in his writings, he told them that the Germans had purchased the land from the Africans and that they had been granted the right to settle there (Groeben, 1694: 85). Thus, as the Africans had determined the relationship and agreements established with the different European nations, this confirmed their decisive role in the construction of the Atlantic as historiography has more recently drawn attention to (Thornton, 1992).

Having arrived in late December of 1682, Groeben remained only through to August 1683 and hence a scarce eight months. On his return, similar to the first voyages of reconnaissance, he also returned with animals, plants and some young members of the local population who, in turn, would cause a furore, as is well documented, as pages in the palaces of Potsdam and Berlin (Jones, 1985; Heyden, 1993).

Well located on the commercial trading networks, the main goods handled by Grossfriedrichsburg would feature gold and ivory. Between 1682 and 1696, every year saw the minting of what were called the Guinea Ducats

in Berlin. However, these two goods were not in themselves sufficient to fill the holds of the vessels plying this route and make the voyage profitable, and therefore the Brandenburg Company would also engage in slave trafficking. As from 1687, vessels in the Brandenburg fleet began voyaging to Slave Coast. However, the problem faced was finding a market for sale, given the other European powers, specifically Holland, England, France and Spain, would only allow the purchase of slaves that had been transported in their own vessels. Thus, Brandenburg skirted around this restriction by reaching agreement with Denmark and hence its vessels opened up a new route sailing to the Caribbean and landing their cargoes close to Puerto Rico.¹³

Otto Friedrich von der Groeben was to bequeath an account of the inaugural voyage, noting information on the African coast along the stretch from Cape White as far as the Cape of Three Points, the site that had been proposed as ideal for the construction of a fortress.

The sheer importance attributed to this account may be confirmed by its publication in 1694. The work was dedicated to Frederick III, son of the “Great Elector” who had in the meanwhile passed away. Some years later, in 1700, Frederick III of Brandenburg would receive the title of King in Prussia and re-named Frederick I in recognition of the support provided to the Emperor of Austria in his war with Louis XIV. However, the Brandenburg presence in Africa was not destined to endure as in 1713 the son of Frederick III announced the end of the company before, in 1720, closing its fortress on the continent.

Groeben’s text, along with its respective engravings, thus describes his brief stay in African lands and detailing some of the aspects that had attracted his greatest curiosity and interest. His writings, which firstly deal with the main events taking place on a daily basis throughout the voyage, furthermore provides some notes on the contacts established with African peoples, highlighting particularly interesting details such as not only their houses that, round and covered in palm leaves, were not very high and hence in order to enter them, one would have to double over (Fig. 3), but also and especially the exotic and different usages and customs of the peoples that he came into contact with.

¹³ According to Ulrich van der Heyden (1993), the Brandenburg Companies ran a fleet of two vessels in 1682 and 1683, nine in 1688, five in 1690, twelve, its peak, in 1692 and eight in 1698 – in numbers that demonstrate the difficulty of a small company faced by large and highly diverse competitors.



Fig. 3 Otto Friedrich von der Groeben:
Guinesische Reise=Beschreibung, 1694

In Sierra Leone, for example, he highlights the fact that its inhabitants had the habit of covering themselves in fat and oil and thereby gaining a skin texture that would shine and reflect as if a mirror – a fact that had already caused some amazement to the Portuguese. He refers to how they wander around almost naked, using only a strip of cloth to cover their private parts and also noting down how those living close to beaches opted to wear an old hat or a coloured flax cap.

His male European gaze finds the women amusing to look at given they leave the upper section of their bodies completely naked, wearing a coloured or white cloth around their lower sections and highlighting the fact that they also walk about bare footed. He also distinguishes between local women, the wives of community leaders and Christian concubines (Fig. 4) (Groeben, 1694).

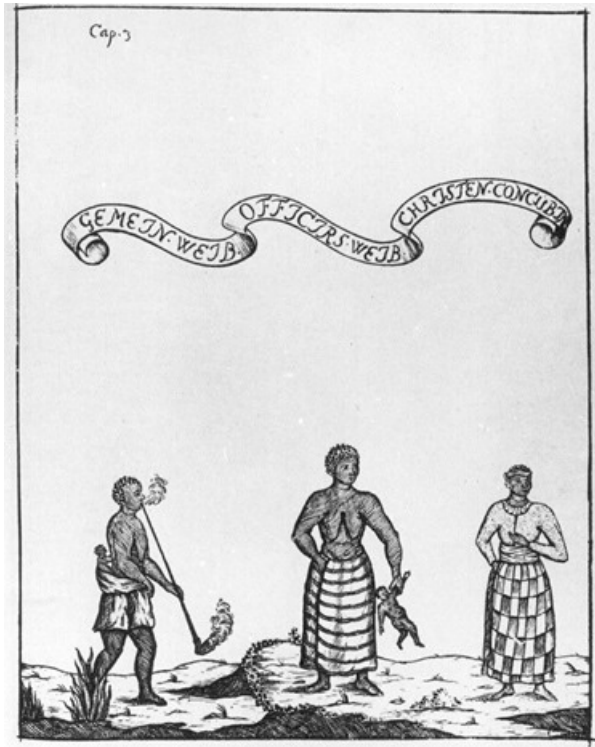


Fig. 4 Otto Friedrich von der Groeben:
Guinesische Reise=Beschreibung, 1694

Furthermore, he also picked up on rituals, such as those related with death in which, as he tells, when somebody dies, their friends gather around for the burial and then, on the third day: “Just as one jumps, another cries, the third laughs, the fourth plays; and they all scream in some great confusion” (Groeben, 1694: 24).

In the Cestos (Baskets) river, the name that, as Duarte Pacheco Pereira (Pereira, 1975: 105) explains, stems from the fact that local communities would come here and gather many and good malagueta (chilli peppers) in baskets in a way not otherwise seen elsewhere, there appeared the opportunity to establish contacts with an African who Groeben recognised as a chief. The latter came on board and thus opened up the chance, as a good European custom designed to foster approximation, to serve him a

meal (Pipa, 2004). Otto Friedrich von der Groeben closely observed his good manners at the table while also admiring his great contentment at hearing the music that was played for him (Groeben, 1694: 104).¹⁴ On the following day, they visited him ashore with Groeben surprised, as he himself states, that there was nothing to distinguish him from others in his community apart from the respect showed to him. This thus once again unveils the European gaze and its efforts to search out a political system, the insignias and the instruments of power equivalent to those that they themselves were familiar with.

The empathy that they would nurture for Peter, this being the name of the African who welcomed them as a friend, would later be reflected in one of the engravings in his book depicting a bust, similar to those of the Roman period, and certainly in homage to the person portrayed (Fig. 5).

Groeben relates how, in the wake of practices begun by other Europeans, he offers presents to the Africans, for example, aguardente (grape brandy), iron or clothes that these peoples were deemed to greatly appreciate. In these contacts, although sometimes mentioning an interpreter, they speak English, Dutch and even Portuguese as he alludes to on an occasion in which he speaks to an African. Furthermore, we should highlight that his text is dotted with Portuguese vocabulary. The most frequent are interrelated with toponymy and reflecting how the names attributed by the Portuguese became the adopted nomenclature. In addition to the names of lands or places, Rio de Escravos (Slave River), Serra Leoa (Sierra Leone), Cabo Branco (White Cape), which he always writes in Portuguese, we may also find the names of products such as malagueta (chillies), ananás (pineapples), bananas, batatas (potatoes) as well as other cases that prove fairly curious. Such is the case of the gifting of “presents” in which Portuguese vocabulary is applied as if there were no translation for such a unique and singular act in the relationship between Europeans and Africans.¹⁵

¹⁴ This is an already known reaction to the earliest works of Portuguese travel literature, especially the well-known step in which Álvaro Velho, in his inaugural account of the maritime route to India, expresses his surprise at the pleasure of inhabitants for music that very much aligned for black persons whom, as he affirms, were not expecting music.

¹⁵ This list of nouns might be extended to include many other Portuguese words. However, our purpose involves less their listing but rather the highlighting of the recourse to Portuguese terms such as aldeias (villages), azagaias (assegai) or



Fig. 5 Otto Friedrich von der Groeben:
Guinesische Reise=Beschreibung, 1694

Such an example, and as also demonstrated in other cases, provides not only an indication of the linguistic relevance of Portuguese as a language for communication and social interaction but also an insight into the historical dimension of the European presence in Africa, a facet to which Groeben was not unaware. Furthermore, this observer slots in small notes about the history of Europeans within these lands, mentioning for example how the Portuguese were the first masters of the entire extent of the Gold Coast having been able to benefit from business and trade in this region throughout a long period of time.

While, on occasion, a positive gets traced of Africans within the framework of which there is praise of some particular virtue or capacity such as their ability to trade and haggle, for example, what is certain is

feiticos (witchcraft) reflecting the adoption of the initial surprise of the Portuguese along with the baptism of such realities by those who came after them and followed in the steps of those who had first named these strange realities.

that on various occasions, such as on Costa dos Beijúdos, as it is known in the Portuguese sources (Pereira, 1975: 110), the emphasis is very much placed on bad and underhand people. Indeed, in his considerations about the Africans, we cannot talk about any particular enthusiasm or even some special sympathy as he confirms in many sections of his account when making reference to peoples that would sell not only prisoners but also women and children and especially because, as Groeben points out, they deem them at the level of dogs (Groeben, 1694: 57). He thus holds that they are bad, thieves, in the service of the devil as he indeed does affirm when describing their beliefs or their religious services (Fig. 6).¹⁶

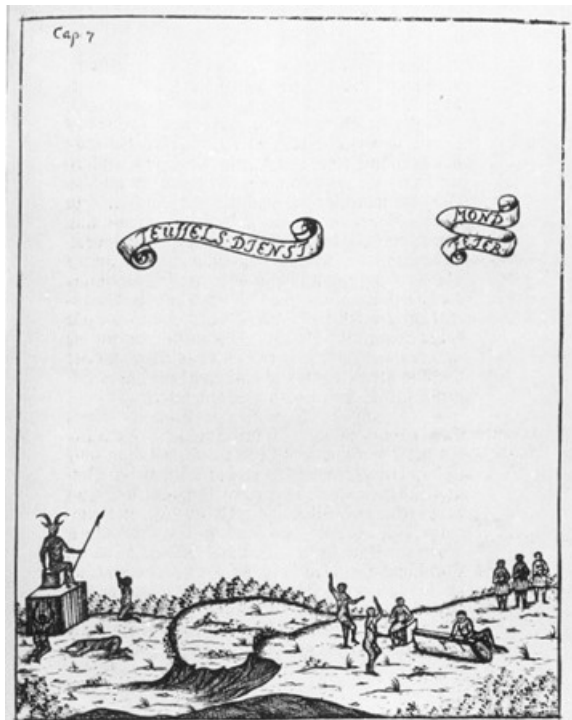


Fig. 6 Otto Friedrich von der Groeben:
Guinesische Reise=Beschreibung, 1694

¹⁶ This theme would also get highlighted in the images added to the account of his voyage. And, as in the then contemporary iconography, the idol represented is that of the devil from European paintings and engravings. See Lopes, 1998.

Whilst his European gaze guides his comments, he never gives up on paying attention and showing curiosity to the way of life in African societies as may be seen in a passage from his account that we focus upon next. Groeben states that it may be affirmed that these people are happy given that their nature ensures they are content with little. And he specifies: they do not need to worry about shoes, socks, hats or suits, they drink water, eat a little flour or rice from their crops and nobody robs them of the marvellous fruits that grow wild in the brush. Furthermore, they are cheerful people, singing, jumping, expressing jubilation and know little of the concerns or the anxieties of wealth (Groeben, 1694:26). On reading this extract, we immediately make out the idealised image of the *noble savage* (Kohl, 1986), a man living happily without any great concerns and in accordance with what is handed down by nature. Returning to this theme on another occasion, Groeben raises the question as to whether love for one's patria might influence the direction of human life. Furthermore, in this context, he refers to how he observed this among the Africans. He additionally affirmed how some Africans returned to their home communities on the tenth day of their stay among Europeans, preferring the simple African life than European comforts and luxury. And when they were asked out of curiosity just what was the reason for their returns, one of them had told him that a man who is content with little is the richest and happiest. From his point of view, while Europeans lived separated from their friends in having to strive to encounter food and drink, they, the Africans, on the contrary, lived in their own lands among their families, covering their intimates with strips of cloth, and with a gulp of water and a handful of flour they live as if the happiest and richest persons in the world. Given such a response, Groeben concludes in favour of the happiness of those whose nature enables them to be happy with little (Groeben, 1694: 61). Whilst it is unlikely that in this period there had already been examples, as he himself portrayed, of Africans that would have returned to their country, as highlighted by Adam Jones (Jones, 1990a: 69-70), what is certain is that his writing has to be understood as the idealised projection of the author. Had he done this to elicit the interest of his readers, as Adam Jones also proposes, we would not know how to respond. However, it would seem of particular importance to retain the exceptional nature of this passage. In fairness, the idealisation of the *noble savage*, the fruit of having to confront other realities, was a theme common to the literature in the 16th and 17th centuries on American Indians, even if in relation to Africans this would only begin emerging in the 18th century.¹⁷

¹⁷ Such is the case of Peter Kolb as shown in chapter 3 and in addition to other

Furthermore, the clear elegy of the law of nature should effectively be interpreted neither as an enthusiastic opinion about the way Africans lived their lives, nor as a veiled desire for everybody to live like them. The attitude rather reflects the nostalgia of a European that seeks to place himself in the role of the Other – a theme that somewhat later on, Montesquieu would also deepen in his *Lettres Persanes*, not because he sought to follow such a path but because he wanted to formulate a critical opinion of Europe.

Thus, it proves opportune to invoke how this text by Groeben, as we believe we may affirm, for the very first time sets out a clear opposition between the European and the African within the context of a travel account. This no longer represents an account of a meeting of cultures, but rather a confrontation between the two continents and their “polices”. This thus traced the greater distancing that would characterise future accounts in terms of the way in which they approached and evaluated the Other.¹⁸ The newness, characteristic of the earliest writings (Greenblatt, 1991), had counterbalanced the differences.

This constructivist attitude towards the cultural difference between Europeans and Africans corresponds to another text written by Otto Friedrich von der Groeben based upon his experience in African lands. In 1700, the reporter of the overseas Brandenburg Company for the West African coastline published an epos of almost nine hundred pages in verse that transformed his colonial experience into an epic poem (Groeben, 1700). Throughout this literary pretext, the writer makes space in his fictionalised description of the African realities that he had witnessed. Without having been an exhaustive reporter of the non-European realities, particularly because his gaze is overly European, Otto Friedrich von der Groeben gives voice to and witnesses these other peoples and lands. Like so many others before him, the man that set off for the Atlantic did not return the same as he had left.

Stemming from a brief stay in Africa, the account of Otto Friedrich von der Groeben bequeaths a European perspective on the cultures and societies

authors mentioned by Urs Bitterli (1970). See also Jones (1990: 70-72).

¹⁸ In the late 17th century, we encounter a point of turning towards the image of the Other: not so much in terms of the intervention of the Others but rather through a change in the attitude of the Europeans. See chapter 20 and Osterhammel, 1998; see also my review of Osterhammel’s work in: *Mare Liberum* 18-19 (1999-2000): 345-348.

of Africa as well as an individual account of the ambitions and projections of yet another European power interested in expanding their power out into the Atlantic at the end of the 17th century.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE NON-TRAVELLING VOYAGER: GOMES EANES DE ZURARA

Chronicler of the kingdom, Gomes Eanes de Zurara (1410/20-1473/74) not only held the opportunity to witness the diligences and initiatives undertaken by the Portuguese in their conquests and discoveries reaching beyond the hitherto known world, but also left news and reports about them in his writings. Zurara, who wrote one of the later accounts of the very first expeditions carried out by the Portuguese overseas, did nevertheless provide his interpretation of the expansionist project in his chronicles. This fact has on occasion been overlooked by historiography given that, in light of the changes taking place in Portugal over the course of the 15th century, there is the assumption that any contemporary of that period, and in this case a recorder of history, should provide an account of those initiatives. This leads to a lack of emphasis on the sheer importance and worth of his work in detailing this new reality. Indeed, in order to verify just how unobvious detailing the ongoing events appeared to then contemporary authors, one only needs to reference the so often heard lament about how little Portuguese writers did actually write about this epic period in national history. Furthermore, even the contemporaries to the event were expressing such regrets. To take one example, João de Barros would go on to write his *Décadas* exactly because there was no alternative literature on such unprecedented and crucial historical facts. In fact, from this point of view, the work of Gomes Eanes de Zurara takes on not only another dimension but also a different level of appreciation.

Furthermore, his writing is not perceived as falling within the scope of the discourse of the “new man” of the Renaissance. In truth, the perception of his being an author strongly shaped by a medieval worldview has proven an obstacle to his subsequent interpretation. Nevertheless, whilst Zurara represents a transitional writer, as highlighted by Luís Filipe Barreto (1983), and whilst his historiographical labours bear witness to the

combative fervour of men in the late Middle Ages, Zurara certainly did not close himself off to change, to the newness then under discovery. On the contrary, he was responsible for providing the earliest descriptions of the very first peoples and lands encountered and hailed the destruction and eradication of the fears and concerns in praising “the new worlds in the world”. In the laudatory hymns in praise of the work carried out by the company of Prince Henry the Navigator, he exalts the heroes as founding a nation that he always saw as the recipient of divine protection, as understandable within the scope of propagating what was known as “Portuguese Evangelism” as built up by his predecessor, Fernão Lopes – with whom he is depreciatively compared on so many different occasions –, in narrating the revolution of 1383 and 1385 and the subsequent struggle for Portuguese independence. We need only recall some of the personalities such as the future monarch, the Master of Avis, as well as the Constable Nuno Álvares Pereira, the man whose actions and serenity would help conquer the title of Founder of Portugal in order to re-encounter identically enthusiastic images. We thereby share the opinion of Humberto Baquero Moreno when affirming: “Contemporaneous historiography displays a strong tendency towards wishing to compare the work of Zurara with that of Fernão Lopes. And in an attitude that we ourselves consider reprehensible” (Moreno, 1987: 202).

Without wishing to go into detail about this theme, we seek only to allude to the existence of other texts similar to the praise heaped upon the Prince, such as by the Italian humanist Poggio Bracciolini (Garcia, 1994) as well as the writings by Alvise Cadamosto; what matters is not underestimating the model adopted by these authors to convey an enthusiastic portrait of their subjects.

The study by an author such as Zurara represents an excellent test to observe how medieval and modern times are interwoven. Johan Huizinga has already drawn attention to the splendour and fascination of transitory epochs that, in his view, are generally underplayed. Historians of the Middle Ages do not duly contemplate this period as they already note modifications and other attitudes and behaviours, while specialists on the Modern Age do not yet find society and culture having reached its peak and hence prefer to deal with later periods, in particular the reign of the *Perfect Prince*. However, whoever wishes to grasp the flow of history across its different components, facets and reactions ends up heading down its paths and the deviations of historical duty. According to the maxim of understanding and interpreting through to the smallest possible

detail of historical documentation, we must firstly allow ourselves to be surprised by the singularity of each work and each author.

Zurara and the Art of Narrating

In the transition from the Middle Age to modernity, writers of historiographic discourses were perceived as the guardians of a particular worldview and also as writers in production who thus could never spurn that which had already been compiled and drafted. Hence, authors would very often make recourse to the testimony from other authorities as a means of legitimating the truth and accuracy of their own works (Cardim, 1996; Finazzi-Agró, 1993), as we may indeed identify in the case of Gomes Eanes de Zurara.

Within this scope, the chronicles of Gomes Eanes de Zurara constitute an excellent legacy of medieval historiographic production as well as a very representative example of the medieval values and vision. In addition to this facet, they also prove surprisingly original and innovative when referring to the period of expansion even while, as Vitorino Magalhães Godinho noted, they had as their “objective the narration of the feats of arms in African lands to the south of Morocco and not only the discoveries and the commercial voyages” (Godinho, 1963: 221). In truth, Gomes Eanes de Zurara proves to be an author capable of looking at and perceiving the present and conveying it through varied and colourful descriptions across the pages of his works. Aware that the present moment would change the face of the world, Gomes Eanes de Zurara did not remain either indifferent or uninterested in the visible “turning of the time” (Huizinga, 1996).

Already in his earliest writings, *Chronicle of the Taking of Ceuta*, structured around describing the first forays of the Portuguese into North Africa, Gomes Eanes de Zurara draws upon some of the traces of the historical portrait that the chronicler would render eternal as regards the key driver behind the maritime undertaking: Prince Henry the Navigator. Whilst this work stands in the shadow of its predecessor by Fernão Lopes, the narrator of the 1383-85 revolution, we do nevertheless come across innovative aspects that we may affirm from the very outset would go on to determine the historiographical discourse of the Memory of Expansion: the awareness of newness.

Marvel and Amazement

Stephen Greenblatt, the author of *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (1991), defends how the main characteristic underpinning the discovery of these new worlds was amazement. The chronicler Gomes Eanes de Zurara represents a writer who very much knew how to convey this spirit of amazement and sheer surprise at the expansion project. In a very well-known passage in which he details the preparations for the conquest and the taking of the “flower” of Africa, Zurara put forward a colourful account of the bustle of the Portuguese activities and clearly conveying the idea of a dynamic and well organised set of actions that established the driving force behind the subsequent expansion. And his text does duly note the uniqueness that such a conjugation of forces represented:

And, in truth, it was a wonderful thing to see: because along all of the length of that inlet stood carracks and vessels, on which day and night clambered tailors and other artisans repairing and working whatever was needed. Furthermore, there were many butchered bulls and cows and many men, some skinning and others cutting and salting, with others putting the pieces into casks and onto the vessels on which they were to go. The fishermen and their women were engaged with gutting and salting the hake, mackerel and skate along with other similar fish that covered every spot on which the sun did linger a little longer. As for the blacksmiths, never during day or night did their hammers rest and to such an extent that a man screaming, saying something in front of those furnaces, could hardly be able to be heard. And the coopers were also hard at making and repairing the recipients for the wines, meats and other supplies with the tailors and seamstresses making cloths and liveries of strange appearances with each in accordance with what the respective lord had ordered done with the carpenters fixing stands and seats and preparing all of the other artillery positions that were many and very large with the rope-makers hoisting winches and rigging and cabling and much other flax roping that they made whether for the ships from here or those from overseas as everything got repaired in this kingdom. Would there be anybody who was clearly able to tell of all the work undertaken by all of those many people?

Here, he also found space to philosophise on old age:

Nobody was spared from this service even while the old knew that they would have to stay due to their age, they nevertheless still attempted to discover just where would be the true destination that the fleet was heading towards and about this they had major discussions because of

their role in [discussing] it intrigued them and especially the elderly because of all of the many things that they had seen and known and also because they were already free of the passions that did not allow the young the freedom necessary to think correctly about such things and furthermore as their attentions were so deep reaching, there was nobody who might be able to clarify with any certainty the nature of such a feat (Zurara, s/d: 68-69).

Such a description amounts to more than the expression of enthusiasm of hearts replete with hope and marvel at a project that sought to innovate and hence radiate. Thus, faced with a completely different and, on occasion, strange world, Gomes Eanes de Zurara highlighted countless times over the marvelling at unknown landscapes and never before seen peoples, and sensitive from the outset to the diversity as an exponent of this new human portrait.

This thereby conveys how in *Chronicle of the Feats in Guinea* (Zurara, 1981), the work which most clearly reveals this amazement as a reality only then beginning to unfurl, Zurara speaks most about the surprises then undergoing revelation. Equally, it is certainly not by chance that when seeking to set out a portrait of the Infant, this context of marvel and astonishment provides the background to the homage paid. “Your glory, your praise, your fame, fill all of my hearing and take up all of my sight so that I do not know which part to first take in” (Zurara, 1981: 33).

In addition to encountering a man heavily determined by his senses, just as Lucien Febvre did highlight to his contemporaries (Febvre, 1968: 393-399), where hearing about and, step by step, seeing constitute the guidelines of knowledge, we may witness just how that which is heard and seen is entirely conditioned by the actions surrounding the discoveries made. Therefore, to allude to the labours of the Prince in staging the maritime voyages, he refers to the meetings with other peoples and cultures before affirming:

I hear the prayers of some of the innocents of these barbaric nations, almost infinite in number, whose former generations right from the beginning of the World had never seen the divine light and, out of your wisdom, your endless expenditure, your labours, are brought to the true path of salvation [...] I see those Garamantes and those Ethiopians who live in the shadow of mount Caucasus, black in colour because they rise under the opposite of the birth of the sun [...] and [I see] the Indians, greater or lesser in size but all equal in colour [...] I am amazed at those

bordering onto the Nile, whose great multitude has settled the thermal spas of that old and ancient city of Thebes [...] (Zurara, 1981: 33-34).

There might be many examples but immediately we note the surprise at this new world that was then beginning to become known and, within this new horizon, there was the discovery of other such disparate peoples that so much touched and impressed him. As Rui Loureiro states:

[...] from the point of view of contact with the civilizational *other*, this is an enormously rich text as Zurara details some of the very first encounters of the Portuguese with the hitherto unknown or never before contacted peoples of the West African coastline and descriptively approaching the anthropology of these peoples (Loureiro, 1991: 195).

We should also duly emphasise the countless times that the author refers to his sense of marvel and amazement, a fact especially visible in his writing being replete with vocabulary and expressions designed to formulate this sense of surprise and the wonder generated by this new reality.

Newness

One of the underlying purposes of his writing was most certainly to bequeath a witness account of this “admirable new world”. The *Chronicle of the Feats in Guinea* thus proves the patient labour of a man who gained his information from those who participated in expeditions along the African coastline in order to be able to pass on those same events. The difficulties inherent to such a task were identified by the author himself:

Indeed, one thing is very certain about the feats that many saw and know about but which nobody can ever ask about enough times as however many the times of telling there is something new to learn; and this is because each has their own way of telling the story. Looking for the many people who saw a thing, and asking each one of them individually, you will find that the first is not in agreement with the second and nor the third with the last as regards the circumstances of the fact. And this I know only all too well because I found this frequently in practice. Really, when this happens with small things, what may have happened on the taking of a city or the unfurling of a field battle, in which the work of each one does not stretch beyond defending their own lives, in which they have so much to do that, does it not become credible that they do not pay their attentions to other things? And whoever wished to write the words of everybody, would end up with something very defuse or more accurately, impossible

because people do not restrain themselves to telling of what they know but also add on what they have heard in so many details and so widely that they lead those who are going to write only the essence of the facts to confront great doubt; to this end, it becomes safer to ask few but reliable people than requesting all of those who do not have reason for knowing everything (the facts) perfectly (Zurara, s/d: 19).

Despite these difficulties in gathering oral testimony, as he highlights, Zurara, however, does not spurn them. In effect, the chronicler did not have any written documents that he might make recourse to as today one might find in the pages of informed specialists on this initial period of the maritime voyages of discovery. He also faced the stunning newness of the moment which was what impelled Gomes Eanes de Zurara to write. Irrespective of how the feats of the cavalry occupy many pages of his works, and reflecting his mode of understanding the world, what is also certain is that Zurara was not alien to the signs that were already pointing to another, new route.

There is no doubt that what emerges is a new current in historiographic discourse. While reluctant to abdicate from a traditional vocational vision of the world, the author does still introduce new themes, especially as regards the complex subject of otherness, reflecting the origins of anthropology.

We and the Others

His descriptive aptitude is very closely associated with the subject, whatever the object undergoing description. As mentioned above, it is the never before seen lands and their peoples that Gomes Eanes Zurara speaks of and hence what he learns proves a challenge: that of writing about these new facts in the world. While many academics have interpreted his discourse critically given this first and foremost involves the taking of slaves, we should however emphasise his position taking into consideration the different new aspects that the appearance of these peoples draws from him. In effect, we find that not only in his description of other practices and customs that are of interest in how they open up the newness, but also in how he also renders a voice to the Others, a rhetorical style that we shall find corresponds closely to the style of Fernão Mendes Pinto (see chapter 13). Who are these peoples that the Portuguese encounter and what does Gomes Eanes de Zurara have to say about them?

As early as the *Chronicle of the Taking of Ceuta*, written between 1449

and 1450, Zurara, in detailing the advance of the Portuguese through the South Atlantic, makes the space to provide a portrait of the lords of the Moroccan squares: the Moors. His sketching of them rhetorically gains such space within the scope of his narrative that he sets them talking, endowing them with the opportunities to express their points of view. In effect, Gomes Eanes de Zurara introduces a chapter in which the Moors lament the loss of their beautiful Ceuta, this fabulous and so wealthy “port” (João de Barros) to the African and Oriental world.

Recognised by Maria Leonor Buescu as a “rhetorical piece and of notable literary creativity” (Buescu, 1990: 162), this episode, in which he clearly and consciously delineates the vision of the defeated, has not however come in for a great deal of attention from the academic community. Ultimately, this represents an example of the desire and the will to present and attribute space to the Others that shall go onto characterise the writing of the 16th century. Indeed, he turns to the same process when, in the *Chronicle of Duarte de Meneses*, he leaves it to the Moors to tell of the conquest of Ksar es-Seghir. There have abounded explanations such as having made recourse to Moorish sources or resorting to images out of style, even if none of the arguments in themselves answer this question with any degree of certainty. On the contrary, they might also represent from the very outset the first attempts at self-discovery of the Portuguese, as Christians, to reflect on a greater and broader understanding of reality now perceived through the mirror effect projected by the Others. This therefore bears due witness to how, for the very first time, knowledge about other peoples and cultures elicited an exercise in confronting and comparing this with one’s own reality. As Todorov stated, the vision of the Other is always the vision of the Oneself transferred to another voice and another human universe (Todorov, 1984). In giving a voice to these Others, Zurara steps into their place and foresees what is taking place to them, the Moors, and what may subsequently happen to them, the Portuguese. This is the notion of the whole man and how all men are interwoven into the scope of his writings – and this thinking is thus perturbing that the reflection put forward by the author effectively formulates the idea of fear and terror that such generated.

This episode therefore reflects, as also referenced by Luís de Sousa Rebelo (Rebelo, 1998), and from the very beginning, the duly prophetic tones conferred by the great poet Camões in his Velho do Restelo character, pessimistic and failing to see any positives in the discoveries underway.

That grasping the otherness would cause some imprecision in the discourse emerges in the terminology applied to the enemies of faith getting applied to all the peoples along the West African coastline, for example. In practice, the term *moor* designated Muslims in general, whether black or white in colour. The expression 'black Moor' thus proved a synonym of an African in an association also then current in the chronicles of Castile. The negative idea incorporating black with the devil would be subject to revision as the Portuguese continued on their way observing the peoples of the West Africa coastline with its characterisation proving more nuanced in terms of anthropological differentiation. Gomes Eanes de Zurara, in his *Chronicle of the Feats in Guinea*, makes frequent usage of the term *gentiles*, which holds a more positive connotation in the sense of achieving greater accuracy in terms of its representativeness (Loureiro, 1991).

These difficulties and the perplexities involved in portraying the Other clearly emerge out of the attitude taken by the chronicler in the chapter detailing the sharing of slaves in Lagos in 1444 – a much referenced and commented upon passage in his chronicle.

Looking at the group of men and women disembarking from the Portuguese vessels, the author notes that they include different peoples originating from different parts of the continent, as may be *read* from their physiognomies – some with browner and others with blacker skin tones with others still lighter.

Those [captives] placed together in that camp were a marvellous thing to see: because among them there were some of a reasonable whiteness, light skinned and standing out; others, less white, who would seem to be brown skinned; with others as black as the Ethiopians, thereby so unappealing in their faces and their bodies that the men standing guard over them saw images of the hemisphere existing down below (Zurara, 1981:146).

Surprised by all this diversity – the aforementioned marvel and amazement –, Gomes Eanes de Zurara goes still further in verifying their behaviour as human beings; and thereby understanding their doubts, disheartenment, pain and sadness:

But, whose would be the heart, however hard it might be, that was not afflicted by pious sentiment on seeing this campaign before them? Because some of them held their heads down and with their faces washed in tears, others stared at each other; others were wailing very painfully, awaiting the heavens before, affixing their eyes upon them, loudly braying

as if calling on the help of the Father of Nature; others would do harm to their faces with their palms, others threw themselves about stretched in the middle of the floor; others would wail their lamentations in the manner of a song according to the custom of their lands, which did (given that the words of their language could not be understood to ours) seem to correspond to their level of sadness (Zurara, 1981:146).

What a world! They are men with familiar gestures and common feelings even if the language cannot be understood. In gestures and words, they bemoan their fate at having been separated from each other and only by force is it able to separate them given that they fight in order to stay alongside their own.

Who would be able to break that partition without a great deal of work? In fact, just as soon as they had been put into one place, the children would see their parents in another and quickly get up and go to them; the mothers would hug their other children in their arms and defend them with their arms, getting injuries with little concern for their own flesh so as not to have them taken away (Zurara, 1981:147).

While the chronicler accepts the slavery of the non-Christians, as taught in the doctrine of Saint Augustine, on the observation of the black Africans, this does not prevent him from recognising that they are “all children of God”. And, while considering the salvation of their souls as the greatest feat – as he later affirms: “just as soon as there was knowledge of the language, with just a small movement did they turn Christian [...] such good and true Christian as if they had descended from the beginning of the law of Christ” (Zurara, 1981: 148) –, the chronicler clearly recognises the pain and the suffering brought about by their division through the casting of lots.

In looking at them, Zurara relates, as we have seen, similar sentiments and attitudes between the people and thereby becoming aware of humanity. The strangeness of this reality might only be answered, in his view, by the celestial father, thus, only He would be able to explain why these sons of the generation of Adam only now gained the opportunity of knowing Him, trusting in Christianity as if the air being breathed (Febvre, 1968). Hence, he begins his chapter by evoking Him:

O Lord, Celestial Father, who with Your powerful hand without any movement of Your divine essence govern all of the boundless company of Your holy city and who brings closely together all of the axes of the

higher orbs, distinguished into nine spheres, moving the times of the ages, brief or long as is your desire! (Zurara, 1981: 145).

And he continues:

I beseech You that my tears do not cause harm to my conscience: because, not by Your law for these but because their humanity afflicts mine [that] does cry mercifully for their fate. And if the animal brutes with their bestial senses, out of some natural instinct, grasp the harm done by their similar, what do you want me to do with this my human nature, seeing in that way right before my very eyes that miserable company, [and] recalling to me how they are of the generation of the sons of Adam?! (Zurara, 1981: 145).

The description of the Other, whether Moor or African, is a recurrent theme in the writings of Gomes Eanes de Zurara. In amongst all of the controversies that this revelation of the Other must provoke in the debate of a medieval author, and within the permanent grammar of similarity and difference, which his own values have established, Zurara does not fail to be the first to attribute to the Other an outstanding position in its own right.

CHAPTER SIX

“*WE SAW TODAY MARVELLOUS THINGS*”: VALENTIM FERNANDES AND THE PORTUGUESE DISCOVERIES

As with many other foreigners attracted by the astonishing new facts gathered by the Portuguese maritime voyages, Valentim Fernandes, originally from Moravia, settled in Lisbon between 1493 and 1495. Known as one of the most important printers of his period,¹ Valentim Fernandes provided a priceless contribution to the economic and cultural life of the Portuguese kingdom.²

Editor, translator, author and businessman, Valentim Fernandes would stand out as an unrivalled figure in Portuguese 16th century society. Attentive and in awe of the remarkable and extraordinary feats of the Portuguese sea-farers, the interested and effective man of letters sought to establish a bridge connecting his adoptive country – the point of departure and arrival of the caravels – and his country of birth, where there was anxiety about knowing and even participating in these glorious maritime activities.

One of the most interesting examples of his conviction about the euphoric news of discoveries of lands well to the south of the equator may be found in his introduction to the *Book of Marco Polo*, which Valentim Fernandes published in the year of 1502 (Paulo, 1502). The introduction that precedes the book of *Marco Polo* – one of the first European editions – is, in fact, an enthusiastic hymn to events ongoing in Portugal. Addressed to *His Most Serene Highness King and Lord Emanuel the First. King of*

¹ See works by Anselmo (1983, 1984, 1991: 105-110), Marques (1995a) and Dias (1995).

² About Valentim Fernandes, see, among others, Costa (1939), Andrade (1972) and Ehrhardt (1989).

Portugal and the Algarves, here and overseas in Africa. Lord of Guinea. And of the conquest of the navigation and trade with Ethiopia. Persian Arabia and India (Paulo, 1502: Idem, Fol. Aj v.), this prose exalts the highpoint of the Portuguese Discoveries and from its beginning enthusiastically emphasises the maritime efforts made by this nation of great sailors. Taking up one of the expressions of the Apostle Saint Luke, “We saw today marvellous things”, (Paulo, 1502: Idem, Fol. Aj v.) and certainly appropriate to his vehement enthusiasm, Valentim Fernandes, without getting overwhelmed at the stunning fervour driven by the new finds, intently and calmly specifies the things recently discovered are: “new and marvellous things from new lands and their peoples and their things” (Paulo, 1502: Idem, Fol. Aj v.).

There is thus joy in seeing the name of Portugal in Oriental and African lands and that leads him to connote the Tagus river with that of the Nile and where arrives the extraordinary wealth of the Indies, affirming that the Lisbon port outweighed not only those of Europe but also those of Africa and Asia. The Portuguese capital would thus become keenly sought out by traders from all over the world, including those from Germany who would find here spices, gold, pearls, diamonds, exotic elephants, coloured parrots and, in sum, all of the opulence and ostentation of the Oriental world.³

Perceived as having discovered the Promised Land, the discovery of this other world would take place during the reign of the fortunate heir to the maritime enterprise: King Manuel. He was the venturesome Portuguese monarch endowed with the luck that would personify the new Portugal. After various hard years of arduous work and tentative excursions along the African coast, it would be he, King Manuel, who got served up the Promised Land. Thus, a venturesome king worthy “of entering that new world that we truly may call the Promised Land” (Paulo, 1502: Fol. Aii r). These words of praise from the printer would find echoes throughout contemporary cartography and geography. We may take for example the iconography of the Portuguese king in the *Carta marina* by Martin

³ From the outset, Valentim Fernandes sketched an image of Lisbon that would go on to be perpetuated not only in many Portuguese works – we may recall Garcia de Resende and his curious *Miscelânea* -, but also in many of the works published beyond the Pyrenees. By 1527, the cartographer Laurentius Frisius designated the Portuguese capital as the “Princess of the seas”, where there docked every day vessels packed with extraordinary and strange goods, such as spices, parrots and much more that had come in from such far distant countries and might be acquired here at surprisingly low prices. Cf. Frisius, 1527: cap. 66.

Waldseemüller (1516) or the *mappa mundi* by Laurentius Frisius (s. chapter 17) in which significantly alongside the Cape of Good Hope, the Most Christian king of Portugal raised the national flag in representation of the glorious maritime saga.

Valentim Fernandes, one of the first European intellectuals to describe the magnificence of the maritime exploration, did not baulk at this marvellous discovery. As the practical and experimental man he proved to be, he did not stumble faced by the surprise and unexpected news of the worlds over the sea and defined his objective as “*écrire le monde*” (Lestringant, 1993), a common task just a few years later for many European geographers and men of learning but which at the outset of the 16th century proved manifestly precocious and singular. In the *Marco Polo* edition, stemming from the desire to actively participate in this great and unfurling historical event, we may encounter the living commitment of Valentim Fernandes in aligning the new discoveries with the classical toponyms right from the introduction. Written for those seeking “to see and wander through the world” (Paulo, 1502: Fol. Aiiij v.), this collection was designed to amend and correct the maps prevailing and hence the diligent and accuracy seeking printer questioned the Portuguese navigators and requested they note down the current designations for the regions they had visited. While still lacking in further information, this collector of the “new” thus made public the writing of *Marco Polo* that he would join to a recent account by Nycolao Veneto and a letter from Jeronimo de Santo Esteuam as “additions” only to enrich the main body of work.

As regards this work, some historians have raised the question as to why a man so interested in the new had made recourse to publishing a text from the 13th century (Pinto, 1989: 135-170) and correspondingly enquiring why this renowned printer and publisher did not overlook the *Book of Marco Polo* for a more contemporary text, for example, that authored by the Venetian Alvisé Cadamosto, whose account of voyages made around 1463 would only come to public attention in 1507 in the collection by Francaziano da Montalboddo (s. chapter 1). We would add that the response derives directly from the tradition respecting attitude recognisable in the 1502 edition. His attentive spirit in terms of newness does not enter into contradiction with the concern for interrelating the new with the traditional system and thereby integrating the new into the then prevailing cultural context. Furthermore, the *Book of Marco Polo* would be considered an innovative and ground breaking work as regards knowledge about the Indies of such marvels. Indeed, Valentim Fernandes

would not be alone in classifying the *Description of the World* made by the Venetian traveller as an unparalleled source on the Oriental world. In effect, right through to the 17th century, the writings of Marco Polo would remain present on the list of works in publication throughout Europe. In carefully gathering detailed and precise information about Asia, the Polo account established the first synthesis of information about the Orient and hence, following the voyage of Vasco da Gama, the need was felt to draw upon the reference information contained within such a precious documented source. Conceived within the geographic tradition, the Polo text supplied the initial outlines of oriental geography. To this end, it came down to the Portuguese explorers to correct and amend this outline as Valentim Fernandes did actually state in the colophon to his publication: “Having ended the book of Marco Paulo [...] that wrote everything about the Indias. [...] And awaiting those who now come back from those same Indias, to whom I beseech and humbly request that they benignly wish to amend and correct at least that which they find in the writings, in the names of the provinces, reigns, cities, islands and many other things and not least the distance in leagues from one land to another” (Paulo, 1502: Fol. 98 v.). This is very much an openly assumed attempt to draft, based upon the known *fundus*, a new summary of what is known in a new and strategic organisation of wisdom.

Furthermore, Valentim Fernandes is not some simple example of the “homme nouveau”, as Joaquim Barradas de Carvalho (Carvalho, 1953: 31) maintained, he is indeed impassioned about the “things of humanity” and seeks to establish a bond between the world already known and the changes recently announced by the Portuguese voyages. Whilst in fact he does provide an example of a man aware of the present moment and capable of identifying and diagnosing the ongoing transformations, he is not only focused upon such breakthroughs given that in his ventures to gather data on the world, he quotes and refers to the known historical and cultural legacy and, in a very humanist attitude, publishes the *Book of Marco Polo*, quotes classical authors and shows his interest in the recent editions of *Geography* written by Ptolemy.⁴

⁴ Take, for example Valentim Fernandes addressing the Nuremberg trader Stephan Gabler (26 June 1510): “I would cordially request, as you knew how to correct Ptolemy and entirely reprint him, I did ask an erudite astronomer as regards this aspect and he did write me that, etc.”. Ed. by Brásio, 1959: 358.

This objective of “correcting” the then prevailing geographic horizons that proved of such personal pleasure would also turn out to be the fundamental purpose behind the renowned manuscripts associated to his name. The correspondingly entitled “Manuscript of Valentim Fernandes”, more accurately, a collection of writings on the Portuguese maritime voyages, would be found in the possession of his friend and correspondent, the *Stadtdiener* and humanist Konrad Peutinger.⁵ Whilst we are not able to bear witness to either their proliferation or their resonance in German speaking lands,⁶ we are nevertheless able to affirm that this famous collection proves a pioneering work and reflecting his interest and curiosity in the world overseas. Compiled from writings by various authors, including Gomes Eanes de Zurara, Diogo Gomes, Martin Behaim and Hans Mayr, the Moravian collector would also gather information from other Portuguese maritime participants as is the case with his description of the coast of Guinea. This collection process, undertaken by Fernandes between 1505 and 1508, would result in one of the most interesting documents on the Portuguese Voyages of Discovery as well as a valuable account of the humanist concerns in learning about the geographic and human horizons existing around planet Earth.

Whilst never receiving the wide reaching diffusion of printed works such as *Paesi novamente ritrovati* by Francazano da Montalbodo (Vicenza,

⁵ According to Anselmo (1991: 107), this collection of texts would not have been sent to Peutinger by Valentim Fernandes himself, as is generally accepted, but rather by his widow following the death of the printer and who would have sent them or even taken them herself to Germany. This codex of a fragmentary nature, and still in disorder today, would in any case have enabled, beyond Portugal itself, access to unpublished news and accounts of the new coast of Africa and India. At the very least, the intellectual and trader friends of Peutinger would have had the opportunity in Augsburg to learn of this range of good new geographies. This may indeed have been the Portuguese work that Damião de Góis saw and read here when in the Augsburg home of the Germany humanist, and in a letter to João Diogo Fugger dated 11. IV. 1542, Góis requested the descendent of the family of German traders with branches in Lisbon to obtain a copy of this book as "If you so do, a great service you will be providing to the history of the things in India that now runs between our hands; and thus bestowing upon us a favour for which we shall always be grateful". Published in: Torres, 1982: 349.

⁶ On this issue, we would refer to the example of Hartmann Schedel, author of the famous *World Chronicle* (1493), who would make a copy of an account of travelling to the Iberian Peninsula and *De Inventione Affricae* by Hieronymus Münzer in order to publicise events among German intellectual circles. Cf. Münzer (1932). See also Marques (1995).

1507), *Novus Orbis* by Simon Grynaeus (1532) or *das Navigazioni e Viaggi* by Giovanni Battista Ramusio (1550-1559), the Fernandes manuscript fits into this receptive framework favourable to collecting information and representing one of the first anthropological texts on the new discoveries (Böhme, 1968: 3-11, Radulet, 1991: 17-35.). The desire to gather and collate information on the Portuguese voyages, already demonstrated in the *Book of Marco Polo* collection, would thus become one of the main tasks to which this Moravian resident in Lisbon would dedicate his efforts. Aware of the importance of the ongoing events, the printer went on to become a careful author and collector. This manuscript codex above all reveals a man dedicated to collecting the bulk of the exact and particular information, and not at all interested in engaging in any analytical discourse on the actions and the maritime companies as was the case with his Portuguese chronicler peers. One clear example of this interest in factual accounts is the summary he makes of the *Chronicle of Guinea* by Gomes Eanes de Zurara (s. chapter 5).⁷ Here, in practice, Valentim Fernandes simply downplays the more theoretical chapters and their national ideology in favour of that providing actual detail.

In the awareness that this abundance of documentation sought to inform on the new and unprecedented overseas lands and their peoples, perhaps even beyond the Pyrenees, in providing the opportunity to some men of letters and traders to “see” through the eyes of others what were the configurations of these recently discovered lands as well as the aspects of their never before seen peoples, there cannot but be admiration for the care of this skilled collector in conveying the original description without any explanatory comment. In effect, we may state that Fernandes is the erudite prototype of the humanist educational process of formulating new patterns and boundaries to planet earth; however, the restraints placed on his careful ardour for this newness ensure he never forgets the doctrinal system prevailing – a crucial factor that has hitherto been broadly overlooked.

Recognised as an unparalleled document on the then African reality, this codex strives to become an exclusive and authentic record. Its particularity stems from the method with which the author compiles the set of news contained: presenting and describing the never before seen lands and peoples. One of the great merits of Valentim Fernandes thus resides in the way in which he interconnected the concrete and precise facts as to this

⁷ For a comparative analysis of the two texts, see Carvalho (1953).

new physical and human reality one by one. In fact, it is this descriptive annotation that renders his description of the coast of Guinea a priceless account. Let us take some examples.

In a text written to inform on these new regions, we would expect to find descriptions as to the features of its natural landscapes, such as the coastline, rivers, hills and mountains as well as the regional flora and fauna. And, whenever a particular land is inhabited, as is the case with the West African coast, this expectation doubles up to include concrete and detailed profiles and the habits and customs of the indigenous peoples. This undoubtedly represented the starting point that Valentim Fernandes had in mind in editing his description of the lands from Senegal to Cabo do Monte. In perusing the text, the reader attains a well-defined pictorial sketch of the African landscape. The notes intersperse the account on the advance of Portuguese vessels along the African coast with some important summary information concerning the physical and human realities prevailing in this third part of the world. He notes that the Portuguese pilots spotted lands “very thickly covered with trees and plants”⁸ beyond Senegal, which provoked great admiration given the already known aridity. He displayed keen interest and curiosity in learning of the existence of cats from which musk could be extracted (Monod, 1951: 58) or palm trees from which palm wine might be made (Monod, 1951: 16), with no less attention paid to the material cultures of the inhabitants as well as their respective fishing skills. Hence, he takes into consideration the different ways of dressing of the peoples of Africa, for example, some wore fine cloths of cotton (Monod, 1951: 12), others went about completely naked; whilst in some provinces they would live in houses of wood (Monod, 1951: 46), in others they would be tile or adobe (Monod, 1951: 12). In a particular and precise register, this enthusiast of the new noted down facts alluding to the lifestyles and ways of living in these African societies. In effect, reading his description opens up insights into how weddings took place in Sierra Leone (Monod, 1951: 92), the forms of justice among the Mandigas (Monod, 1951: 40), that some of the indigenous peoples would be highly crafty in war (Monod, 1951: 40), others would know how to play music (Monod, 1951: 8), whilst still others would be highly skilled at ivory carving (Monod, 1951: 96), others good at working iron (Monod, 1951: 76) or wonderful weavers (Monod, 1951: 20). Furthermore, he bequeathed valuable notes on social organisation, the forms of administration as well as on the governments of

⁸ According to the bilingual and profusely noted edition (Monod, 1951: 6).

the kings and great lords of Africa and with his portrait of indigenous African peoples extending to valuable details on the idols under worship. It proves difficult to exhaustively list all the themes approached and quote an example for each one of them, such is the extraordinary documented depth brought together in this codex. Born out of the desire to sketch a real profile, this text presents the geographic characteristics and the ethnographic particularities of these overseas lands. Valentim Fernandes grasped how important it was to convey an elucidative and clarifying image and taking into account that he also only knew that which he had been told. The only voyage that he made went no further than North Africa, to the city of Asilah, and hence he would have been just as dependent on the reports and descriptions of the sailors that had had the fortune to be able to see these lands and peoples with their own eyes. Given the esteem held and the authority he attributed to these men of the sea, Valentim Fernandes deliberately sought them out in order to hear them tell of their voyages and the experiences taking place in these lands. Thus does he tell of Gonçalo Piriz, who informed him on the island of S. Tome (Monod, 1951: 118-134), and Álvaro Velho who had lived for over eight years on the African coast (Monod, 1951: 102).

However, in addition to the description of the West African coast that he himself collated, Fernandes would also gain the opportunity to gather texts such as *Inventione Guinee*, an account by Diogo Gomes with notes from the German Martín Behaim, compiling information from the writings of Alvise Cadamosto, summarising the *Chronicle of Guinea* by Gomes Eanes de Zurara, drafting a route – as the pilots would always take with them on their voyages –, drawing maps of the islands of Cape Verde⁹ or writings on the Orient, such as that authored by Hans Mayr, one of the Germans on board the armada led by Francisco de Almeida, always with the constant desire to update the known layout of the terrestrial globe (Matos, 1991; Andrade, 1972: II 532-555).

While we do not know what concrete intentions brought Valentim Fernandes to gathering this swathe of new geographies, hence whether thinking about publishing in Portugal or internationally, what is certain is how he went about the task with the same driving curiosity that the reports

⁹ On the highly valuable contribution made by Valentim Fernandes to knowledge on the islands of Cape Verde, see Costa (1939).

of the maritime voyages – also “things worthy of seeing”¹⁰ – triggered all over Europe and including in Peutinger’s circle of friends.

In addition to his position as an imperial counsellor, politician and jurist, Konrad Peutinger was a great collector of historical relics and a passionate student of geography. In the wake of the erudite Hartmann Schedel, Peutinger turned to organising a collection of geographic data about the earth with the accounts brought back from the Portuguese voyages of essential value to his work (Wuttke, 2007; Lopes, 1992). Alongside the classical texts – Peutinger is the founder of classical Roman and Germanic studies –, this work necessarily needed to include India and the New World. Hence, there is little surprise in the reference made to the Portuguese caravels in the Atlantic and their arrival in Calcutta in his work *Sermones convivales*.¹¹ In fact, there is an abundance of evidence as to his dedication in being as up to date and close to these historical events as possible. On the one hand, we know about the initiatives undertaken in conjunction with Emperor Maximilian I to ensure that German traders began participating in the Portuguese maritime and commercial activities;¹² on the other hand, we find his active study and interest in the Portuguese Discoveries reflected in the numerous volumes dedicated to this theme in his library (Vogel, 1991). Married to Margaret Welser, Peutinger was still engaged in German trading activities and knew very well what a great opportunity the opening up of the Cape Route presented to national firms (Lutz, 1958). This very much gets testified to in his letters and the reports found amongst his documents, especially the texts on the first voyage of Vasco da Gama (1497), the expedition by Pedro

¹⁰ A 1505 letter addressed to this German erudite alludes to the “worthy things to see”, the primordial object of lovers of the things making up humanity. Valentim Fernandes to the eminent Doctor Conrado Peutinger, of Augsburg, Lisbon, 16th August 1505. Published by Costa (1939: 87-90).

¹¹ Peutinger (1506). In a small and curious chapter entitled “On the Lusitanian nautics who in India do navigate”, Peutinger summarises in great detail the various humanist testimonies of Augsburg about the voyages of the Portuguese. Faced by the discovery of the maritime route to India, the German men of letters had arrived at the point of undertaking a renewal of the core erudite cartography whilst discussing vehemently the opening of these new geographic horizons.

¹² In a letter to the Emperor’s secretary, Blasius Hölz, dated 3rd January 1505, Konrad Peutinger raised the German participation in the Portuguese maritime voyages to India, referring enthusiastically to “us from Augsburg, the first Germans setting out in search of India” [“uns Augspurgern ains gross Lob ist, als für die Ersten Deutschen, die India suechen”]. Published by Greiff (1861: 171).

Álvares Cabral (1501), the voyage of Amerigo Vespucci (1501), the second voyage of Vasco de Gama to India, and as well as on the fleet captained by Francisco de Almeida. That the curiosity in these writings stretched far beyond some uninterested and merely factual reading is also proven by how Konrad Peutinger switched back to German to report on the second voyage of Vasco da Gama (Greiff, 1861: 113-172).

In addition to these news reports, his vast and well-endowed library also contained the Latin version of *Itinerarium Portugallensium*, the travel collection by Francaziano da Montalboddo, able to provide a global overview of the Iberian voyages of discovery, the cosmography by Martin Waldseemüller, the letter from Amerigo Vespucci, thus works detailing and describing the overseas activities. Hence, alongside his epistolary relationship with Valentim Fernandes, shield-holder to Queen Leonor and, as from 1503, the corrector to King Manuel, as well as being the *notary* of German traders in Lisbon,¹³ he was most certainly one of the best informed persons as regards the commercial and maritime activities of the Portuguese.¹⁴

German intellectual circles, especially Konrad Peutinger – who may have met Valentim Fernandes in 1488 when the latter passed through the city of Augsburg –, would thus draw upon their contacts with one of the most influential foreigners in Lisbon and thereby maintain a close relationship with this small peripheral country which, beyond its role as a centre in the Oriental spice trade, was a key informer on the new conception of earthly space.

Undertaking a pioneering work in terms of the gathering of data about the world, the wise Moravian printer and author thus played an indisputable

¹³ On the German traders in Portugal, see (Kellenbenz, 1966: 309-317, 1970; 1978: 45-59, 1990). On the German participation in the 1505 fleet, see Hummerich (1922).

¹⁴ See what is termed the ‘auto notarial’ by Valentim Fernandes (20th May 1503) in which he relates the discovery of Brazil by the armada of Pedro Álvares Cabral. This proves a highly interesting text given its prematurity and the way in which he describes the Brazilian coastline and its inhabitants. Cf. Andrade (1972a: 521-545). Furthermore, there is the precise description that Valentim Fernandes sets out of the first rhinoceros to be brought back to Europe following the discovery of the maritime route to India; an account that clearly gained a certain level of projection in German societies as demonstrated by the engraving by Albrecht Dürer. See Ehrhardt (1989: 32-35).

role as a collector of marvellous things and a benchmark figure in the close cultural dialogue between the Portugal of the “new novelties” and a Germanic society avid for information.

CHAPTER SEVEN

(RE)DISCOVERING THE WORLD IN BOOKS, MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS: HAMBURG AND THE NEWS FROM OVERSEAS (1650-1700)

Despite the distance, the Holy Roman-Germanic Empire displayed early on a great deal of curiosity in the Portuguese maritime voyages and their resulting descriptions of “new worlds in the world”. Hence, and immediately after Italy, Germany proved the central European country showing the greatest of interest in the Portuguese overseas effort as we have already had the occasion to demonstrate (s. chapter 4). As has been verified, distance did not prove any obstacle to men of deep learning like Valentim Fernandes, Konrad Peutinger or even Albrecht Dürer. Their roles as traders, diplomats, artists and men of erudite letters united in them a solid and steel will to find out and learn more about the world. Such curiosity required satiating with news of Portuguese maritime progress, the new *truths* about the earth and its inhabitants capable of formulating a more exact and correct image of the world and humanity itself. Hence, while in an initial phase Germany saw the publication of small news items, there quickly built up a need to learn from writings of greater depth about the maritime feats.

In the 16th century, southern Germany led the way in seeking to deepen relations with Portugal, whilst in the following century there was a strengthening of relations with the North of Germany and specifically with Hamburg. In fact, Hamburg, one of the most notable and largest trading posts in northern Germany, attracted the attentions not only of compatriots, as detailed by Christian Ludewig von Griesheim (1709-

1767),¹ but also beyond the imperial borders.

To this end, as from the middle of the 17th century, the Iberian Peninsula in general and Portugal in particular played a central role as a commercial trading partner and as highlighted in the works of the illustrious historian Hermann Kellenbenz who outlines the routes, firms and goods that institutionalised the contacts between Portugal and Hamburg (Kellenbenz, 1954). While on their voyage south, vessels carried cereals, flour and other foodstuffs as well as weapons and a diverse range of metal products; on their return to Hamburg, they carried products of either a national origin such as salt, olive oil, cork, wool, preserves and especially fruit conserves such as the famous marmalade – a Portuguese word that would enter into the German vocabulary –, alongside others for which there was greater demand whether from Africa, Brazil or the Orient. There will be little surprise that the product with the greatest demand became sugar – such sugar that would, following its arrival from Brazil, Madeira and S. Tome (Krieger, 2006: 62-65), indeed become one of Hamburg's main export products, as well as pepper, cinnamon, indigo or the renowned Chinese porcelain. In the hands of various Dutch and Portuguese traders, these commercial exchanges testify to the perfect inclusion of Hamburg in this intense and promising international trade (Kellenbenz, 1954: 58).

A meeting point of major international trading routes, Hamburg became part of this “world in movement” (Russel-Wood, 1998), where consequently every event related with that world proved a measurement of the prevailing events and demonstrated the great political-cultural horizons of the residents there. Hence, that which happens around the world proved the most relevant to know or to learn more about, as affirmed in the *Monatsgesprächen* by Johann Rist in the year of 1663 (Krieger, 2006: 69).

As from the 17th century, Hamburg grew from being an important trading pole into a selective and refined point of meeting for both communicating and exchanging information and aspiring to be a cultural metropolis within the broader Empire. Its central location at the crossroads of different commercial routes, both with the rest of the country and with Central and West Europe, constituted irreplaceable and winning

¹ Christian Ludewig von Griesheim praised Hamburg in his work *Die Stadt Hamburg nach ihren polistischen, oeconomischen und sittlichen Zustande*“, published in 1759 (Krieger, 2006: 63).

conditions for its advance as a pole accumulating the news and thereby consequently driving clearly new cultural dynamics. As an intermediary spreading basic economic and political information, Hamburg rapidly turned into a decisive centre of information, news and reports about both Germany and the world (Range, 1978).

Whilst, at the outset, businessmen and traders were to a large extent both directly involved and the most interested parties to the daily news accounts, their networks and the dynamic exchange of information rapidly grew into a challenge resulting in communication and culture becoming the subject of innovative projects such as the publication of periodicals. As from the 1720s, a number of newspapers would enter into circulation with the core objective of providing current, serious and complete information on outstanding events, acts or themes. Whoever regularly read such publications was therefore up to date with the main political and military events taking place in the leading European capitals – and hence learning for example about the engagement of the Portuguese King João V and Maria Ana, Archduchess of Austria, daughter of the House of Habsburg, announced with due pomp and festivity in Vienna and subsequently subject to long and detailed reporting in the contemporary periodicals (Happel, 1709: Vol. III, S. 106-109.).

This early stage still involved the important task of gathering and compiling materials in a way that increasingly resembled contemporary journalistic practices with the objective of summarising news and attributing large and eye-catching headlines. The editorial teams thus had to collect and select correspondence – private news was, as we know, the meat and drink for the Pamphlets then in publication such as the famous *Flugschriften* by the Fugger family –, translating, structuring and appropriately summarising key accounts of current events with the purpose of both informing and entertaining their readers. The different periodicals correspondingly acquired an instructive and didactic character desired both by their writers and by their more aware readers. Furthermore, they also had extended reaches and arriving in different and far off cities such as Lisbon, for example, as we know from the correspondence between Council President Johann Schulte and his son who, in his capacity as a trader, resided in the Portuguese capital (Prange, 1978: 193).

In fact, newspapers helped to regulate debates and to inform about new discoveries, contributing to a more efficient and better communication, as

Flemming Schock significantly states (Schock, 2009: 121), and in their determining roles as mediators of information these periodicals became genuine and undeniable vehicles of enlightenment, as Holger Böning (Böning, 2002) highlights. Therefore, the goal is to understand the current world and this shall only prove possible through reading not only about Alexander or Caesar but also with the aid of the current printed periodicals (Böning, 2002: 134). Only the periodicals, in the opinions of contemporaries, would be able to open up a window on the surrounding world to readers in an immeasurable and continuous project of (re)discovery.

And within the broad scope of this project, what was the place for the overseas world and, more specifically, what references are there to the Portuguese inter-continental expansion? Let us take an example.

Between 1681 and 1691, *Relationes Curiosae* underwent publication in the care of Thomas von Wiering, a renowned printer from the city of Hamburg. Whilst its format remained suggestive of a book, this however was a weekly magazine that would become one of the greatest successes in the editorial world of the 17th century with various editions, versions in different languages, ten years of continuous publication, re-editions through to the end of the 18th century as examples conveying its public impact. In practice, this was a precocious and strategic undertaking by Thomas von Wiering who planned the publication as a supplement to his newspaper “Relations-Courier”, itself one of the most successful in Hamburg. Thus, already able to count on a core group of readers loyal to his daily periodical, Wiering planned *Die größten Denkwürdigkeiten dieser Welt: Oder so gennante Relationes Curiosae*, with its title from the outset conveying the desire of the printer to reach out and meet the interests and satisfy the curiosity of readers about the great and unique characteristics of the world.

The editor and compiler responsible for this ambitious programme was Eberhard Werner Happel (Schuwirth, 1908; Lock, 1939) (1647-1690 in Hamburg). Himself a recognised author of works such as *Thesaurus Exoticorum oder eine mit Außländischen Raritäten und Geschichten wohlversehene Schatz=Kammer* (Hamburg, 1688) and exotic and “encyclopaedic” novels, Eberhard Werner Happel, in collating the curiosities and unique features of the world, began formulating a new approach to knowledge able to satisfy the keen desire for information among readers.

Having studied Medicine, Law and the Natural Sciences in Marburg and Giessen, in Hamburg, Eberhard Werner Happel would become one of the first ever authors to live off his writing, whether of compiled works such as *Relationes Curiosae* or of novels (s. chapter 14), where he always reflected on the up to date knowledge of his times (Böning, 2002: 105).

As he states in the prologue to *Relationes Curiosae*, it is the wish to learn about important observations and knowledge about history, geography, botany or the practices and customs all around the world that motivated the emergence of this work, which arises out of this way of thinking about people that, as highlighted, enjoy knowing about the reasons and origins of things (Happel, 1683: Vorrede).

While primarily targeting an educated public, the author never overlooks the objective of instructing and whenever possible amusing, and hence the inclusion of multiple illustrations perceived as a means of conveying both knowledge and raising interest.

In practice, Eberhard Werner Happel demonstrates his awareness that examples serve as the best means of teaching (Happel, 1687: Vorrede). Just as he had already got his readers used to in other works, comparisons with examples from other peoples and cultures prove extremely useful and hence his pages are packed with accounts of overseas and distant countries, peoples and their customs. In order to meet this challenge, Eberhard Werner Happel reveals a deep and expansive knowledge about travel reports and descriptions from which he clearly sourced the material needed for the writing of his works.

In his insatiable openness to these other realities, Happel served a central role in the distribution of new facts about the non-European lands and their peoples, proving an attentive reader of travel narratives including the Portuguese accounts as we have already noted on other occasions (Lopes, 1992: 219-222; 2007). Correspondingly, when in *Relationes Curiosae* he makes an approach to the theme of elephant hunting, he references “Garzius von Orta” (s. chapter 18), whom he presents as a contemporary writer before detailing what the latter describes about an elephant hunt in Pegu (Happel, 1683: 210). In the index, we also learn that Garcia da Orta is a Portuguese physician who plied his profession as a surgeon to the Viceroy of India for over three decades (Happel, 1683: 539). He also references Fernão Mendes Pinto (s. chapter 13) even while we are not always provided with the sources utilised (Happel, 1688: 46) and thus left

with the simple suspicion that either the author or his work is hiding behind such affirmations. He covers regions such as Guinea, Congo, China and Japan where we may find systematic recourse to Portuguese authors. Indeed, this process had already been deployed by Eberhard Werner Happel in an earlier compilation, *Thesaurus Exoticorum oder eine mit Außländischen Raritäten und Geschichten wohlversehene Schatz=Kammer* (Happel, 1688), a unique work that presents the peoples of all the nations of the world side by side. In this grandiose publication, with the objective of conveying sensational and unprecedented discoveries about these “new and marvellous worlds”, we may encounter for example his description of the Guineans via the Portuguese reference, while it is his descriptions that stand out as a source of excellence (Happel, 1688: 64-67). Indeed, on occasion, he incorporates Portuguese vocabulary into his text turning to words such as *negro*, *pretto* (black), indicating both the interpretations he makes and the impact and the presence of the Portuguese language in European forays into these regions (Happel, 1688: 67).

An endless reader and expert on the known worlds possible, Eberhard Werner Happel transforms an enormous swathe of information and facts into page after page of encyclopaedic knowledge in the convinced belief that they then prove true lessons on the different fields of knowledge for citizens of the world.

The publishers of these periodicals wished to convey knowledge; the authors themselves aimed at spreading useful and practical information about the world and especially its different political-cultural realities. This intent to inform – the first phase in establishing a public audience with clarity and awareness in its opinions – thereby contributed above all to the intellectual advancement of the readers. *Relationes Curiosae* thus represents an excellent example of the relevant role that periodicals in particular and the printed press in general had on bringing about a new order of knowledge.

Furthermore, and seen in Hamburg more than anywhere else in Germany, this editorial and educational process impacted in such a clear and significant fashion. Through the interchange of different commercial and cultural networks, by the late 17th century Hamburg had become one of the most important and best recognised centres of information on the greatest singularities of the world as in Happel’s *Die größten Denckwürdigkeiten dieser Welt*.

II

VOYAGES, THE VISUAL AND THE ARTS

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE MARITIME VOYAGES AND THE ART OF IMAGES

In the introduction to the travel collection by Francazano Montalboddo (Montalboddo, 1507), the already mentioned physician and man of letters Jobst Ruchamer (s. chapter 1) tells readers interested in the key reason that led him to translate this work into German that it was none other than the sheer surprise and overwhelming happiness at encountering the marvellous and strange newness described in the opusculum ([Ruchamer]:1508). In following the Iberian voyagers and chroniclers, this erudite man from Nuremberg, despite his distance from the centres directly related with the maritime activities, intones a genuinely panegyric hymn to the *marvellous and never before seen things*. Just as the chronicler Garcia de Resende felt compelled to write about everything that he saw happening in Portugal, in Europe and in the rest of the world and thereby resulting in the prestigious *Miscelânea* (Resende, 1973), Jobst Ruchamer felt a similar obligation and, encouraged by a group of friends, decided to translate the travel anthology as a small contribution to raising the profile of *Paesi novamente ritrovati*, already then perceived as one of the most important events in the history of humanity. Similarly enthused, he tells us of the wonder and miracle of knowing about the existence of these new worlds.

Indeed, the European men of letters and editors of the 16th and 17th centuries did not remain indifferent to the unexpected and fascinating accounts returned by the maritime activities and reflected them in their published outputs in actively seeking to bring to the public the most significant works elucidative of the Portuguese overseas expansion. Alongside the cosmographies and the historical, religious, scientific and literary works, there would stand the travel accounts, the mirrors reflecting outwards the new realities of the Discoveries. Despite amounting to only a minor percentage of the overall publications, these works were awaited with great curiosity, representing an influential sector within European cultural flows.

However, the enthusiasm existing over conveying the Travel Literature would not be constrained to the mere act of gathering and printing material. The choice of the more significant opuscles would then be followed by minutely detailed graphic work. Especially in the case of German and Flemish publications, with the technical and financial conditions enabling them to drive the *graphic narrative* of their editions, just how did such works present and establish these *marvellous and never before seen things*?

The Portuguese sources described exotic landscapes, setting out unusual scenes, portraying different and strange physical and emotional personalities and tracing picturesque backdrops capable of inspiring any artist to graphically sketch such new realities. However, these artists would not be Portuguese. Instead, these international publications would take the lead in formulating a graphical discourse to complement the real witness accounts provided by the Iberian texts and thereby supplying a rich archive of indisputable value to the Culture of the Discoveries. We would emphasise that this reached beyond those engravings referring to the Portuguese texts, whether by Francisco Álvares (Álvares, 1540; 1974) Duarte Lopes (Lopes, 1591) or Fernão Mendes Pinto (Pinto, 1614). In fact, we make recourse to what became termed Travel Literature, including the successors to the Portuguese and their travels around the world, with the clear purpose of outlining the long process in receiving and assimilating these *new novelties*. As with the written sources, the graphical sources also tell us about the astonishing newness and trace an unforgettable picture of the European imaginary.

With the objective of conveying the various histories of the *graphic narrative*, sometimes either overlooked or subject to harsh judgement, we have sought to decode the contribution made by this dedicated translator of overseas human realities (Lopes, 1998).

Lost in the pages of the travel accounts and broadly otherwise unknown – in part due to being by lesser authors or of little historical renown –, the iconography of the Discoveries stands out as a minutely detailed and highly credible source. In deciphering the texts, decoding the information contained in their images, the engravers and editors sought to capture the physical features, the clothing, activities, artistic representations and the socio-cultural profiles of the recently discovered societies and civilisations. The human types, their clothing or their nudity, their weapons, instruments, the landscapes, animals and plants of the regions visited also appeared

visually portrayed in the pages of these works. Furthermore, such were also joined by the gentile gods, the weddings, dances and celebrations with the acrobats and entertainers making up this overwhelming visual panorama.

In approaching the facts and information about a world that had suddenly been shorn of its boundaries, the engravers established the moment, the human types, practices and customs; as with other men of learning, they attempted to exert their own control over this reformulation of the shapes and boundaries of the world. Drawing upon their vocation, the engravers and, to a certain extent, the editors took on the role of creatives. The outline that they trace of the world and its inhabitants represents the conscious affirmation of the power of their works.

However, we should also note here the impossibility of separately analysing the graphical and the written sources; we need to constantly recall that both were engaged in the same project: establishing the foundations to this *never before seen* reality. While the graphical representations closely followed the written source – in the early Modern Age, engraving became understood as an effective complement to written discourse, with the figuration very commonly and above all else proving the graphical translation of the thematic content –, its language was nevertheless still different and not to be overlooked (Warncke, 1987).

In publicising the discovery of these new worlds, these works kept pace with the drive forwards of the Portuguese discoveries and simultaneously constructed a real and imaginary dimension to this European expansion: the iconography of the Other. Let us now consider a few examples.



Fig. 7 Theodor de Bry: *Ander Theil der Orientalische Indien*, 1598

The enthusiasm and the fascination towards the recently discovered peoples were shown in images alluding to Oriental peoples (Fig. 7). Take the example of the cortege following the Rajah of Cochin. Flanked by his subjects, this prince of the coast of Malabar majestically parades on his elephant carrying only a spear as a weapon. Graceful and elegant, his followers, some with their hair tied back and naked to the waist up, carry lances at their shoulders; the soldiers who are to signal the start of combat carry across their chests and shoulders the instruments necessary to sound the beginning of battle. This army of men, made up of nobility who place themselves voluntarily in the service of the king, use only a wooden shield to protect themselves from the blows of their enemies and attentively await the orders of their sovereign. Such a representation stridently proclaims a seduction for the exotic and for the Orient (Wittkower, 1942; Bouchon, 1994, 1999).



Fig. 8 Johan Nieuhof: *Die Gesantschaft der Ost=Indischen Geselschaft*, 1669

The Chinese, in turn, were perceived as far different to the Europeans in their conceptions and ways of being (Fig 8). In a land of enormous dimension, with great pomp and wealth, live men of white skin and short in stature. The sources alluding to this kingdom describe its inhabitants as men of many and good manners and refined tastes. They, including Tomé Pires (Pires, 1978), an apothecary from Leiria among others, tell of how the Chinese dine at tables, with cloths and fine porcelain (Afonso, 1992) and with golden objects, and that they eat without ever touching the food, courtesy of the Chinese habit of chopsticks; that their clothing involves a lot of black, for example, their very long coats made out of cotton. The women, who also don long coats, reaching almost down to their feet, would be compared by Tomé Pires, in terms of their presentation and adornments, to those of Castilian women. In their hair, combed upwards, they would wear hairpins and fine ornaments finished in precious stones and gold and always with a lot of jewels, especially in their ears and around their necks, and also identifying the habit of using marvellous fans. Another curiosity would be the silk and brocaded shoes that Chinese women commonly wore. These, very tightly bound, would make them seem to have extremely small feet, which simultaneously fascinated and intrigued the European visitors.

In the Americas, more specifically in Brazil, they discovered the *noble savage*.¹ With an elegant bearing and a naïve look, the American Indian hunted accurately with bow and arrow (Fig 9). With an athletic posture and a credulous aspect, this character would captivate European attentions.

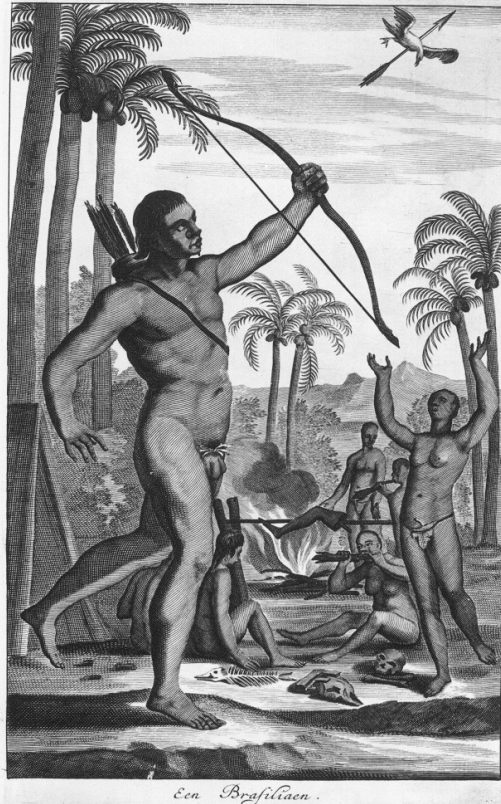


Fig. 9 Johan Nieuhof: *Gedenkwürdige Brasilianense Zee- en Landt-Reize*, 1684

¹ On occasion, historians prefer to refer to the invention, particularly of the Brazilian Indian; see Pinto (1989: 215-239). Dias (1988) has already pointed out how the image of the *noble savage* does not emerge out of the Portuguese sources but rather their European counterparts. See also chapter 3.

However, while on the one hand, this representation extended to an able and brave hunter, on the other hand, in the background there loomed evidence of another way of being and living of this indigenous people: cannibalism. Sat around a spit on which a leg is being grilled, some of these people devour parts of a human body. On the floor, a skull and other bones highlight this anthropophagic practice. The skeleton of a fish certainly aimed to draw attention to other dietary habits but would only with difficulty counterbalance the negative image already put forward about these peoples of the New World.

In the appreciation made of these recently discovered peoples there are criteria at stake that had long since been in effect; thus, and for example, the idea of the good savage would have been influenced by the presentation of the recently discovered peoples (Berheimer, 1952; Pereira, 1982; Godinho, 1990: 111-118). Generally portrayed with a tree branch in their hand, in the Classical Period the wild, savage man already personified nostalgia and the yearning for a simple life as well as the internal strength of nature. However, while associated with this natural and original state, on the other hand, as from the Middle Ages, they began to be deemed as inferiors within the scope of humanity given that they had not freed themselves from the state of sinner.

These wild savages were generally portrayed with their bodies covered in hairs – with the exception of their faces, hands and feet – and with laurel leaves on their heads. This association with nature and flora provided for the theme of paradise as we clearly encounter in the engraving done by Hans Leonhard Schäußelein (1480-1540) (Fig. 10).

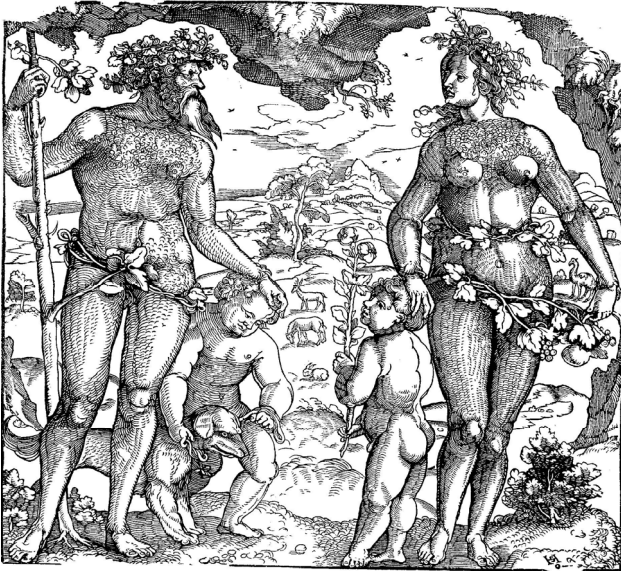


Fig. 10 Hans Leonhard Schäußelein, *The wild man*, ca. 1530

The proof that the dimensions to the world were incomparably larger than those previously imagined, that its inhabitants did not fundamentally differ from those on the already known earth, that the antipodes did after all always exist and that the torrid zone was in fact a region with vegetal, animal and human life would all bear repercussions for European thinking. Its men of letters continually and constantly pondered and debated these mysteries: for what reason were they only now learning of the existence of these regions? What was the origin of the American peoples? How and when might the first indigenous peoples have made their appearance on that continent? In efforts to resolve these enigmas, the intellectuals recognise that God would also have created them in his image and resemblance and it would be His will to only now reveal them. The discoveries made sharply undermined many of the traditional certainties; however the erudite community perceived this shattering of frontiers optimistically and had soon already created new mythical dreams about the origins of humanity.

The news about the natural landscapes of such stunning beauty and charm triggered reminiscences about paradisiacal worlds and the myth of the Golden Age; the fertility of the land and the naturalness and sociability of

its indigenous peoples induced the drafting of analogies. The existence of such natural and idyllic landscapes as well as their so simple inhabitants could only recall Paradise on Earth. Everything most certainly would have started in such an appealing, magnificent and noble place, indeed in an “Aetas Aurea” where man and nature lived in perfect harmony.

And while this Paradise on Earth was not once as if these gardens of delights, in the recently discovered *locus amoenus*, the visionary image of Eden would henceforth take as its origins these recently discovered lands.



Fig. 11 Theodor de Bry: *Wunderbarliche doch Wahrhaftige Erklärung der Gelegenheit und Sitten der Wilden in Virginia...*, 1600

In this re-discovered Garden of Eden, we find the progenitors of humanity (Fig. 11). In the shade of the “tree of life”, Adam and Eve; in one of her hands, Eve holds the forbidden fruit while Adam similarly reaches out his hand for the apple. Completing this action, and with the consequent consent, receives graphical highlighting by a *putti*, located right between the two sinners and pointing right at the serpent. Adam and Eve, similar to many contemporary representations, are surrounded by animals with a lion and rabbit endowed with symbolic attributes.

This representation, which to a greater or lesser extent closely follows the traditional original sin iconography, does however throw up some details attracting our attention. In practice, the artist did not finish with this main scene. Small lateral scenes, whose very existence is in itself an innovation, highlight the unfolding of events ever since the original sin and formulating the historical continuity of humanity.

Taking a closer look, in one of the scenes, a man, certainly Adam, with the coat of an animal, is working the fields. Taking into consideration that, following the original sin, humanity would be condemned to struggling for their sustenance, this scene seems to follow in the history of the primogenitors.

On the other side, a young female, Eve, protected by a cabin, carries a child at her breast. This conveys the lesson learned from the Holy Writings and announced to the parents of humanity: the man should, through his own toils, sustain the family while the woman should care for the house and the children. While this treatment is innovative in the representations about the origins of humanity, it is still further interesting to verify how this reflection on family duties fits exactly into one of the works about family by Bry in which the main characters are peoples who live in a state of civilisation, from the perspective of their peers, comparable with the earliest periods of human history. The overriding importance of integrating these recently discovered peoples into the march towards civilisation meant, first and foremost, recalling the creation of the world and reformulating the genealogical lineage.

Learning about these non-European populations meant, in this way, gaining knowledge about their ways of life, practices and customs. Let us consider some of the examples that attracted the attention of the travellers-authors and engravers in their representations of the Other.



Fig. 12 Johan Nieuhof: *Die Gesantschaft der Ost=Indischen Gesellschaft*, 1669

Chinese farmers were portrayed as very hard working, whether pulling the plough or irrigating the ploughed furrow (Fig. 12). In these agricultural representations, the Chinese males always have their hair combed forwards whilst their women, whenever helping out, are clothed below their jackets and seemingly wearing trousers.

Labouring the fields, perceived as a primordial activity of the Chinese economy, was largely granted and protected by the Emperor. In granting a series of privileges to the peasants, such imperial action would above all attract the population into this profession and hence there was not a single hectare in all of China that was not under cultivation. The earth was, however, deemed arid and without any great quality and hence the Chinese had to efficiently apply fertiliser. They were also attributed with having come up with ingenious irrigation systems in order to overcome the difficulties posed by drier zones of the country and for which purpose they had invented many tools able to draw water from great depths and, correspondingly, deemed among the non-European peoples as both astute and inventive. Chinese “men hold singular ingenuity, wise in both the liberal as in the mechanical arts” (Castanheda, 1979: 913), and became correspondingly admired as a people that created masterpieces and with enormous levels of technological knowledge.

Such factors, along with many other aspects observed in the social organisation and administration of Chinese society, led many authors to portray China as the ideal model of functioning and structuring of a society. The learning of a new civilisation in one corner of the world governed intelligently and in an exemplary fashion would consequently result in an attitude of amazement as regards the capacities of this hitherto ignored people. The Portuguese sources, such as Fernão Lopes de Castanheda (Castanheda, 1979), Damião de Góis (Góis, 1540) or João de Barros (Barros, 1945) passed judgements in praise and admiration at the virtues and qualities of the *chins*. For example, in comparing them with the Greeks and the Romans, João de Barros, an admirer and defender of Classical Antiquity, recognises in them a grandeur, perfection and immeasurable superiority over the others thus far encountered.

In addition to labouring in the fields, these overseas peoples were described going about other activities such as hunting. Depending on the size and speed of the animal, African hunters made recourse to various methods to catch their prey, deploying weapons such as bows and poison tipped arrows and spears.

In capturing large prey such as elephants, they would dig large pits to catch the animals without great risk. Already knowing the path taken by some elephants – generally in the vicinity of water –, the hunters would dig out, for example, large pits that after being set with sharpened spikes, would be covered with leaves and sand and, in order to boost the chances of success, various of these traps would be set over the course of a particular route.²

In portraying non-European peoples, the emphasis was frequently placed on whatever was unknown, different, strange and consequently exotic (Fig. 13). The fascination for that out of the ordinary, that which fell beyond known patterns, exercised an irresistible and disturbing attraction to European aesthetic and cultural sensitivities. The iconography, one of the means of giving voice to this sense of marvel, highlighted those habits deemed unusual or unique.

² Engravings representative of this procedure, for example, include those found in the work of Kolb; s. chapter 3.



Fig. 13 Theodor de Bry: *Dritte Buch Americae* (Hans Staden), 1593;

The custom in effect among the Tupinambás of quartering their prisoners of war represented one of the most commonly highlighted cases in the iconography of Brazil. One of the most significant works was *Wahrhaftig Bericht* by the German mercenary Hans Staden (Staden, 1557; s. chapter 2) who, after having spent some months held captive by the Tupinambás, managed to escape from his prison and go on to provide a detailed description of his experiences in the New World. This work, rendered especially valuable due to it containing some of the earliest illustrations on the lives of the Indians, was first published in Germany in 1557 but was subsequently reprinted in numerous editions across all of Europe.

Here, we encounter a scene representing some of the phases in the imprisonment and death of enemies. Armed with wooden cudgels, the Brazilian Indian strikes the prisoner until his death before beginning to quarter him.

A significant detail to the construction of this myth, and perhaps even more horrific than the scene itself: the child playing with the victim's head, plunging it into water. Behind, the fire where some pieces are already being grilled completes this ritual ceremony. The existence of such barbaric practices and customs, from the European point of view, could only be understood as a consequence of their state of savagery.



Fig. 14 Olfert Dapper: *Umbständliche und eigentliche Beschreibung von Africa*, 1670

The Hottentots (see chapter 3) were widely perceived as one of the most bestial and wild of such peoples. Travellers unanimously detailed the poverty of the Khoikhoi and the Dutchman Johan Nieuhof (Nieuhof, 1669) goes so far as to affirm that he considers them the most miserable people in the world as, in his perspective, he cannot find any indication of religiousness among them. In addition to this judgement came the incomprehensible habit of eating the entrails at the moment of killing their prey, a facet that became practically commonplace in the iconography on the Hottentots (Bassani, Tedeschi: 1990). Hence, whenever encountering prey that fought avidly and fiercely, similar to beasts in the division of

their spoils, this indigenous people on the Cape of Good Hope would devour with greed the guts of cattle still filled and raw.

Furthermore, the attraction to the different might also emerge out of very exotic, extraordinary or singular examples. Such is the case with the legions of warrior women known by the name of Amazonas, already referenced back in Classical Antiquity as living apart from society. These warriors would become a sensational theme in the travel accounts of the 16th century. For example, Duarte Lopes (Lopes, 1557) tells that they live in the kingdom of Monomotapa while Ulrich Schmidl (Schmidl, 1567) locates them in America. And both of them put forward images of warrior women.



Fig 15 Levin Hulsius: *Kurtze Wunderbare Beschreibung. Deß Goldreichen Königsreichs Guianae in America...*, 1603

Formulating a new panel of societies and peoples ignored or unknown up until recently also fell within the scope of these men of letters and the artists of the 16th and 17th centuries. Portraying the different world populations side by side was the objective set. Recognised as a vital and urgent task, describing and then classifying the different beings and ways of living, the intellectuals would draft small lexical encyclopaedias about

the appearance, the clothing, the occupations, the economies, the social organisations, the habits, sciences and arts of the world's inhabitants. Through tracing this panorama, it would become possible, as confirmed by the erudite Erasmus Francisci (Francisci, 1670), to establish a parallel with the society and the reality where you lived yourself alongside the possibility of discovering other human realities, enriching our understandings of nature and ways of being and correcting, criticising and even eliminating certain errors or defects declared as superfluous or ineffective in this interplay of similarities and differences that so deeply engaged the men of letters and intellectuals of the late 17th century.



Fig. 16 Johann Ludwig Gottfried: *Neue Archontologia Cosmica*, 1646

One of the most emblematic allegories about the four continents came from the renowned engraver Matthaeus Merian in which we find four proud looking ladies posing naturally (Fig. 8). In this lozenge shaped picture, Africa, below, casts her glance towards another young female, America. Asia stands at the other end, surprisingly subtle and enigmatic. The three, Africa, Asia and America, thus form a small semi-circle within the overall representation under the surveillance of a watchful old Europe. Sat majestically on top of a globe, symbolic of the world empire, Europe seems very much aware of its leading position.

Africa, in accordance with its poverty, does not wear any piece of clothing, but elegantly and comfortably sits on a crocodile, one of the fear inducing and horrifying animals on this continent, and holds a shell in one of her hands – one of the most commonly found objects along the African coasts – and, in adornment, wears but a single pearl. Leaning slightly forward, she serenely observes the young American who stands out for her feather headdress. On this occasion, beyond the plumes, America does not especially recollect the posture of any Indian given her practically Baroque forms. At her feet, perching on a branch, is a small bird, the parrot, so commonly associated with the American continent.

With long and wavy hair, Asia wears a long dress with some frills in a poorly characteristic manner and unusual to this continent; in the majority of cases, Asia emerges with all the pomp and luxuriousness. Also uncommon in allegorical programmes are the bow and several arrows she has available, supposedly in the tradition of the fantastic and mysterious Amazonas. Completing the lower section of the picture, and serving as decorative motifs, are a lion and an elephant.

The figurative composition chosen by Merian symptomatically reflects the geopolitical positioning of the four parts of the world. In truth, from up on its throne, Europe ruled the roost over the rest of the world, unfurling its flag and on top of the terrestrial world, the continent stood as heir to the Roman Empire and the representative of Christianity as testified to by the headwear. In a strong reference to the imagery of a triumphal Rome, Europe looks to its left from where victory comes. Around, bearing witness to her royalty and majesty, two *putti* fly alongside each other; one to the left trails a standard bearing the symbol of Mercury, the god of commerce that protects and favours mercantile activities, whilst the second *putti* holds in its arms an open book containing the legible inscription: *Religio Christiana*.

The underlying meaning of Matthaeus Merian foretells of the political profile that the European continent would hold throughout the course of the 17th century. The artist here does no more than transpose into iconographic grammar the decided convictions then prevailing in the European discourse. Following the discovery of new worlds, in the opinion of its rulers and opinion makers Europe had demonstrated its capacity to spread its culture and impose its faith with confidence in its institutional and cultural model, with Western Christianity aspiring to rule the world and, in virtue of the experiences arising out of planetary expansion, take the lead in the civilizational forward march. In the challenges set out by expansion, Europe would emerge victorious.

Based on some of the representative examples, we have seen how the art of images comprehensively reflects on the discovery of the new worlds and therefore represents an invaluable source, both on the recognition given to these other new worlds and the ways in which Europeans “discovered”, interpreted and classified them.

CHAPTER NINE

TURQUERIE IN THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE 16TH CENTURY

The voyage of Vasco da Gama established the so longed for maritime route with the mythical Orient. Ever since the Middle Ages, the European imaginary had perceived these lands as a world full of marvels and extraordinary riches.

Hence, the choice of the first port of call for the Portuguese armada in India, Calicut, emerged as the heir to this tradition and swiftly became synonymous with the recently discovered peoples, objects, products and goods. Correspondingly, the engraver Hans Burgkmair (1473-1531) gathered together Africans, Indians and Brazilian Indians into one picture that he then curiously named the People of Calicut (1516-1518; s. chapter 15). Indeed, this proves equally visible in some of the works by Jorg Breu (1475-1537), a renowned artist from the same generation as the celebrated Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528). In his drawing of the peoples of Sumatra (Fig. 17), the engraver depicts them with the attributes of Brazilian Indians. While the description is thus neither correct nor precise, the artist also displayed no great care in portraying these now discovered peoples with any exactitude and instead comes up with a stereotyped image of the attributes considered innovative and without making any distinction between the Orient and the West.

The dawn of the Modern Era is very much characterised by the depth of the curiosity to discover these new worlds, whether their strange animals as is clearly recognisable in the famous engraving of a rhinoceros (1515) by Albrecht Dürer, or in the portrayal of hitherto unknown peoples such as the Brazilian Indians (1515; Fig. 18) or black Africans (1521; Fig. 19), also by the same artist.



Fig. 17 Ludovico di Varthema: *Die ritterliche vnd lobwirdig rayss...*, 1515

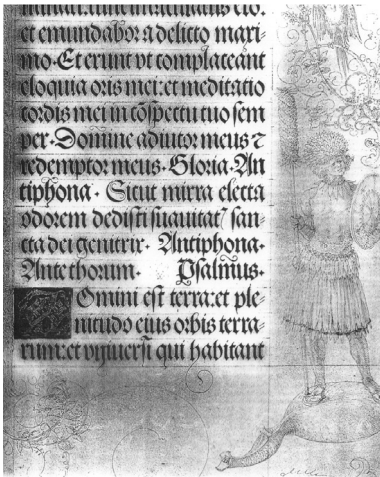


Fig. 18 Albrecht Dürer: *Book of Hours Maximilian I*, 1515



Fig. 19 Albrecht Dürer: *Katherina*, 1521

Similarly, the German artist sketched an oriental knight (1494; Fig. 20), that bears a notorious resemblance to the works of the Italian Gentile Bellini (1429-1507), who had travelled in Turkey and that Dürer met during his own visit to Venice in 1494. In drawing this knight or, somewhat later, his oriental family, Dürer served to contribute, as other studies have already duly demonstrated (Sievernich/ Budde, 1989), towards the depiction of the Muslim as identified in Central Europe with the image of an Ottoman.



Fig. 20 Albrecht Dürer: *Oriental knight*, 1494



Fig. 21 Albrecht Dürer: *Turkish Emperor*, 1523

In truth, the definition of the Orient becomes increasingly associated with the Muslim world and even in the then contemporary representations of biblical history in which many of those ordering the death of Christian martyrs – such as Pontius Pilate or other powerful sovereigns – clearly get identified as Turks and symbolic of evil. Correspondingly, as from the end of the 15th century, these fears and concerns get reflected in the European iconography. This furthermore explains the reason behind various portraits and drawings of one of the major world rulers, the Ottoman sovereign.

In fact, the very particular interest in the figure of the Sultan of Turkey is widely acknowledged. Ranging from the drawings dedicated to Mehmed II, the sovereign who took Constantinople in 1453, produced by the already often mentioned Albrecht Dürer (Fig. 21), through to portraits made by Sinan Berg as well as those by Gentile Bellini (1495), there are many visual depictions with a greater or lesser level of accuracy about the Ottoman ruler. Bellini travelled as a diplomat and artist in an Italian embassy to the Turkish court in 1474, the year when the Republic of Venice agreed peace with the Sultan. This proves just one of many examples of the close relationship of the Italians, especially the Venetians and the Genovese, with the Oriental world (Sievernich/ Budde, 1989: 231-245).

However, it would not only be the figure of the sovereign ruler that triggered artistic curiosity and interest. Oriental life and its customs would over the course of time come in for inclusion within European iconographic records, for example, the ambience prevailing in an oriental city, the sumptuousness and colours of the clothing of their peoples in which the turban proved the most attractive accessory, and as well as singular characteristics in oriental architecture such as the grandiose cupolas of mosques and their fabulous minarets became the themes of many works.

Within this framework of curiosity and interest in this fabulous, rich and exotic world so long since sought out, there were multiple surprises to come and in particular the real and strong presence of Islam throughout the Orient. This fact actually represented just as astonishing and amazing revelation as the discovery of a new continent. In practice, the European press throws just as much attention at the Muslim world and especially the Turkish Empire as to the voyages heading out to the Far East. Many works, especially travel accounts, monographs, histories and cosmographies, alongside graphical depictions of the Ottomans and their customs and practices, would be turned out by European printers. In addition to the fascination generated by the discovery of another people with different habits, this also came against the background of the fear and horror of the “Turkish terror” that erupted across Europe in the wake of the taking of Constantinople in 1453 as well as around the Indian Ocean.

In practice, the Ottoman expansion elicited a broad ranging and deep interest in this people. Such is the case with the aforementioned school of Gentile Bellini that most decidedly influenced the Ottoman and Oriental

image. These works provided the foundation stones for the Ottoman influence on European art in the 15th century.

We may also reference the publication of works, again especially travel accounts such as that of the French Nicolas de Nicolay who lived in Turkey as an ambassador. Profusely decorated in coloured illustrations by Conrad Saldörfer of Nuremberg, this 1572 publication revealed the habits and customs of this people and fostered many admirers.

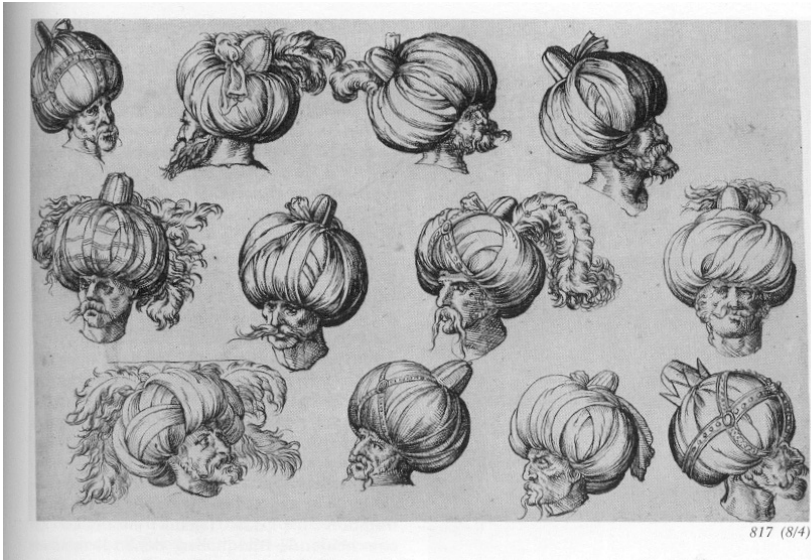


Fig. 22 Jobst Amman: *12 Men with turbans*, ca. 1600

The interest and the fascination for the oriental world would continue to rise in Europe over the passage of time. We would emphasise the already visible attraction for oriental style clothing and for the turban in particular, as may be seen from the study by Jobst Amman (1539-1591), already represented a feature in the daily life of the Europe of that period. In effect, we should not restrict ourselves to referring only to the so commonly evoked *chinoiserie* in European ambiances of this century given that we also regularly encounter a *turquerie*. We should recall how Europeans went about dressing themselves according to perceptions of Turkish fashion as well as surrounding themselves with *alla turca* decorative ambiances (Sievernich/ Budde, 1989: 305-323).

This impact on Europe, already advancing as from the latter years of the 15th century and far more visible in the 16th century, would shape both the understanding and the representations of the Asian continent. One of the most current graphical themes to the 16th century termed the allegories of the four continents; we regularly find that Asia wears a turban as its particular attribute and thereby highlighting the intimate relationship with the Muslim world. This thus proves the case, e.g. with the allegory of the four continents by Jobst Amman (1577) (Fig. 23).

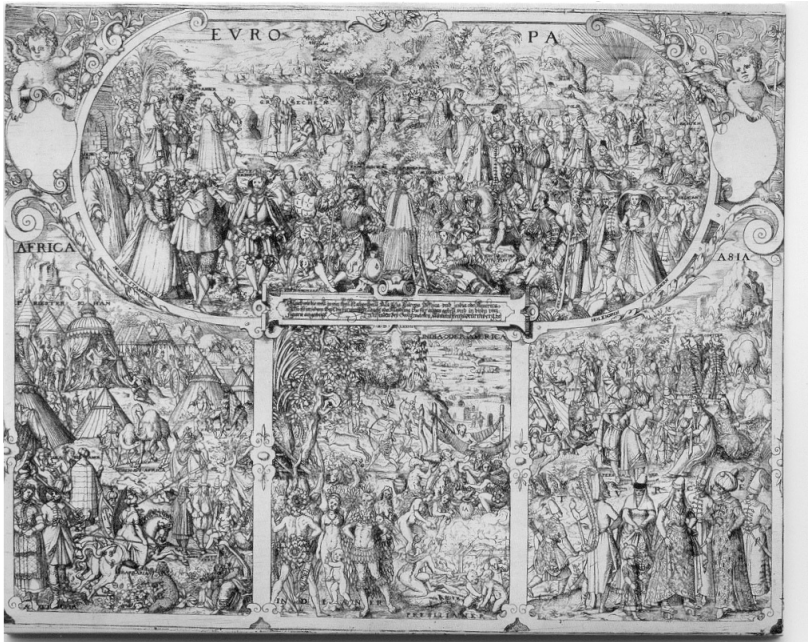


Fig. 23 Jost Amman: *The four continents*, 1577

The Turkish threat did not however recede: in 1517, Egypt fell to the hands of Selim and there would be much talk of the later conquests achieved by Suleiman the Magnificent; in 1521, Belgrade was taken before eight years later Rhodes fell and was followed by Budapest and with consecutive attacks on Vienna through to 1571, the year of the famous Battle of Lepanto. Peace would only be agreed in 1638.

Hence, there are correspondingly various engravings focusing upon Suleiman such as that by M. Lorch, dated to 1559 (Fig. 24), with this artist

from Vienna accompanying Emperor Maximilian II in the war against the Turks (1566), by the Tiziano school (1530/40), a majestic portrait of a powerful chief, as well as that by the Dutchman Jan Swart van Groningen dedicated both to Suleiman and his army (1526) that in its appreciation of the military skills of the Turks also very much reflected the fear and the respect that the enemy of the Christians induced.



Fig. 24 Melchior Lorich: *Sultan Soliman*, 1574

However, the danger was not only felt in Europe. The Ottoman expansion also reached as far as the Indian Ocean where they would face the Portuguese as their enemies.

Among the various texts by Portuguese authors published in Europe, we do find some publications justified by their editors as an initiative undertaken precisely in order to inform the continent about the Portuguese presence in India and their combating of the Muslim enemy. One such case comes with the *History of the Discovery and Conquest of India by the Portuguese* written by Fernão Lopes de Castanheda. In the prologue to one of the editions, we may read:

The intention of this history is to announce the manner by which the king of Portugal discovered the maritime route then unknown from Lisbon, extending around the entire length of Africa as far as the Red Sea and from there to Calicut and as far on as those locations where all the spices come from and attracting the trade of these that had hitherto been distributed via Alexandria, in Egypt, onto Venice and then to Italy, France, Germany, England and all western countries, in order to ensure all the spices that were brought to Spain, France, England, the Low Countries and as well as a large part of Germany [...] do not any longer come from Venice but instead from Portugal that goes there to fetch them or has them brought here. This maritime route causes great damage to the trade of the Venetians [...] and also afflicts Egypt and other kingdoms of the Turks and the many Moors located around the Red Sea and Africa, so that the Turk Suleiman is preparing an armada in the Red Sea (as Damião de Góis writes) for a few years' time, with the intention of expelling the Portuguese and blocking their trade (in: Lopes, 1990: 274).

The vision of the Orient thus became increasingly bound up with these events and the Ottoman expansion. The Portuguese sources – such as the accounts of Fernão Lopes de Castanheda or Damião de Góis – serve as unavoidable documents of reference within this process.

Let us take just one more example. While the works of Jobst Amman had already announced this association of the Orient with the Muslim world both in the aforementioned allegory of the four continents of the world and in fashion albums, an illustration to a Portuguese work makes this association clear. In effect, Amman ended up illustrating the German version of the work by Francisco Álvares on the Prester John of the Indias, the legendary king that the Portuguese searched for in the expectation of finding an ally against their enemies of faith (Fig. 25). Thus, the court of Prester John is portrayed as an oriental court and the sovereign is dressed in Turkish fashion. Once again, the boundaries to the oriental world are not very clear with many longstanding doubts remaining as to the geographic and cultural realities of this *new world*.

In summary, the encounter with the Orient was, as we have had the opportunity to grasp based upon some of the examples representative of European iconography of the 16th century, on the one hand, a confrontation with the Muslim world and more specifically with the Ottoman Turks, and eliciting, despite this constant threat, great curiosity about these worlds, in themselves also new and unknown out of which emerged what we propose defining as a *turquerie* in European art and culture.



Fig. 25 Francisco Álvares: *Die reis zu des christlichen Königs im hohen Ethiopien...*, 1581

CHAPTER TEN

THE PORTUGUESE IN CHRISTOPH WEIDITZ'S *TRACHTENBUCH*

In 1529, the medallist and portrait painter, Christoph Weiditz, travelled to the Iberian Peninsula in order to visit the court of the King of Spain and Emperor of Germany Charles V. Born in around 1500, probably in Strasbourg, to a family of artists – and possibly the son of Hans Weiditz the Elder, a sculptor of wood statues and brother of Hans Weiditz the Younger, author of various woodcuts and a member of the workshop of the painter and engraver Hans Burgkmair –, Christoph Weiditz began working in the city of Augsburg when young. He carried out numerous works featuring senior imperial bourgeois figures as well as of the international court of the German sovereign, with Weiditz quickly establishing a reputation as one of the most renowned Renaissance medallists of Augsburg. His reputation would also spread beyond Germany as, during his stay in the lands of Spain, Christoph Weiditz would produce portraits of the leading figures in Spanish society, such as the conquistador Fernando Cortes, who had just returned from an expedition to Mexico (Hampe, 1927; Fink, 1963).

Whilst his works as a medallist were always recognised in Germanic artistic circles as of great quality and value, the one hundred and fifty-four drawings in pencil and watercolours found in the 1920s at the Germanisches National Museum in Nuremberg opened up a new and fascinating dimension to the work of this 16th century creative. Simply ignored throughout many years, these works were left in amongst various manuscripts and found by mere chance. In the early part of the last century, the codex attracted the attentions of the researcher Karl Frommann and, later, thanks to decisive research by Georg Habich, it was finally determined that these works could be by no other than the renowned Christoph Weiditz. Furthermore, in 1927, the then director of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Theodor Hampe, authorised the

publication of the manuscript existing in Nuremberg even while these drawings of Christoph Weiditz remain very little known despite their excellent documentary value, not only on 16th century Spain but also on the cultural relations ongoing between the Iberian Peninsula and Central Europe.

In effect, executed decisively and firmly, these drawings, carefully filled with watercolours and sometimes highlighted in gold and silver, constitute a colourful and varied panel of the clothing of people from all the different ranks of society, including figures from the street as well as the public and private life then ongoing in Spain, the Low Countries, France, Germany, Britain, Ireland and Portugal. This codex, today unfortunately out of order – gathered and bound in the late 18th century without any constructive concern –, still represents one of the oldest of all fashion albums. Primarily containing sketches made during his voyages to Spain and the Low Countries (1531/32), this album proves to be one of the earliest works of this artistic type and very much inaugurating the subsequent long list of works with their founding purpose as building up a careful and minutely detailed record of the clothes and fashions of their times. Within this context, we may reference the collection by Matthäus Schwarz, the accountant to the Fugger family of traders, who, along with his son Konrad Schwarz, would collect over 170 miniatures of clothing between 1520 and 1561, in a collection named *Schwarzsche Trachtenbücher* and which joins the Christoph Weiditz codex as the oldest fashion albums of all. Documenting the outfits worn by various peoples and social groups, the *Trachtenbücher* arise out of the keen historical and humanist desire to establish an archive of works of great artistic and ethnographic merit. The German bourgeois played a leading role within this scope, as is the case with Schwarz and the Fugger (Fink, 1963). Representatives of the leading trading houses in Germany, these families held enormous regional and even national economic power – Jacob Fugger would be the creditor to the Emperors Maximilian I and Charles V –, while simultaneously proving a pivotal influence on cultural exchanges and patronising the arts and letters out of a constant desire for new knowledge. The artists, with a great majority being engravers and designers, thus gained support and very commonly received the patronage of these rich, artistically inclined men, and in the process gathering in their albums a vast documentary archive on the then prevailing clothing and culture.

In fact, the rising concern and interest in depicting the costumes and adornments – always closely interrelated – acquires a particular characteristic as from the 16th century: clothing became an engrained and systematic theme for the arts. We need only to take into account some of the sketches and pictures by Albrecht Dürer to grasp the importance then attributed (s. chapter 9). Adjoining this interest came another aspect as may be made out from the titles of the fashion albums chosen for printing as from the 1560s. This encapsulated the idea of a picture collection of costumes and clothing, much within the humanist taste, but also enriched through the experience of planetary expansion following the voyages of discovery. This broadening of the known geographic extent and the corresponding aggrandisement of humanity led to the emergence of a universal concept; more was learned about foreign peoples as expressed on the cover of the fashion album by Hans Weigel, first published in 1577, which promises to present the clothing and costumes of nearly all the most famous nations that were then known.

This sharply innovative facet is also already present in the work by Christoph Weiditz, especially his depiction of groups of native Indians. During his time in Spain, in 1529, Christoph Weiditz accompanied the imperial court in its travels around the Spanish kingdom – as reflected in the themes of some of his work – and thus gaining the opportunity to meet a lot of leading figures with links to the court and including some of the Indians brought back by Fernando Cortes. With his fine artistic eye, Weiditz knew how to minutely portray the richly coloured scenes of their stay at the imperial court. Thus, in leafing through the codex, we are able to appreciate them playing games with stones, with balls, exercising with trunks of wood, wearing exotic feather plumes, their bodies adorned with stones or accompanied by attractive and brightly coloured parrots, already an unparalleled attribute of these men from the New World.

In the vast and diversified ethnic range covered in this codex, the artist features not only the portrayals of men and women he saw on his travels but also the people that he designed in accordance with the representations of other artists. This aspect is in keeping with his intention of setting out a global panorama of international clothing habits and customs. Such is the case with two of the Portugal dedicated pages in which we find a man and a woman who, according to the text, characterise the usual way of dressing in the country. The symmetry of the pair, typical of these works, also serves to inform the potential reader or user of this book about the most common style of clothing worn in Portugal. Irrespective of the

author having dedicated but one page, and in contrast with the coverage given to other peoples, their inclusion proves to be of capital importance given the otherwise rarity of portrayals of Portuguese people from the discoveries era.



Fig. 26 Christoph Weiditz: *Trachtenbuch*, ca. 1530;

Therefore, Portuguese males would wear a loose black cloak running down to their knees and a cap in the same colour adorned with a large precious stone with the text informing that this would be highlighted in gold; beneath the cloak a white shirt-piece and light trousers – tight at the leg and with just some ornamentation around the knee and recalling the outfit worn by King Manuel I on the occasion of his third marriage as detailed in the famous 1541 painting by Garcia Fernandes. We would further highlight the hair worn long and down to the shoulders as was common in the early 16th century and with the face shaven as was then the custom.

In turn, the Portuguese woman wore a hat with a special jewelled ornamentation, with one jewel hanging down to her ear. Her hair was long as was permitted to a lady. Furthermore, as an adornment, she wears a necklace with a large jewel identical to that over her ear. The text refers to the scarlet crimson colour of her dress that would also have been brocaded

in gold. With a high waist as was common through to the beginning of the 16th century, the dress was adjusted to the body by means of a large belt embellished with a box. The sleeves, in another cloth and white in colour, were also very wide and adorned whilst simultaneously being held in place by ribbons to convey the idea of various ruffles. Her shoes have rather high heels as was then in fashion. In her hand, two flowers in the same colour as her dress provide a very fine air to this lady of Portugal.

In tracing this picturesque and curious portrait of this Portuguese couple, Christoph Weiditz intended to provide a characteristic representation of this Iberian people. Such intent would also explain the artist applying the same layout to all the peoples included in the codex. Nominating himself as the translator of the clothing and costumes, Weiditz turns his art into an object of education able to inform on daily life. In depicting the various peoples and human types in their rural works, going about their daily tasks or simply as citizens of the earth, within the framework of which he does not overlook the chance to make the opportune and hitherto unprecedented reference to recently discovered peoples, Weiditz also strove to register the cultural diversity and otherness that required knowing and understanding.

In the wake of his other works, including his Books of Hours, this codex would meet his desire to note down for educational and informative purposes aspects and characteristics of daily life or even just an object in current usage. We should furthermore highlight that the *Gebetbuch* of Emperor Maximilian I, a richly illustrated example that counted on the high standards of artistic contribution from the likes of Lucas Cranach, Hans Burgkmair and Albrecht Dürer, already testifies to the impact of new geographies. Indeed, the great painter and engraver Albrecht Dürer portrayed a Brazilian Indian in this same book (Kohl, 1982; s. chapter 9, Fig. 18). In Portugal, we have similar examples in the Book of Hours belonging to King Manuel I, one of the finest Portuguese illuminated manuscripts, which also contains representations of the exotic and the new from overseas (Markl, 1983).

In effect, the one hundred and fifty pages making up the fashion album by Christoph Weiditz also constitute a reaction to the amazement resulting from the expansion of the European peoples: the desire to learn about and then record in detail these new realities. While the Portuguese set about correctly detailing the hitherto unknown worlds in the then existing cartography, producing minutely detailed and luxurious geographic maps, veritable works of manuscript art, men such as Weiditz were building up

their panels featuring the clothes and costumes of peoples in a both accurate and therefore historical record. Underlying the two postures, we encounter the same idea and purpose: knowing and portraying the cultural plurality around the world.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE VOYAGER AS A SCHOLAR: AMERIGO VESPUCCI IN EARLY MODERN GRAPHICAL REPRESENTATION

In 1507 German cosmographers Mathias Ringmann and Martin Waldseemüller suggested the name of Amerigo Vespucci for the designation of a region in the South Atlantic. Both authors had read the letter written by the Italian sailor and published in 1503 under the title *Mundus Novus*. Vespucci's travelogue gave rise to his celebrity: between 1503 and 1505 *Mundus Novus* was published no less than 29 times, 19 times alone in the German speaking countries. As has been rightly stated by Luis de Matos, no other document related to the Portuguese overseas endeavour has ever found such swift and widespread dissemination (Matos, 1991: 288).

It is worth mentioning that Mathias Ringmann was living in Paris at the time when Fra Giovanni Giocondi, a well-known architect from Verona and a friend of the Florentine sailor, translated Vespucci's letter to Lorenzo di Pier Francesco de Medici into Latin (Vogel, 1995: 15; Briesemeister, 2000). Knowing about the first edition in the French capital might in fact have stimulated the idea of further editions, as Ringmann himself published a version of the letter two years later in Strasburg.

This time, Ringmann chooses a new title "*De ora antarctica...*" (Fig. 27) and adds to the original a text written by himself. Ringmann finds confirmed what had been rejected ever since St. Augustine: the existence of the so-called antipodes. The cover of the 1505 Vespucci edition clearly shows this opposition of two worlds without communication (s. Matos, 1991: 305). Once again, the Portuguese experience overseas was going to challenge the classical concept of the world, rendering visible how much ancient authorities had missed and failed in an attempt at a correct description of the world. Ringmann expressively refers to Ptolemy

pointing out that one had now learned about regions that did not appear at all in his maps. Here we find one of the main reasons for its editorial success: the revelation of new geographic knowledge.



Fig. 27 Amerigo Vespucci, *De ora antarctica*, 1505

This new geographic knowledge not only includes topographical issues, as it also refers to a wide range of increasing interest in new peoples with new and unknown costumes, as shown by the xylographs which illustrated some of the Vespucci editions, awakening the curiosity of those readers who would like to know more about the world. Be it for professional reasons or as a question of improving knowledge, geographical and cosmographical issues lay at the centre of contemporary science. As pointed out by Frauke Gewecke (Gewecke, 1986: 105), information on the discovery of a whole new world certainly caused a deep impact on the public, as Vespucci very well knew: it meant a revelation completely unknown to the recognized authorities whose readings and studying had recently increased again.

When in 1507, two years after the first edition of Vespucci's letter, Mathias Ringmann and Martin Waldseemüller published their *Cosmographiae introductio*, a cosmographical text which accompanies the edition of a world map, they gave the name of America for the first time to the landscape which had remained unknown until then, thus honouring the man who first reported on it. Two humanists baptized a region using the female version – following here the examples of Africa and Asia – of the proper name of a Florentine navigator. Still it should be noted that the two cosmographers do not refer to a continent, but to an island instead, completely surrounded by water, as suggested by Vespucci himself. It remained uncertain whether the landscape was to be considered a continent and, if so, whether it was the same which Columbus had discovered further north and whose southern extension was still unknown. Thus, Ringmann and Waldseemüller duly decided to call the region by the name of its rapporteur. Only later was it possible to establish the real extension of this island as a continent, which would then adopt the name given to its southern part by the two cosmographers from Saint Dié.

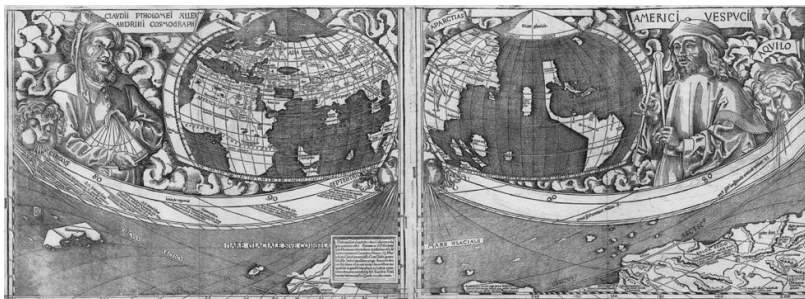


Fig. 28 Matthias Ringmann and Martin Waldseemüller, *Mappa mundi*, 1507

It was in this state of uncertainty and in the context of an increasing geographical and cosmographical knowledge that Ringmann and Waldseemüller published the recent, contemporary and experience-based information delivered by Vespucci accompanied by a re-edition of Ptolemy's *Geographia*, dating originally from the 2nd century AD. In this sense, Ringmann and Waldseemüller recognize in Vespucci a renovator of geographical knowledge, the new Ptolemy, as shown in the juxtaposition of their two portraits in the *Mappa mundi* from 1507 (Fig. 28). On the left we see Ptolemy next to a map of the old world, and on the right Vespucci is depicted next to a map of "his" new world or – to use a contemporary

term frequently adopted by geographers and scholars of the time – next to the extra-Ptolemy world, which Vespucci had known to describe and disseminate so successfully.

The German humanists not only attribute Vespucci's name to America, they clearly want to distinguish him and his knowledge as being worth standing on the same level as a classical authority like Ptolemy – though, of course, opposed to him. Their iconographic message is as clear as it is unique – so scarce is a personified representation of navigators. But in the case of Vespucci, Ringmann and Waldseemüller recognize his importance as a messenger of a completely new knowledge that he was able to understand and put forward. This is the reason why he is represented with a compass and in the robe of a scholar, as if he were teaching the new dimension of the world. For many researchers, like e.g. Robert Wallisch (2002), Vespucci's work represents a crucial element to the fundamental change that the history of European culture would go through at the time. Vespucci's *Mundus Novus* would not just inform about a previously unknown world, but would simultaneously replace ancient knowledge with the empiric experience of the overseas efforts. As Vespucci had received a broad and extensive humanistic education in Florence, and at the same time being aware of the Iberian endeavour, he was particularly well prepared to understand and describe the real meaning of the new geographic insights; what he saw with his own eyes and what his voyages allowed him to experience. Thus, he became an outstanding representative of coeval knowledge, widely recognized and emphasized by his contemporaries. Depicting Vespucci side by side with the classical authority of Ptolemy means upgrading contemporary knowledge to the level of antique heritage: just as Ptolemy in former times, Vespucci now turns out to be one of the pillars of a new description of the world.

The representation of Vespucci as a scholar is an exceptional if not singular case in the Renaissance cartography, which will decisively mark the path of geographic and global knowledge in the 16th century. In fact, in the beginning of the century, Vespucci's name is strongly linked to the profound change in the conception of the world.



Fig. 29 Francanzano Montalboddo, *Paesi Novamente ritrovati*, 1501



Fig. 30 Amerigo Vesputi, *Von der new gefunden Region so wol ein welt genent mag werden*, 1506

Thus, it is hardly surprising that the collection of travelogues edited by Francanzano Montalboddo under the title *Paesi Novamente ritrovati* (Fig. 29) should mention Vesputi's name already in the title, although the collection contains the writings of many other contemporary travellers, such as Christopher Columbus. Nonetheless, this anthology gives special attention only to Vesputi. Columbus is considered one of the many travellers who arrived at former unknown countries, many of them working on behalf of the Portuguese crown. As long as there is no notion that the landscapes described by Vesputi and Columbus actually belong to the same continent, it is Vesputi's name that guarantees the interest and relevance of a new world.

Vesputi's name is frequently associated with the initiatives carried out by the Portuguese king, as can be confirmed by the frontispieces of several editions of his work. This is the case of a 1506 edition (Fig. 30), where one finds a knight whose coat of arms resembles that of the King of Portugal. His whole appearance seems to defend an ideal of chivalry, in which Europe recognizes the Portuguese King as the one responsible for a glorious maritime endeavour and in which the monarch could claim to be

the vanguard and leader of European Christianity: *Von der neu gefunden Region die wol ein welt genent mag werden / durch den Cristenlichen künig von portigal/ wunderbalich erfinden* (About a new found region which might be called a world / marvellously discovered by the Christian King of Portugal).

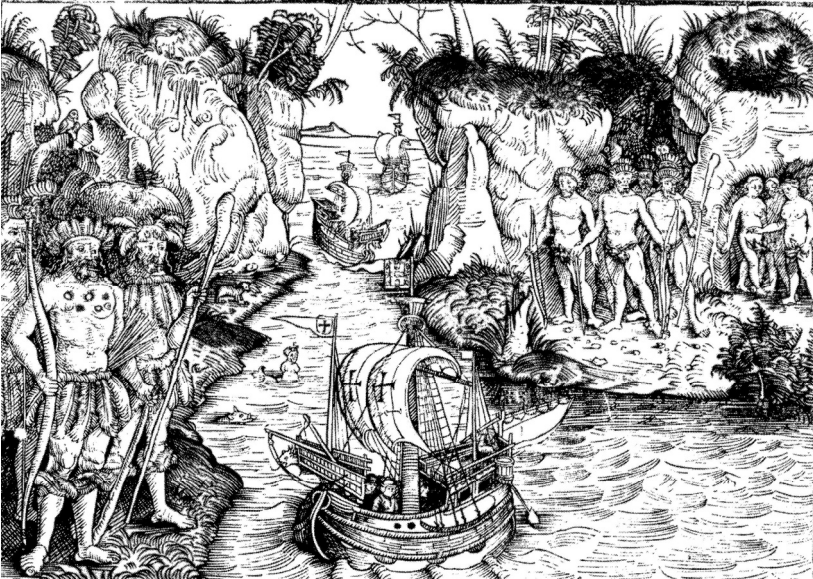


Fig. 31 Amerigo Vespucci, *Das sind die new gefunde[n] mensche[n] od[er] volcker*, 1505

However, in this first phase of acknowledgement of the Portuguese overseas endeavour, attention is not only driven to the historical feats of Portuguese leaders, but also to the surprising and decisive discovery of peoples which had been unknown before, a fascinating news which had to be given evidence in frontispieces or long titles that did justice to its importance: *Das sind die new gefunden menschen oder volcker In form vnd gestalt/ Als sie hie stend durch den Cristenlichen Künig von Portugall/ gar wunnderbarlich erfunden* (These are the new found people or peoples in the form and manner / as they here stand marvellously discovered by the Christian King of Portugal). This can be read in another 1505 edition of Vespucci's letter. Lower in the image we see a caravel sailing up an unknown river and on its margins people stand admiring this

spectacle: some of them naked, others in skirts made of feathers and head adornments also made of feathers, and others still holding their bows and arrows as described by Vespucci (Fig. 31). On their narrow and tight way, the ships appear in disproportionate dimensions, much smaller than the people watching them. The image of the strong and robust people faithfully and meticulously corresponds to the description given by the Italian sailor in the service of the Portuguese king, even evidencing the detail revealed by him concerning the habit of piercing body and face with stones. This is one of the earliest representations of what would later become the iconographic stereotype of the American people and the Brazilian Indian in special: feather skirts and adornment.

Only later in the 16th century, when it became clear that Vespucci's letter refers to the same continent that had been discovered by Columbus, does the name of Portugal start to be less considered. There are even also the first voices that criticize the choice of the name of America and thus the reference to the Florentine sailor, like in Michel Servet's Ptolemy edition in 1535 or later in Bartolomé de las Casas' *Historia de las Indias* (Vogel, 1995: 27).

In fact, while the suggestion to designate the new lands with the name of Amerigo Vespucci was quickly and widely accepted, it took much more time to actually recognize the discovery of America itself as an unquestionable fact in all its real dimensions. To recognize the existence of lands and islands in the Western Atlantic Ocean is in itself already an astonishing revolution, but to define a whole continent in its limits is even more surprising and unexpected. The massive extension of this continent which had no maritime passage to the Far East is as beyond belief as it is hard to explain, and an enigma to solve that it had been completely unknown to European scholars for centuries. Up to the 18th century, it was quite usual to see America just as the Western India, which means a continuation and an integral part of Asia (Lopes, 1995).

The high number of editions in which Vespucci's letter was published bears witness to the interest in such an enigma. In all, 50 editions drew attention to Vespucci's discovery, so that he frequently could be set at the side of Christopher Columbus, as in the works of Johann Schöner and Sebastian Münster (s. chapter 16). While in his *Opusculum geographicum* from 1533 Schöner still refers to the new regions as an island, Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia* develops the idea of a continent with two distinct zones (North- and South-America), but both of them mention

Columbus as well as Vespucci (Lopes, 1992: 108-123). The same combination can be observed in Johann Stradanus' famous engraving *America relectio* where Vespucci and Columbus are represented as the discoverers of the continent (Palm, 1985). The Flemish artist, born under the name Jan van der Straet, worked in Italy at the Medici court and his concept was reused again some years later by Phillippp Galle in a 1589 edition of engravings representing America.



Fig. 32 Johann Stradanus, *America relectio*, 1589

In *America relectio* (Fig. 32) the discovery is revealed by the Holy Spirit in the figure of a dove uncovering the globe, in which one recognizes the shape of America: by lifting the cover the world is rendered visible. On the left we see Flora, the goddess of flowers and spring, holding the cover, and on the right Janus, the god with his two faces of beginnings and transition. On the top one perceives two smaller representations in form of lockets. Vespucci on the left is accompanied by a warrior standing on a car pulled by lions and decorated with the coat of arms of Florence, the *fleur-de-lis*. Could it be a Florentine campaign? Below we see the Italian coastline with Genoa at its centre and expanding on to Livorno, celebrating

the art of travel. This representation clearly emphasizes the Italian presence and contribution – and particularly the role of the Medici. It is worth mentioning that the engraving appeared at a time when Ferdinando I de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, who had begun his rule in 1587, tried to promote commerce by amplifying Livorno's harbour, perhaps in an attempt to participate in the colonization of America. It might also be stressed that the engraving is dedicated to Ludovico and Aloyzio Alamanni, two well-known scholars, the first of whom an important mathematician and astronomer, connected to Galileo Galilei.

Stradanus came back to Vespucci in one of the three engravings representing the three discoverers of America: Columbus, Vespucci and Magellan. In this very famous engraving (Fig. 33), we see Vespucci arriving at the continent, which – as the inscription says – had received his name. Although the mast is apparently broken, the sailor standing on the prow of the ship, next to the flag with a Christian cross, seems to be looking toward his successful endeavour. In front of the ship a triton and a Nereid display pieces of human bodies, suggesting that the cannibals do not live far from this coastline, and thus announcing the arrival at the Brazilian coast. The enormous sunset in the background makes clear that this ship is heading west. Between the ship and the land one sees a warrior standing on a turtle pulled by lions, as if on a combat car. This car pulled by lions and the adornment made of peacock feathers on the head of the Nereid suggest an Indian atmosphere resembling the conquest of India by Bacchus, an older maritime triumph in another India. The fact that it would take long to conclude a new and complete description of the world might explain the exotic choice of a turtle (standing for slowness) as a means of transportation.

Between land and sea, between the India they were looking for, and the territory they discovered, we see the sailor, not dressed as a warrior (his armour lies on the ground) but in scholar's attire, holding an instrument of knowledge that had brought him further: a quadrant. The representation is very much to the taste of Renaissance curiosity, an idea reinforced by the inscription, which emphasizes in *Vespuccius Florentinus portentosa navigatione* his masterly achievement in discovering the land in the South. For Stradanus, Vespucci does not lose his status as the discoverer of America – a representation which will be later adopted by many other editors, such as the famous family de Bry, who published the best-known collections of travelogues in the 16th century. The younger Theodor de Bry included this representation in the fourth volume dedicated to America, *Das Vierde Buch von der neuwen Welt*, which came out in Frankfurt in 1594.



Fig. 34 Theodore Galle / Johann Stradanus, *America*, c. 1599–1603

Glancing around him he sees a fecund and prosperous nature and unknown animals like the one that devours ants and which he will call anteater. Considering the prodigious nature, a sensation of victory and promise must have overtaken the sailor. However, a little further in the background some native people seem to shade the praise of the achievement and the pleasure of the moment: they are sitting around a skewer of human meat. The smoke coming out of their grill rises up into the air just between the sailor and the young woman, announcing some unpleasant perspectives.

This representation has been the object of manifold studies in the last decades, particularly in the context of postcolonial and gender studies (Christadler, 2001; Priore, 1992). It has been demonstrated how clearly the image expresses and reflects the opposition between colonists and colonized people – and how it simultaneously applies an explicitly male gaze at women and at what “innocence” was supposed to be and to be good for.

Without going into detail at this point, it turns out that this colonial and male gaze was strongly marked by a certain prototype of “discovery”,

Amerigo Vespucci is repeatedly honoured in this work, once again mentioned as the representative of Florentine science and culture. At one point it mentions Dante and his *Divine Comedy*, which had introduced astronomy and geographical knowledge along with Christian doctrine, and already mentioned the emergence of the “four stars” (as described in the first canto of *Purgatory*).

Indeed, Vespucci notes in his letter to Lorenzo Pier Francesco Medici how he tried to find a fixed star in the southern sky that could be used in determining the direction, but the search was unsuccessful. He writes: “Even though I had worked so many nights and with so many tools – the quadrant and the astrolabe – I could not identify a star that had less than ten degrees of motion around the sky; that is why I did not name any of them the austral pole because of the large movement they all made around the firmament.” But suddenly, Vespucci remembers a passage from the *Divine Comedy*, and thanks to the words of Dante, he can recognize the Southern Cross: “And continuing this work, I remembered some lines of our poet Dante, mentioned in the first chapter on the Purgatory, when he imagines leaving this hemisphere and wanting to describe the Antarctic pole on the other:

I turned right, and well in front of
the southern pole, I saw the four stars
never again seen since the very first people.
The sky was full of their brightness:
You northern widower are not allowed
to see such stars!” (s. Mauro, 1988: 12)

Vespucci's words are cited in Stradanus' picture (Fig. 36). He confirms the existence and the knowledge of the constellation by the author of the *Divine Comedy*. As Alessandra Mauro (1988) emphasizes, the authority of Dante is sufficient for this identification, since experience finds its proof in the poetic tradition.

We thus see Vespucci as he works: in the moonlight observing the world. On the table, one sees a lamp, paper, ink, a globe, a crucifix; all that is needed for a scholar, a scientist to discover the signs of the world. Next to him, soldiers are sleeping, recalling the biblical scene on the Mount of Olives and establishing thus an analogy to how revealing his work has been.



Fig. 36 Johann Stradanus, *Nova reperta*, (New inventions and discoveries of modern times), c. 1599-1603

Here too, the idea of Vesputi as an outstanding reader of the world, and, as such, the constructor of a new scientific image of the world is recalled. This role in the discovery and understanding and, actually, in the construction of the world should be further highlighted by the fact that, for example, Alida Metcalf (2012) sees in Vesputi the author of the so-called *Kunstmann II* map. Worth mentioning is also the fact that Amerigo Vesputi was appointed by the Board of Burgos (1508) as a pilot, when the position of a chief pilot was created (Metcalf, 2012: 37), which confirms his excellent skills as a navigator, a position he held for four years until his death on February 22, 1512. Vesputi has to be considered a pilot with a significant curriculum, both concerning the practice of sailing as well as its teaching and improvement in Castile, having also played an important role in Portugal in the dissemination (if not in the introduction) of the Portuguese nautical school, especially in the determination of latitude on the high seas by using the astrolabe, tables of solar declination and the so-called *regimento* of the Sun.

Vesputi was the first to formulate the existence of a new world on the

other side of the Atlantic. While Christopher Columbus had eagerly sought the islands mentioned by Marco Polo, Vespucci had the exact notion of being in a totally unknown territory. Aware of this fact, Vespucci baptizes the unknown as such and thus his name will be associated to the newly discovered land.



Fig. 37 Arnold Montanus, *De Nieuwe en Onbekende Weereld...*, 1671

Since the publication of *Mundus Novus*, Vespucci appears in the cartography and iconography of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as the navigator, the geographer, the scientist who, thanks to his knowledge, curiosity and interest, discovered *terra incognita*. This is still his image, a century later, as we see in the picture edited in the work of Arnold Montanus (Fig. 37): the man of science, among his instruments such as the compass, a globe and others; with a compass in his hand, studying a geography book – certainly the work of a classic, perhaps Ptolemy or even his own account; a distinguished *connoisseur* of the science of his time,

Vespucci, the agent of curiosity in a magnificent and glorifying project overseas. In the back, behind a curtain, one observes ships navigating the high seas, certainly sailing toward the West.

CHAPTER TWELVE

SEEING, HEARING, SPEAKING: EARLY MODERN REPRESENTATIONS OF MISSIONARIES

In different European countries, there are many examples of printed works and engravings alluding to the unexpected and unprecedented feat of finding new worlds (Degenhard, 1987; Lopes, 1998; Caetano, 1998). In the staged representation of these marvellous new worlds, one character, among many other themes, emerged and deserving of particular and special attention: the missionary. We may thus grasp, based on some of the examples most representative of the then existing iconography as well as the 17th century texts, just how the rediscovered figure of the missionary was put forward in the iconography of the time of the famous Father António Vieira (1608-1697).

Along with the new lands, the Portuguese and Spanish sailors found peoples who had hitherto lived their lives without any awareness of the Gospels. This news represented a fact that the Christians were not able to hide away. Indeed, with papal consent, the sailors and explorers held no doubts about their religious duties. Therefore, it becomes easy to grasp how in the early 16th century, Portugal and specifically the Portuguese king appear in the engravings of that period as symbols of the Christian world.

In 1505, there is the frontispiece of a German work about the new maritime voyages that shows a warrior-knight figure identified by the coat of arms on his shield as the King of Portugal (s. chapter 11, Fig. 30). Portrayed in armour, the sovereign, defender of the ideals of knightly chivalry, becomes the monarch attributed European recognition as the organiser of these grandiose maritime feats and who had himself taken on the functions of the leader of European Christianity. This conveyed *Of the new region discovered that we may call a new world marvellously*

discovered by the Christian king of Portugal (Basel, 1505) in a work that already makes direct reference to Brazil.

Two years later, when Martin Waldseemüller, one of the very first European geographers to take up an interest in the accounts and information brought back by the voyages of exploration, launched himself on his daring and laborious task of rebuilding the image of the world, and thus introducing corrections to the Ptolemy based geography, it is once again the Portuguese monarch who emerges as a symbol, in this case portraying the success in discovering the maritime route to India. The geographer thereby sought to convey through the figure of the sovereign in his highly useful *Marine Navigation Chart* (1516), the valuable contribution made by Portuguese sailors and explorers to this new world planetary vision.

Placed right next to the Cape of Good Hope, alluding to the circumnavigation from the Atlantic Ocean to the Indian Ocean, there appears an illustrious knight bearing the caption *Cristianissimi Emanuelis Regis* (Fig. 38). Symbolic of Christianity, the king of Portugal appears astride a dolphin. Ploughing through the waters of the Indian Ocean, the sovereign, with his royal sceptre in one hand and the Portuguese flag in the other, both symbolises and illustrates the *Gesta Portugalensium* encapsulating the broadening of the geographically known world and the dilatation of the Christian faith.

The certainty that the Gospels had not been preached to all men and that not everybody had been granted the opportunity to save themselves through baptism, could only ever have been dramatic in accordance with the then prevailing theological conceptions (Azevedo, 2000; Dias, 1988: 48-52). The Christian doctrine promised that all the peoples of the earth would find new Christian leaders who would correspondingly take responsibility for the expansion of the church worldwide. The Portuguese, in the words of Luís de Camões, traversed the oceans in search of far distant lands:

Where they arrive to sow Christ and the law

And give new customs and a new king (Camões, Canto VII, stanza 15, verses 7 and 8).



Fig. 38 Martin Waldseemüller: *Carta Marina Navigatoria Portugallen...*, 1516

This thus constitutes the context in which a new figure emerges in the then current iconography that we here pay particular and careful attention to: the sowers of these new pastures dotted around the world.

One eloquent example of this comes with a 1621 engraving in which the missionary, mandated by God the Saviour, preaches the message of Christ, who gave his life to save humanity; it is the blood that we see running through the salvers bringing redemption for the sins of life. Illuminated by the Holy Spirits in accordance with the liturgical, catechetical and apologetic needs of the Christian community, the missionary takes the

Holy Scripture as a means of support and, in confirmation of his evangelic mission, wears the vestments and the insignia of the shepherd of the souls (Fig. 39).



Fig. 39 Honorius Philoponus, *Nova typis transacta navigatio*, 1621

The hearers of the word of the Lord, gathered together under the mystical bond, are persons from all over the world – with Brazilian Indians among those we may recognise. And, in the background, the depiction of caravels alludes to the voyages and the way these rendered contact and the spreading of the faith possible. The solid and lasting implementation of this meeting now lies in the hands of the missionary.

There are various examples of the images representing the Christian presence in the world as is the case with the well-known engraved portrayal of the Portuguese arriving in Congo (Lopes, 1597; Lopes, 1998). Whilst the newness of this event is renowned, the still visible construction of the church is very clearly included, complete with the placing of scaffolding and beams in the ceiling, as are the celebrations following the baptism of the Lord of Sogno, one of the first Christians in Africa. The picture's images thus reflect the sheer pleasure taken in making this account of the first believers and the recent Christian celebrations in lands where, as the chronicler João de Barros put it, “we may believe the teaching of the Apostles never reached” (Barros, 1945, 1 vol.: 125-126).

In reports and pictures, the missionary takes a leading role and is responsible for, beyond the profound dedication to evangelisation – reflected in the erection of the Cross of Christ as seen in another engraving (Fig. 40) –, building models of life and behaviour in accordance with the Christian ethic (*Encontro de Culturas* 1994; Alves, 1997).



Fig. 40 Honorius Philoponus, *Nova typis transacta navigatio*, 1621

The engraving depicts the symbolic chapel in which missionaries are already administering the sacrament of baptism, as well as the construction of the walls of a future church, where the Eucharist is already being said, as indicated by the altar, or the sacrament of penitence with a priest listening to confession on a slope between the recently started walls. Here, there only really existed the community of the faithful and believers; the indigenous peoples look on attentively, with their weapons laid down, listening to the sermons of the missionaries with the neophytes to forge the first bonds of the Church and Christian community.

Missionaries swore a solemn vow: to take the message of Christ to the diverse regions of the earthly globe. Hence, in celebrating the apostolic ministry, the preaching of the word of the Lord took a special place. Indeed, this proved so special that in the *Sermon of the Holy Spirit*, preached in the city of São Luís do Maranhão, in 1657, prior to the

departure of a Jesuit mission to the Amazon region, Father António Vieira compares the task of a missionary to that of a sculptor. He says:

I grant you this barbarous and rude Indian as a stone: the means by which a stone becomes art. A statue is torn from this mountain stone, rough, brutish, hard, unshaped; and after having smoothed the thickest parts, takes up hammer and chisel in his hands and begins to shape a man, first member by member and then, stroke by stroke, down to the finest detail: weaving the hair, smoothing the forehead, shaping the eyes, profiling the nose, opening up the mouth and rounding the cheeks, stretching the neck, extending the arms, spreading the hands and dividing up the hands before completing the clothing: here unveiling, there ruffling, adding layers: and resulting in a perfect man, and perhaps a saint that might be placed on the altar (Vieira, 1959: 424).

The merit of the work of these men of the Word, and specifically he who would become considered the lead evangeliser, also reflects in the contemporary iconography that correspondingly highlighted the preaching of the Apostle of the Indies (Serrão, 1993).

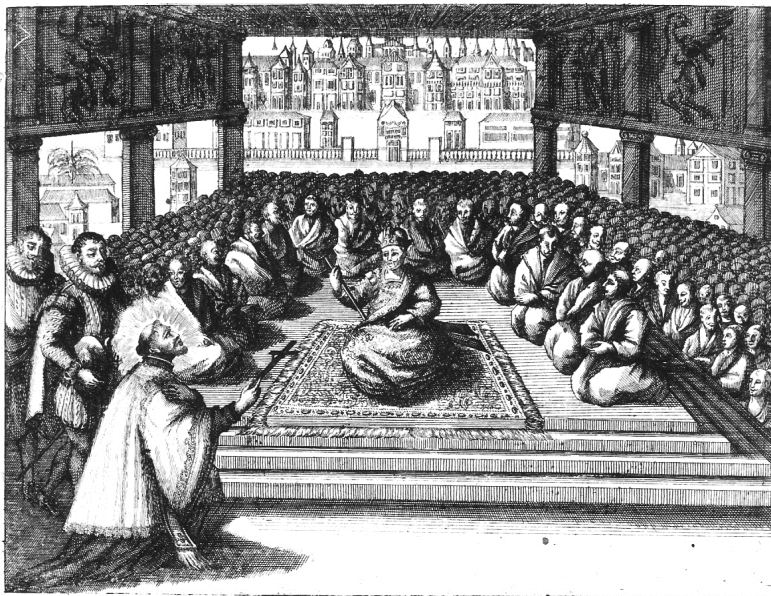


Fig. 41 Cornelius Hazart: *Kirchen=Geschichte...*, 1678

In an engraving published in the work by the Jesuit Cornelius Hazart (Hazart, 1678; Lopes, 1998: 213), we specifically witness a meeting between Saint Francis Xavier with the Lord of Bungo and his subjects, the court where the Apostle preached in the year of 1551 and that proved one of the most resonant events among the evangelic actions of this Jesuit priest. The sources documenting his times spent in the lands of Japan, including that of Fernão Mendes Pinto (s. chapter 13), narrate how the solid faith of the missionary saint and his swift and precocious mastering of Japanese coupled with his great eloquence and the depth of his religious convictions explain the conversion of close to five hundred novices.

Similar to the saints and missionaries propagating and spreading the Gospels at the beginning of the Christian communities, the religious figures of the 16th and 17th centuries would very commonly gain recognition as the new martyrs of the church. Hence, we discover images such as that of the missionary to Monomotapa, Gonçalo da Silveira (15th March 1561), who, on being attacked and tortured, seems to receive strength and courage from the cross of the Saviour; on the floor, fallen at the feet of one of his torturers, the tricorne foretells of his looming death. However, in his hour of martyrdom, his fervent and resolute faith illuminates him similar to Christ on Calvary (Hazart, 1678; Lopes, 1998: 218).

Furthermore, such scenes of persecution in Monomotapa also take place in other regions, such as Japan, for example (Lopes, 1998: 219). In a letter sent to Saint Ignatius, the Apostle of the Indias recommends:

That taught me the Experience that those who are sent to Japan [...] shall need of two things: the first is that they should already have been deeply tested and persecuted in the world and that they have much experience and knowledge about themselves as they shall be persecuted as they would never have been in Europe... (Xavier, 1945: II, 373).

And in the *Sermon of the Sixtieth*, considered a leading treatise on preaching, Father António Vieira, referring to Maranhão, states that:

Whilst very well warned, there was here wheat afflicted, wheat drowned, wheat eaten and wheat trodden upon. [...] All of this occurred to the Evangelical sowers of the Maranhão Mission after twelve years in the region. There were Missionaries who drowned because they went down in the mouth of the great river of the Amazons; there were Missionaries eaten because others were eaten by the barbarians on the island of Aroãs;

there were Missionaries afflicted because such fate befell the Tocatins daily, afflicted by hunger and disease: where there were those who, having wandered for twenty and two days lost in the thicket could only quench their thirst by licking the dew off leaves. [...] And in addition to the afflictions, to the drownings, to the cannibalism, there were also those trodden on and persecuted by men. *Conculatum est?* (Vieira, 2008: I, 24-26).



Fig. 42 Cornelius Hazart: *Kirchen=Geschichte...*, Vienna, 1678

And he continues:

I do not complain nor do I say, Lord, to the sowers: only for the ministry do I say, only for the ministry do I feel. For the sowers, these are glories: afflicted yes but afflicted in their love of You; drowned yes but drowned in their love of You; eaten yes but eaten in their love of You; trod upon and persecuted yes but trod upon and persecuted in their love of You.

Now I come to my question: And what to do in such cases or what should the Evangelic sower do on seeing such bad outcomes from the first works? Give up on his labours? Give up on sowing? (Vieira, 2008: I, 25-26).

His response, as with that of many missionaries, would prove “certainly not”. Indeed, as António Vieira evokes in his *Sermon of the Holy Spirit*, the flock lost to Christ and St. Peter was not a condemned flock but a flock to gather:

The sheep that St. Peter would shepherd were from nations all over the world which Christ wished to gather and bring together all of them and make them all but one flock, within the Church and under just a single pastor that is St. Peter [...]. Just the same as the flock that Christ ordered St. Peter to shepherd was not ready tamed and still had to be brought in and the sheep were not soft lambs as otherwise they would not need taming: they were wolves, they were bears, they were tigers, they were lions, they were serpents, they were dragons, they were asps, they were basilisks that through the means of preaching would be converted into sheep. They were barbarous and uncultured; they were feral and indomitable nations; they were cruel and bloodthirsty nations; they were nations without humanity, without reason and many of them were lawless and that through means of faith and baptism would have been turned Christian: and to tame and shepherd similar cattle; to indoctrinate and cultivate similar people, a lot of the shelter of the love of God is needed, loving God is necessary: *Diligis me*: and more love of God: *Diligis me*: and not only to love God once, twice or thrice and instead love Him more than all other *Diligis me plus his?* (Vieira, 1959: T V, 403).

Aware of these adversities, the Preacher, as in the engraving in the work of Dionisius Carli, extends his hand to the African who is kneeling at his feet and talks of Christ the Saviour who is in his Heaven – indeed, He was the first of all Preachers of the word of God according to António Vieira. Under the same protective and celestial hand, Africa, America, Asia and Europe worship the Creator of Heaven and Earth, whose son became man to save and proclaim peace among men of goodwill – such is the message that the lion, symbol of the evangelist and martyr Mark, to whom the work is dedicated, secures in his paws (Fig. 43).

Among the many engravings dedicated to depicting the missionary, of which we have already made mention of some examples, there are few missionaries that we are in fact able to identify. In the majority, these works portray anonymous figures even if this does not elucidate on the importance they were attributed. We also find some clear exceptions as seen with Saint Francis Xavier as regards the Orient and, for the Americas, we may identify not only Father António Vieira but also José de Anchieta. In the first wave of missionaries to arrive in Brazil with Manuel da Nóbrega, José de Anchieta emerges as a worthy representative

of the great evangelic mission to the lands on the other side of the Atlantic. And, in this case, we see him again as a preacher but this time to animals (Fig. 44).



Fig. 43 Dionisius Carli, *Der nach überbrachte Mohr oder curieuse und warhafftige Erzehlung und Beschreibung aller Curiositäten und Denckwürdigkeiten...*, 1692



Fig. 44 Simão de Vasconcellos: *Vida do venerável Padre Ioseph de Anchieta*, 1672

Again making recourse to the words of António Vieira:

When Christ ordered his Apostles to set out and preach to the world, he told them thus: *Euntes in mundum universum, praedicate omni creaturae*: Go and preach to every creature. In what way, Lord? Are animals not creatures? Are trees not creatures? Are stones not creatures? Indeed, how are the Apostles to preach to stones? How are they to preach to trunks? How to preach to animals? Yes: says St. Gregory, following Saint Augustine. Because the Apostles would preach to every nation in the world, many of them barbaric and uncultured, they would thus encounter

men degenerated into every species of creature: they would find human men; they would find brutal men, they would find trunk men, they would find stone men. And when the Evangelic Preachers preach to every creature, that they arm themselves against all of these creatures? Such a disgrace! (Vieira, 2008: I, 24).

Correspondingly, the iconographic depiction of José Anchieta duly makes reference to this passage from the Gospels and the words proffered by António Vieira.

Furthermore, and as already broadly highlighted by a series of studies (Buescu, 1983; Paulino, 1992), the missionaries, in addition to founding schools and seminaries, would prove the very first to study the locally spoken languages, an indispensable tool for the propagation of the Christian religion. They would thus be the first Europeans to seriously study distant languages, translate catechisms, compile vocabularies and print grammars such as that for the Tupi language written by José de Anchieta (Anchieta, 1595).

Finally, culminating this brief panorama of the engraved portrayals of missionaries, we must make reference to the well-known work featuring António Vieira preaching to the Indians, printed in the first biography of the Jesuit Priest written by André de Barros. António Vieira, the author of a treatise on preaching, proved the person who, as already duly highlighted, defined the very model of the preacher (Castro, 1977). Thus, and in the words of Maria Lucília Pires:

In many of his sermons, Vieira sketched out the ideal model of the preacher and identified figures personifying this same ideal. According to Vieira, the preacher prototype stemmed from persons such as Saint Paul, Saint John the Baptist or Saint Anthony – men who deployed words to convert other men to God. Vieira identified himself with these respective prototype figures: in his sermons, he presents himself as the apostle to the gentiles just as was Saint Paul; inspired by Saint Anthony, he also resolves to preach to the fish to give lessons to men; just as Saint John the Baptist defining himself as “the voice that calms”. The profound motivation behind this drive derived from both spiritual and political objectives: two factors that far from opposing each other combined into a single world, mutually associated through actions that found harmony in their messianic ideology. A life and a mission unified despite their diversity by the ideal of building the kingdom of God on earth, this glorious Fifth Empire that persistently awaited and heralded this right through to the end of its own days (Pires, 2009).



Fig. 45 André de Barros: *Vida do apostólico Padre António Vieira...*, 1746

In this renowned engraving (Fig. 45), we find him preaching in a prodigious and seemingly welcoming land that recalls an equally well known allegory of the Americas produced by Jan Sadeler, following on from his four continents study in which the young America lies under a tree and casts a glance upwards to the two parrots perched on a branch (Fig. 46). On the other side, a couple who, despite the woman bearing feathers with the man carrying a bow, not by chance recall Adam and Eve. Thus, in this idyllic and promising ambience of Eden, the missionary António Vieira preaches to the Indians – with this indeed being the main seed that should be sown in the Brazilian lands just as Pero Vaz de Caminha had asserted in what gets deemed the birth certificate of Brazil, that is, in his letter to King Manuel I (Corteseo, 1994).



Fig. 46 Jan Sadeler: Four continents (America), 1581

In summary and as a conclusion, this engraving conveys everything that we have here sought to demonstrate: the dialogue between the Christian iconography and the representation of new worlds; and between the figure of the missionary, a man of Christian vocation and faith, and along with the world vision that the undertaking of these discoveries revealed to the modern times. The missionary undoubtedly proved a common link.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

PEREGRINAÇÃO BY FERNÃO MENDES PINTO: A SOURCE OF KNOWLEDGE

In highlighting the documental value of *Peregrinação*, Georges Le Gentil's book (1947), as João David Pinto-Correia (2002: 79) has already pointed out, would become a milestone in terms of publications dedicated to *Peregrinação*. In fact, by calling attention to its function as both a documentary and a document, Georges Le Gentil began a new era of analysing Fernão Mendes Pinto's singular work. Thus, after many doubts and suspicions, many have been the scholars validating his work and treating *Peregrinação* as a rich documental repository.

The list of studies and considerations pertaining to information and registers noted by this prodigious traveller about Asian life is long and rich. In reality, what he has to say about geo-political space is taken in high regard, his annotations and knowledge about peoples and cultures have revealed themselves to be of great wit and of utmost importance, and his information on economics or religion reveals a conscientious and informed connoisseur of the Orient. It is therefore not surprising that his knowledge gained respectability.¹ Without getting too deep into this controversy, we believe that having a better understanding about what Fernão Mendes Pinto read, or at least knew existed, as well as understanding to which point his work was subject to a diversity of readings and interpretations, will shed new light on this debate and consequently contribute to a deeper knowledge of *Peregrinação*. The modest aim of this chapter is to try to demonstrate how Fernão Mendes Pinto's writings were a priceless source of knowledge for many European readers.

¹ See for example: Saraiva (1971); Aníbal Pinto de Castro (1984); Barreto (1986a); Albuquerque, (1987: II, 157-185); D'Intino (1991); Garcia (1991); Mendes (1998); Coelho (1999); Loureiro (2000).

It is widely known and accepted that, abroad, *Peregrinação* is one of the most referred to works on the Portuguese Expansion. Nevertheless, we believe that editorial success should not be measured only by the number of editions published. In fact, it is worth analysing the impact that *Peregrinação* had on Europe. One of the aspects that are always mentioned when talking about the success of *Peregrinação* is the long list of translations into various European languages. As Francisco Leite Faria refers in his work *As muitas edições da Peregrinação Fernão Mendes Pinto*, the year 1620 (date of the Spanish language edition and only six years after the first edition in Portuguese) marks the beginning of *Peregrinação*'s revelation abroad through a series of foreign language editions. As this prestigious researcher refers, *Peregrinação* is published in nineteen editions in six languages during the 17th century alone: 2 Portuguese editions, 6 Spanish, 2 French, 4 German, 2 Dutch and 4 English.²

If this is, on its own, an indicator of the large diffusion of *Peregrinação*, revealing curious and attentive readers abroad such as canon Francisco de Herrera Maldonado³ (the author of the Spanish translation, which became a reference for forthcoming editions that used it as an example or even as the original text), then it is important for us to analyse the impact of the first readings. If this is a factor in terms of the reception of *Peregrinação*, largely because most editions and translations occur already during the century of its publication in Portugal (unlike, for example, Luís de Camões who was much likened to Fernão Mendes Pinto in terms of publishing success, but whose work was translated and disseminated much later), then it is also pertinent to know the reason or reasons for such rapid reception.

Nevertheless, the number of editions and translations is not indication enough to understand the history of the reception of a piece of literary work, because there are other forms of dissemination. Such is the case of the uninterrupted propagation of manuscripts in Spanish libraries (*Peregrinação* is an example; Roque, 2003), or other cases where although no translations were made, the literary works were received and

² Faria, 1992: 26. We would highlight that not all these editions are complete versions even while the majority are all of great length.

³ *Historia Oriental de las Peregrinaciones de Fernam Mendez Pint ... Tradvzido de portvgves en castellano por el licenciado Francisco de Herrera Maldonado...* Ano 1620 ... en Madrid.

promoted among interested intellectual circles. As far as *Peregrinação* is concerned, we cannot but highlight the fact that the phase of translation is an essential moment in the dissemination / reception of Fernão Mendes Pinto's literary work and that it has much contributed to its success.

The translators define the characteristics and components that make this a rich and singular piece of 16th century Portuguese travel literature. As mentioned earlier, the first translation into Spanish edited in 1620 (although finished in 1617 – the date of the printing licence) and republished in 1627, 1645 and 1666 would play a decisive role as the first interpretative reading in the dissemination process of *Peregrinação*.

The author Francisco Herrera Maldonado, a well-known figure in Spanish culture, identifies the circle of scholars that gave birth to this project. Prosaist and Doctor in Canons, his academic profile would be reflected in his translation and editing of the *Peregrinação*, as referred by José A. Mahieu (1982). In this manner, this work is influenced both by Herrera Maldonado's philosophical and religious reflections and by his literary preoccupations.

In trying to understand what brought on the Spanish translation, Luisa Trias Folch (2001) mentions Herrera Maldonado's friendship with Lope de Vega. Hence, she stresses the fact that the Spanish writer's interest in the Far East in general, and more specifically in catholic missions in Japan, would have been, without a doubt, the main reason for Fernão Mendes Pinto's work getting disseminated in Spain. Later, Lope de Vega would write a book about the martyrs of Japan.⁴ If these factors alone do not help us reconstruct the group of men interested in *Peregrinação*, we can still find in Herrera Maldonado further proof of the choices he made and reasons for his unending dedication to Fernão Mendes Pinto's work.

As with many other translators and men of culture, Herrera Maldonado describes the reasons for his enthusiasm in translating such a literary work into Spanish in the introductory text that he wrote to accompany the main translated text. Preceding Fernão Mendes Pinto's text, one finds the famous *Apologia a favor de Fernam Mendez Pinto Y desta Historia*

⁴ See Lope de Vega, *Los primeros mártires del Japón*, comedia dedicada al primer mártir dominico Alonso Navarrete, in *Obras de Lope de Vega*, (Madrid: Real Academia Espanola, 1895), Vol. V, pp. 505-539 and Lope de Vega, *Triunfo de la Fee en los Reynos del Japón*, edited by J. S. Cummins (London: Tamesis book limited, 1965).

Oriental. Herrera Maldonado's interest in this work could not have been more intense. The prologue becomes a justification or apology and the main text is transformed into a story about the Orient. On these pages, Fernão Mendes Pinto is portrayed as an experienced and observant traveller. The text, perceived as a story – as the title confirms –, corresponds exactly to the characteristics of the genre: it should be fun to read and of great use.

Fernão Mendes Pinto's work, as is the case with other texts pertaining to the travels of the Discoveries, is elevated to the position of "Historia", as it is a testament of time that reflects the truth and preserves memory, while at the same time assuming the role of a lesson in life.

These characteristics were also certainly present in other works of the time, such as for example in those by Alvise Cadamosto, Duarte Lopes, Francisco Álvares, Damião de Góis and Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, and were considered useful material. In this sense, Francisco Herrera Maldonado considers Pinto's *Peregrinação* to be a work for all tastes and temperaments due to the variety and novelty of its information that touches on areas such as politics, religion and culture, and therefore very useful to the reader. Fernão Mendes Pinto, as many of his Portuguese ancestors, is portrayed as the enunciator of new worlds, just like Rafael, in Thomas More's *Utopia*.

It is therefore not a surprise that Herrera Maldonado, attracted by the richness of information of *Peregrinação*, should feel somewhat responsible for its dissemination. This task or mission would be taken so seriously that he would include a *Catalogo de los autores que han escrito de las Indias Orientales*.

It is important to point out that 16th and 17th century authors – and translators – were compilers and collectors of information. Their main task was to add data and information that they deemed useful and necessary. That was their understanding of what an author should do. Present day understanding of what an author's role is has made it difficult for us to accept certain attitudes and strategies in effect at that time. What for some is preserving and perpetuating a text, for others can be understood as adulterating and manipulating the original text. As demonstrated for the case of publisher Valentim Fernandes (s. chapter 6), for example, there is a clear will to create a new strategy of organizing knowledge but always based on known *fundus* – "rewriting", in a certain sense, "the world".

This is what researcher E. Finazzi-Agró (1993) refers to when he defines the concept of author at the end of the Middle Ages as being the classical vision of the writer as mediator between tradition and creation, between memory and invention. The author was no more or no less than a person who added his own discourse to that of others.

In this sense, Francisco Herrera Maldonado would cross-reference dates, compile a catalogue of coeval authors and also a list of others familiar with the facts referred to by Fernão Mendes Pinto. Conscious that the novelty of Fernão Mendes Pinto's information might cause doubts, Herrera Maldonado would not hesitate in consulting other authors in order to minimize the risk of mistake.

With the appearance of this piece of work, the interest in *Peregrinação* would never subsequently die out. In 1625, the much-respected British travel editor Samuel Purchas⁵ would publish an incomplete version of the *Peregrinação*, and three years later, in 1628, it would be Portuguese editor Bernard Figuier's turn to publish an edition in French.⁶ The fact that the dedication is addressed to Cardinal Richelieu may be proof of the relevance that this piece of literary work held in political and cultural terms.

As we have seen, it has been the initiative of men of great influence and importance to disseminate and promote *Peregrinação*. The same could be said about the Dutch edition.⁷ J. H. Glazemaker, the translator, was also a well-known translator and editor of works by Michel Montaigne, Espinosa, René Descartes, the Jesuit Athanasius Kircher, or by the prestigious travel writer Jean-Baptiste Tavernier. As mentioned in the book's colophon, most of the works he translated are from the French language and therefore it is for sure that he used the Bernard Figuier edition.

⁵ With the title "Observations of China, Tartaria and other Eastern parts of the world, taken out of Fernan Mendez Pinto his Peregrination" in *Purchas his pilgrims* (London: William Stansby, 1625). Republished 1653, 1663, 1692.

⁶ *Les Voyages advantvrevx de Fernand Menez Pinto*. Fidelement tradvicts de portugais en françois par le Sieur Bernard Figvier gentil-homme portugais. Et dediez a Monseignevr Le Cardinal de Richeliev... (Paris: Mathurin Henault, 1628). Republished 1645.

⁷ *De wonderlyke Reizen van Fernando Mendez Pinto* (Amsterdam: Jan Rieuwertsz, Jan Hendriksz, 1652). Republished 1653, 1656.

It should also be noted that both Athanasius Kircher and Jean-Baptiste Tavernier authored well-known works about the Orient. Kircher is another of the compilers who wished to establish harmony between the knowledge of days of yore and the new discoveries. Tavernier, a pioneer in commerce with the East Indies, left a detailed account of his voyages that Glazemaker translated into Dutch. We are certainly not far from truth when we state that Glazemaker is himself a man of letters and a translator of men of great culture, men looking for new methods and principles that would guide mankind's way of thinking. In this context, the passion for the unknown Orient is a logical and plausible consequence for those wanting to dominate the world and world knowledge.

Knowing that Fernão Mendes Pinto's text is a consequence of the dialogue between the author and all that is new in a new and unknown world, and that its author did not stray from his function as a discerning annotator of information, it is not surprising to see how vast his diffusion became. Furthermore, in 1671, *Peregrinação* is translated into German.⁸

The main reason for such a vast dissemination is, without doubt, the amount of information that the text contains. The long title of the 1671 German edition expresses, to a certain extent, this great expectation, as opposed to the unusual and unheard of information and action that the book comprises. The prologue provokes curiosity in a similar manner as Francisco Herrera Maldonado had done, and therefore the value of the text is automatically increased. In it, attention is drawn to the large amount of informational material, the valuable descriptions of "realms, places, lands,

⁸ Fernão Mendes Pinto, *Wunderliche und Merkwürdige Reisen Fernandi Mendez Pinto, welche er innerhalb ein und zwanzig Jahren durch Europa, Asia und Africa, und deren Königreichen und Länder, Abyssina, China, Japan, Tartarey, Siam, Calaminham, Pegu, Martabane, Bengale, Brama, Ormus, Batas Queda, Aru, Pan Ainan, Calenfluy, Cauchenchina und andere Oerter verrichtet, Darinnen er beschreibet wie ihme zu Wasser und Land zugestossene grosse Noht und Gefahr; wie er nemblich sey dreizehnmal gefangen genommen und siebenzehnmal verkauft worden; auch vielfältigen Schiffbruch erlitten habe: Dabey zugleich befindlich eine gar genaue Entverfung der Wunder und Raritäten erwehnter Länder; der Gesetze/Sitten/ und Gewohnheiten derselben Völcker; und der grosse Macht und Heeres Kraft der Einwohner*, (Amsterdam: Ender, 1671).

There are three editions published in German in 1671 by three different printers. Faria (1992) also refers to the publication of some pages about the realm of Siam in Christoph Arnold, *Warhaftige Beschreibungen dreyer mächtigen Königreiche Japam, Siam und Corea* (Nuremberg, 1672).

rarities, uses, customs and religious ceremonies” are praised and the usefulness and agreeable style of the text is highlighted. According to the editors, the book should be read for personal benefit and with pleasure, as it reveals “as in a mirror numerous examples of marvellous changes in realms, lands, cities, peoples and men”.

A great amount of information reveals news about unknown parts of the world. Fernão Mendes Pinto’s text is praised both in formative and informative terms, leaving it up to the reader to select the information according to interest or level of knowledge or education. And, if the reader has doubts about the veracity of the information provided, the author proposes the comparison with other texts by other authors as a means of proving the truth of what is said. The reader is asked to accept the novelty of this text as the new way of looking at the world. The German editors are particularly addressing the “Connoisseur of the police and rights of the world” and the “Writers of the history of the world and of the land”, seeing as in this text one would find a description of the uses and customs that should be known, not only because it would be a good way to acquire knowledge about Others but also about European themselves (Lopes, 1996).

An aspect that should not be left out is the fact that the two last editions, the Dutch and the German, are illustrated. The reason for this is the role that the illustrated book acquired all over central Europe at the time. *Peregrinação*, an account and description of the East, would be, like many other texts about unknown places of the world, accompanied by a series of images. Included in these images are depictions of actions described in the text where importance is given to the main character, “o pobre de mim”, as verified right from the very title. The twelve images try to capture the picturesque and exotic life of the Orient. If some are images of splendid gentlemen riding elephants, others are scenes of violence and fear, where the streets of the Orient are displayed as a stage for terror. Nevertheless, there is a singular element that unites them all: a recurring character that guarantees cohesion to the graphic narrative.

Just as Fernão Mendes Pinto gathered great quantities of information motivated by his insatiable curiosity, the profoundly interested and curious reader feels his prose as indispensable and inevitable in the process of acquiring new facts and news about the world.

We conclude therefore that *Peregrinação* was not read for mere diversion. On the contrary, it was a documental database indispensable to the acquisition of knowledge about the mysteries of humankind.

In this sense, it is important to ask: who followed the advice of these translators and editors and actually read *Peregrinação*?

Joining the original enthusiasts that promoted Fernão Mendes Pinto's work are many other readers all over Europe. Most of the readings of the text can be characterized as having a documental or informative aim in which *Peregrinação* is seen as a kind of lesson in life. Without wanting to dismiss the personal feel which gives it its characteristic of being lifelike, and therefore very much appreciated, Fernão Mendes Pinto's text is above all a composite of voices and experiences that describe the Orient. In reality, many of the original ideas found in *Peregrinação* can be rediscovered in many speeches and written texts (Margarido, 1993; Correia, 1993). Widely disseminated, this literary work is an accessible and valuable document.

In the process of rediscovering new worlds, the main role is reserved not only for those who write about what is new, but also for those who want to understand them in order to re-equate and reorganise their perception of reality. If we can agree with Rémi Brague (1992) when he claims that one of the characteristics of the European spirit is its capacity to be synthetic, we recognize that we are at a time and a place that is deeply preoccupied with understanding the direction of the history of humankind and is intent on harmonizing and articulating previously acquired knowledge with newly discovered material. In this sense, the European scholars – geographers, historians, linguists, botanists or those involved in other areas of science – are in a race to rewrite the world. When travelling to recently discovered lands to see for themselves the newest marvels of discovery proves impossible, they turn to the works of authors who write about these faraway places and their peoples and customs. According to 17th century authors, this represented the safest and best way to acquire valid knowledge.

Back in the 16th century, the prestigious geographer Sebastian Münster (s. chapter 16) believed that to understand “the wavering change of all things human”, the main aim of his work should dare to unite “new with old and old with new so as to transmit new concepts to the old and reputation to the new, splendour to the used, light to darkness, grace to the disdained,

and, if possible, certainty to the doubtful.”⁹ Confident about the foundations of the old, he added what new information he could gather in order to obtain a compilation synthesis. Like many of his time, he also read Alvise Cadamosto, Damião de Góis, Duarte Lopes and Francisco Álvares, among others, in order to elaborate his famous cosmography, a milestone in Renaissance geography.

At the end of the century, a turn of ideas was eminent. After having gathered a great amount of information about new worlds, it became clear that the reconstruction of geographical space was not enough. Attention had to be paid to political and cultural aspects. Instead of a physical geography, the object was a political geography that aimed at analysing the place of each of the world's peoples. One of the first examples of this type of text is the work of Italian author Giovanni Botero (1540-1617): *Relationi universali*. Knowing the editorial success that this work and this author will have in the future only makes it all the more pertinent to highlight that he makes references to Fernão Mendes Pinto in his text. As the first editions of this work date to 1591-93 and 1599 – in other words, prior to the Portuguese edition – we can suggest the possibility Botero knew about Pinto’s experiences even before the text was fixed. This is a clear indicator of Fernão Mendes Pinto’s merit as a source of knowledge.

Literary works such as those by Giovanni Botero sought to describe the world both in physical and in human terms, which hardly comes a surprise as these had been the aims already established by the likes of Sebastian Münster and Abraham Ortelius. Nevertheless, at the end of the 16th century, the political component revealed itself as fundamental and the new geopolitical map would subsequently attribute great importance to knowledge about Others. It is therefore not surprising that, at the end of the 1600s, a new model would appear, such as for example that which appeared in German culture and basically involving a collection of writings about the ways of life of various peoples of the world. Their authors, avid compilers of the world’s newly discovered forms, collected examples of the different vectors and aspects of civilization’s progress. When the time to direct their attention to the Asian reality came, they made various references to Fernão Mendes Pinto, which is evidence of the high consideration he was held in.

⁹ See the letter written by Sebastian Münster to King Gustav of Sweden, Basel, January 1550 (Münster, 1964: 159).

Let us take into account this example: the work of Erasmus Francisci – *Neu-polirter Geschicht-Kunst und Sitten-Spiegel ausländischer Völker*.¹⁰ In this 1670 published book, the author analyses what he calls the defining elements of the historical and cultural route of each people.

Side by side, the Chinese, Japanese, Indian, Congolese and Ethiopian examples illustrate cultural habits such as forms of greeting, names, hospitality, honour, laws, judicial punishment, different uses of money or of organizing commerce, different beliefs, ceremonies, sacraments, religious services and buildings or aspects of pagan science in medicine.

This is the method that, in his opinion, will outline the new image of the world and of humankind. The knowledge of Others is more useful, in his opinion, than the description of the self or of that already known. He writes: “What is known or what is near needs little research” or “Knowing nothing about barbarianism is part of barbarianism.” (Francisci, 1670: preface).

Therefore, when necessary to write about the Chinese – their food, their ceremonies of hospitality, their benevolent habits, their schools, the way they protect their elders and women, the feasts and processions of the Tinagogó gods, the Japanese princes’ court, and funeral ceremonies in Siam, among many other things –, Erasmus Francisci makes recourse to *Peregrinação*.

As it is impossible to analyse each example, we would like to draw attention to the fact that it is not the “work and misfortune” that the narrator goes through that mainly interests Francisci, but the description of the customs, uses and habits – in other words, the voices and testimonies of the human experience and condition. Just as Fernão Mendes Pinto is interested in revealing “mas este é o mundo” (“but this is the world”) and leaves us with the account of his knowledge and experience, so too does Francisci want to unite this valuable legacy of the facts and information making up the human condition.

Born from the will to paint a clearer and more complete picture of the human condition, this work had in authors such as Fernão Mendes Pinto the guarantee that its readers were receiving the most comprehensive description of faraway places and their people. Francisci knew how important it was to be able to count on an experiential account because he

¹⁰ Francisci (1670). About Erasmus Francisci see Dünnhaupt (1977).

himself had never been to these places. Along various episodes that include historical, artistic, geographical or ethnographical aspects, Francisci relies on the descriptions made by Fernão Mendes Pinto – the experienced traveller – in order to describe the Orient. That Pinto was not only a spokesperson for an individual experience but also knew how to convey knowledge of different origins and types managing in his writing to gather voices rich in collective experiences, as already duly highlighted, undoubtedly also helped in satiating the curiosity of his audience.

It is unquestionable that *Peregrinação* became an unavoidable literary work about the Orient. Proof of this is that Erasmus Francisci used both the Dutch and the French editions. When his book was published in 1670, the German edition was not yet available. It only became available one year later from its editors in Amsterdam.

Erasmus Francisci is not the only scholar listening to Fernão Mendes Pinto. The writer and historian Eberhard Werner Happel (s. chapters 7 and 14) paid great attention to the Portuguese author when elaborating his collection of extraordinary and “strange things”. In the various volumes of his *Gröste Denckwürdigkeiten der Welt oder sogenannte Relationes Curiosae* (1683-1691) he joins stories, testimonies and curiosities, collecting examples of human reality. In this context, the well-known writer expresses a profound admiration for sea voyages and considers the arrival of Europeans to the Orient as one of the outstanding human achievements. In this sense, he considers the experienced travellers’ written accounts precious. As he states in the prologue, it is through the use of travel literature that he is able to take note of the uses and customs of Oriental peoples. He argues that the reader must be especially appreciative of those who went to the trouble of registering all the details of the Oriental world.

At the end of the 1600s, men of letters like Erasmus Francisci and Eberhard Werner Happel were aware that contact with other cultures was a powerful stimulus for reflecting upon and rectifying their own European culture. The light of the next century was already visible and these men had understood that culture is not simply a product of history as they once thought, but a historical product of varying content set in a specific time and space.

In this era of transition, *Peregrinação* would become part of the moving force, as it would make available information about the world and about

mankind, making it a priceless source of knowledge in the construction of the order of coeval knowledge.

The success that Fernão Mendes Pinto's writing had among novel writers is also not to be eluded. Although we have deliberately excluded this type of literature from this study, we cannot forget that Fernão Mendes Pinto's work was of great inspiration to fictional writers. Be it in the comedy *Fernan Mendez Pinto / Comedia famosa em dos partes*, (1640) by the Spanish playwright Antonio Enriquez Gómez (s. Zurbach, 1999), or in *Asiatische Banise* (1689) by Heinrich Anshelm von Ziegler und Kliphausen (s. Lopes, 1993), we are able to find features described by Fernão Mendes Pinto that were then reused by these authors in order to build plots and develop characters. In this case as in others, *Peregrinação* is not read as a literary work but as a register of figures, happenings and knowledge able to aid new discourses.

As we know, the impact of *Peregrinação* was not restricted to the 17th century. We have seen that *Peregrinação* touched many readers over a long period of time. However, what we set out to demonstrate here is that the first moments of its reception were probably the most significant. We also demonstrated that that success was associated to its mission as a source of knowledge and that this characteristic is what makes this work really valuable. The author of *Lusíadas*, although edited previously, had to wait much longer to gain success on the other side of the Pyrenees. Only after reorganizing the limits of the world and of humankind could Portuguese writing concentrate on its aesthetics and literariness.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

WRITING NEW WORLDS: EBERHARD WERNER HAPPEL AND THE INVENTION OF A GENRE

With the sea travels of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, new data became available about the world and little by little it was either introduced onto new maps or became the topic of wonderful and surprising travel narratives. In 1581, one century after the first Portuguese expeditions and almost eighty years after Martin Waldseemüller, a German geographer, had drawn his map of the new contours of the world, theologian Heinrich Bünting included a presentation of the globe in his biblical commentary (Berkemeier, 1993: 95).

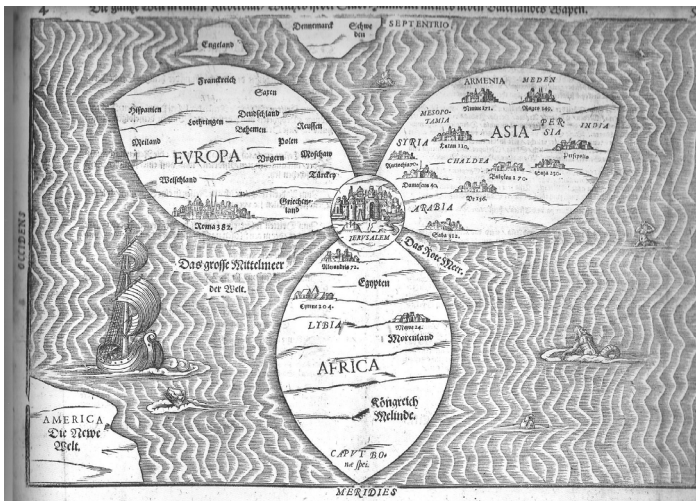


Fig. 47 Heinrich Bünting: *Die ganze Welt in einem Kleberblatt*, 1600

He gave his world map the shape of a clover leaf, with Jerusalem at its centre, just like in medieval maps. Though following the medieval tradition, the new continent America is represented as a small territory on the edge of the map – a symbol of the profound transformation which the image of the world underwent at the beginning of the sixteenth century (Mesenhöller, 1992; Wolff, 1992).

This is but one example of how the transformation of the image of the world and of human beings more generally was understood and represented at the dawn of modernity. When current events were actually perceived as turning points in terms of prevailing world views and states of knowledge, fundamental positions were challenged. Cartographic representations emerged as elaborate responses by artists and scientists who may not have seen the altered reality with their own eyes but could not ignore it. They did this despite their interest in conserving inherited ways of world-making in the representation of the limits and contours as yet unknown.

If it was difficult cartographically to imagine a new world, how was it in texts about human culture? If cartography in some cases stuck to old modes of representation, how would the new world appear in writings about culture and humanity?

It seems appropriate to approach these questions through the example of an author whose work, which occupies a field between the historical and the literary, is exactly situated at the turning point of modernity, both in terms of his world view and in terms of the way he tried to represent the challenges of his time in fictional and non-fictional texts. In the discussion about the origins of the novel in Germany, the name Eberhard Werner Happel (s. also chapter 7) soon became an unavoidable point of reference. In 1682, as an introduction to his work *Der Insularische Mandorell*, Happel published a treatise on the origin of the novel as a genre, which he had already written in Paris in 1672. This text initiated a theoretical debate among contemporary writers. As he translated the *Traitté de l'origine des Romans* into his native language, Happel began a long and lively discussion about the characterisation of this genre among the German-speaking peoples as Wilhelm Vosskamp (1973) notes in his history of the theory of novels.

In the *Traitté de l'origine des Romans*, the author Pierre Daniel Huet for the first time outlines the issue of how to define this literary genre, how to

ask about its trajectory as well as how to answer questions such as what leads a man to invent fiction, and therefore what role such romance stories have in the cultural history of humanity. Huet claims that the works considered as novels in ancient times were written not only in prose but, frequently, in verse. Yet, what was classified under the name of ‘novel’ among his contemporaries were artfully crafted fictions about adventures and love written in prose, for the pleasure and instruction of readers (Huet, 1670: 7).

The greatest theme of the novel, love, should thus be dominant; it should possess an orderly and simple structure; it should be written in beautiful or artistic prose; and it should aim at the pleasure and delight of its readers. In this characterisation of the genre, Huet relates the novel both to fables and to history. There may well be, he claims, fictitious parts in the writing of history, when occasionally false information is included, yet the novel is intended to be and is based upon invention, which brings it close to the fable.

As a faculty of the soul, fiction enables us to create situations either in the past or in the present, in deception and in truth, in imaginary or impossible spaces, which endow the writer with vast creative power and provide the world with new artistic forms (Huet, 1670: lxxiv–lxxv). As fiction is produced to entertain and educate the reader, as Happel’s title reveals, it creates the possibility for readers to live and share in the distress and the challenges of the hero and thus to explore emotions and sensations as if they were part of her or his own reality (Happel, 1682).

The plots of novels should remain close to reality; this is a *sine qua non*: in order to entertain, fiction must be plausible. Horace had already claimed this long before and contemporary authors would live out this verdict. On the one hand, novels were the product of the writer’s imaginative and fantastic liberty and their mission was to create new horizons and worlds, providing pleasurable and unforgettable moments for the readers. Under these conditions, romance stories could bring delight and instruction to readers. On the other hand, and in order for this didactic and instructional goal to be reached, the story and the plot had to be plausible. Invention lives from the invented fact, within the limits of plausibility. On the question, still valid today, of where the interest lies in ‘enjoying’ the imitations of reality, Pierre Daniel Huet argues that the writing of novels responds to an innate natural need of the human mind to create possible worlds.

In this context, Huet stresses the proximity between the novel and history. If the novel is a literary genre that focuses on the narration of imaginary events and the representation of imaginary persons but takes into account facts from the real world, and if history is a narrative of true events though sometimes using means of imagination, it is clear that the boundaries between the two ways of narrating are porous: both work with a mixture of fact and fiction. This is what Happel proposes when he writes: “These Histories are in *Genere* true / but wrong in some parts. The Romances on the other hand are true in some parts / but wrong as a whole and in *Genere*. These are truths mixed with falseness / and those are falseness mixed with truth.”¹

The historian presents a sequence of facts, the writer tells a story; both are based on narration. The writer collects the material he needs to create a story, which could have been true. History therefore underlies the beginnings of the novel, as novelistic writing underlies the making of History: the genre of the *Historie*, as written by Happel, still maintains the traces of its origins in History, while at the same time preparing what then would be called ‘romance’ (Knape, 1984). Both kinds of work seek to convey to the reader an appealing sequence of vital and exemplary facts, because it is history that provides the foundations, the conception and the goals of the work. Whatever the topic may be, history aims at being instructive; and this purpose of learning may be conveyed either by a true story or by a merely possible story. Both history and narrated stories seek to convey a message, and, in doing so, educate the reader.

Happel knew how to write both history and stories. He devoted all his life to writing, having been one of the first men of letters to earn a living from his work (Böning, 2002). 1673 was the year of his first novel, *Der asiatische Onogambo*, followed by *Der insulanische Mandorell* (1682), *Der italienische Spinelli oder so genannte Europäische Geschicht-Roman auf das 1685. Jahr* (4 vol., 1685-1686), *Der spanische Quintana oder so genannte Europäische Geschicht-Roman auf das 1686. Jahr* (4 vol., 1686-1687), *Der französische Cormantin oder so genannte Europäische Geschicht-Roman auf das 1687. Jahr* (4 vol., 1687-1688), *Der Afrikanische Tarnolast* (1689) and *Der Academische Roman, worinnen das Studenten-Leben fürgebildet wird* (1690).

¹ “Diese Historien sind in *Genere* Wahr / Aber in gewissen Stücken falsch. Die *Romanen* hingegen sind in gewissen Theilen wahr / und im gantzen oder in *Genere* falsch. Diese sind warheit mit falschheit vermendet / und jene sind falschheit mit warheit vermischet” (Lock, 1939: 31).

While Happel, then, was a prolific novelist, it is also true that parallel to those texts he compiled history works such as *Gröste Denckwürdigkeiten der Welt oder so-genannte Relationes Curiosae* [...] (5 vol., 1683-1691), *Thesaurus exoticorum oder eine mit Außländischen Raritäten und Geschichten wohlversehene Schatz-kammer* [...] (1688) and *Mundi Mirabilis Tripartit. Oder wunderbaren Welt, in einer kurßen Cosmographia fürgestellt* (3 vol., 1708) – which go some way to justifying the claim that he was one of the first journalists in the German-speaking world (Böning, 2002; Schock, 2009).

Between 1681 and 1691, the periodical *Relationes Curiosae* was published and constituted one of the first magazines to appear in the German language (s. chapter 7). While its format reminds one of a book, it was instead a weekly print, which became a great editorial success: several editions, translations into different languages, ten years of continuous editions and re-editions until the end of the eighteenth century, represent just some of the external signs of the impact this publication had on the educated public.

Happel is widely interested in other cultures and willing to learn from their example. He is an important mediator of new information about the lands and the peoples beyond Europe. In fact, Happel had already played this mediating role in the work he had published previously: *Thesaurus Exoticorum oder eine mit Außländischen Raritäten und Geschichten wohlversehene Schatz-Kammer* (1688), a singular work in which he presents side by side peoples of all nations of the world, with the intention of allowing his readers to discover “wonderful new worlds” (Greenblatt, 1991).

Reading about facts that have occurred overseas motivates the construction of other stories, ones which are possibly true. Many authors find in travel literature a source of information about the world, from which they can compile works with factual and veridical insights for their readers. Others use the same sources to write literary texts. Happel did both. Travelling through cultures and singularities, he aims at producing a new order of knowledge, to build a new cultural mapping and a new cartography of the cultural world. As a translator and mediator, Happel is deeply committed to a transnational and transcultural project (in the sense of Bachmann-Medick, 2006: 242–50). Happel creates heroes and plots for his stories which are set in an exotic world. The novel, just like the other works, has the function of helping the reader become familiar with other

countries and other traditions, although now in a more relaxed and enjoyable manner.

Based on historical material, he does not however intend to reconstruct total and authentic truth. He collects facts and coordinates them as he sees fit (which are thus partially true; see Clifford and Marcus, 1986: 7). Since he does not aim at recounting events exactly as they happened, he allows himself to order the episodes in a way more amenable to his literary ends; he may even ignore aspects he considers unnecessary for this approach. The boundaries between history and the novel thus remain porous. The main function of the novel is still to inform the reader. Happel considers history – even in the form of a novel – as a useful instrument, without which people would live in blindness: “History is such a useful piece of work / That without it / We would be in the dark / Like blind people.”² Whatever his theme may be, history aims to educate; and this pedagogical feature may be located both in true stories and in those which may only have been true.

Combining adventures and love affairs in order to describe the physical and human world of the different kingdoms of Africa, Happel generates, in his *Afrikanischer Tarnolast* (1689), an opportunity to outline – over 1,200 pages – a portrait of this continent, then hardly known. Asia is not forgotten, as the novel *Der asiatische Onogambo* shows. Even if the author did not have the opportunity to experience *in loco* those alien and different worlds, he still does not hesitate before this lack of empirical qualification. Combining real facts with fictional elements, Happel mediates that other reality.

Happel’s work as a whole proves a milestone in the history of the novel – as a new genre which is able to bridge fact and fiction as well as pleasure and instruction. By opening up the minds of the readers to the wide and unexplored regions of possible worlds (in the readers’ imagination and out there in far countries), Happel’s texts contribute to the origin of a genre that – some hundred years later – should become a crucial means of literary communication: the novel.

Deeply interested in all kinds of possible worlds, Happel therefore transforms the enormous array of information and data of a new cultural

² “Die Historie ist ein solch nützlich Werk / dass wir ohne dieselbe / wie blinde Leute / gleichsam im Finstern tappen würden [...]” (Happel, 1686: 128).

mapping into pages and pages of encyclopaedic knowledge, clearly hoping that these would become valid lessons in different areas of knowledge for the citizens of the world. By allowing different cultures to wend their way into the imagination of his readers, Happel was actually writing new worlds: as global and as diverse as possible (Nünning and Nünning, 2010). His possible worlds are simultaneously real and fictitious, but they nonetheless ensure a firm understanding of the new horizons that Iberian travellers, amongst others, had recently revealed. Entangling facts and fiction, old stories and new realities, the new world and the old (Randeria, 2002), such writing was the ideal means for offering readers a sense of orientation within the burgeoning beginnings of globalisation.

III

TRAVEL, EXPERIENCE AND KNOWLEDGE

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

TRANSLATION AND IMAGINATION: 'THE CALICUT PEOPLE' WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF 16TH CENTURY COSMOGRAPHIES

The news of the return of Vasco da Gama from India was welcomed with great interest throughout all of Europe. The Portuguese king had achieved a long sought after objective: discovering the maritime route to India. The first Indian port in which Vasco da Gama docked became a symbol of that success: Calicut.

The news of the Portuguese success spread at such a fast pace that the *Augsburger Stadtchronik* (city of Augsburg chronicle) in 1499, therefore immediately after the arrival of Vasco da Gama back in Lisbon, made reference to the event in the following terms: “Wann der Kunig von Portugall zu dem ersten mal die scheffart auff dem mör gen Calacut gefunden hat” (Chroniken, 1896: Vol. 5, 273). Vasco da Gama brought back „gütte mär“, as “sie Calacut in India, da spetzerei wechst, gefunden haben” (“When the King of Portugal discovered the maritime route for the very first time to the oriental Calicut, in India”, Vasco da Gama brought back “good news”, as they “had discovered Calicut in India, where the spices grew”).

Reports such as this, associating the discovery of the maritime route with the perspective of gaining riches, came to define the European image of Calicut. Right from the very first voyage, Vasco da Gama spread the impression – despite the less than overwhelming financial returns – that Calicut was an extremely powerful kingdom that dominated all of its neighbouring regions and correspondingly having a multiplicity of goods available: spices, Brazilwood, gold, silver, varnish (lacquer), incense, flax, and etcetera.¹ Hence, Calicut very quickly became synonymous with a

¹ In fact, Calicut had already performed a significant role in the internal trade of Asia for a long period of time. See Ptak (1989).

place that was the source of greatly desired goods and an abundance of new products, in sum, a symbol of wealth.

There was both a special king, one of the most powerful and even throughout the whole of India, and a particularly great city, deemed one of the most industrious and productive on the continent. And they brought back a lot of spices. The gentiles of la Mache went off in search of them. Furthermore, they brought back spices from Malacca and Ceylon, from the great island of Taprobana about which so much got written: “There are there many precious stones, this is some 250 miles from Calicut, and growing there is cinnamon, almost everything on this colourful island, from Malacca comes Indian clove, nutmeg, flax [...]” (Greiff, 1861: 162).

Given the sheer scope of the potential markets, it is hardly surprising that the first voyages to India – by Vasco da Gama, Pedro Álvares Cabral and Francisco de Almeida – get referenced in a wide range of publications. First of all, we should detail the small informative brochures such as, and for example, the work published in 1505 by Georg Stuchs in Nuremberg, *Den rechten Weg auß zu faren von Lißbona gen Kallakuth, von meyl zu meyl. Auch wie der kunig von Portugal yetz newlich galeen vnd naßen wider ersuchen vnd bezwingen newe land vnnd jnsellen durch Kallakuth in Indien zufaren. Durch sein haubtmann also bestellt als hernach getruckt stet gar von seltzamen dingen*. This work contains, among other aspects, important information for traders in southern Germany about how the Venetian trading houses had already experienced a lot of damages due to the voyages of the Portuguese to India. Alongside these shorter works, there were also the travel accounts, first of all with that published by Montalboddo, with his *Paesi novamente ritrovati*, and later on that by Giovanni B. Ramusio (Lach, 1970-1977; Andrade, 1972; Lopes, 1992) for example.

The very name of Calicut became known throughout Europe because of the widespread circulation of these works. The many editions and re-editions that the Montalboddo collection underwent (s. chapter 1) very clearly shows the level of interest prevailing through to the mid-16th century with Europe above all focusing on concentrated and coherent representations of the voyages to India. Calicut gets highlighted within such sources as may be seen by quickly glancing through the titles to the different Montalboddo editions: firstly named *Paesi novamente ritrovati et Nuevo Mondo da Alberico Vesputio Florentino intitulado* in 1507, whilst the 1517 edition had the title of *Paesi novamente ritrovati per la*

nauigatione di Spagna in Calicut and only subsequently mentioning Vespucci. The French translation, which was published in Paris in 1515, in turn, highlights other aspects. Its title is: *Sensuyt le Nouveau mōde e nauigations faictes para Emeric de vespuce Florentin / Des pays e isles nouullemet trouvez / au pauāt a no incōgneuz Tant en lethiope q arrabie Calichut et aultres plusieurs regions estrāges*. As in the case of Stuchs, the choice here also goes to a title reflecting the meaning attributed to the discovery of Calicut: which is then endowed with the same concepts (“new lands and islands”) and, at the same time, referring to the feat of Amerigo Vespucci who gave his name to a new continent (s. chapter 11). Calicut and the other recently reached lands to the east were as much a New World as the *Mundus Novus* in the far distant west.

Another title, in German, from a slightly later period, confirms the extent to which Calicut had been transformed into a key concept to foreign countries. The *History of the Discovery and Conquest of India by the Portuguese* by Fernão Lopes de Castanheda (Lisbon, 1551-1561), one of the most important works on Portuguese Asia, saw the title of its 1565 German translation become *Wahrhafftige vnd volkomene Historia / von Erfindung Calecut vnd anderer Königreich / landen vnd Inseln / in Indien...*²

The utilisation of the name Calicut, as a synonym for the objective of the overseas expansion campaign and also symbolising the success so long striven for, demonstrates the broadening of the meaning of the designation originally confined to a place. Calicut had become a concept that extended beyond conventional topography and suggestive of distance and wealth. Even more clearly than its application as a substantive noun, this aspect stands out from the adjectival based derivations. Thus, there is reference to “calicutten countries”, “calicutten pepper”, “calicutten customs” and finally also to “calicutten people” with their meanings respectively signifying the Malabar coast, spices from Calicut, the usual customs or persons from that place.

² As deducible from the preface, the German edition was preceded by a French version. This probably was that published by the humanist Nicolas de Grouchy, a friend of Castanheda. Once again, Calicut makes an appearance in the title even if in another context: *Le premier livre de l'histoire de l'Inde, contenant comme l'Inde a été decouuerte par le commādemēt du Roy Emanuel: & la guerre que les capitaines Portugalois ont menee contre Samorin Roy de Calecut...* (Paris, 1553).

Naturally, this does not seek to affirm that such an expansion in meaning be adopted only for Calicut. The application of the concepts “indisch” (India) or “indianisch” (Indian) display a similar linguistic development and still make sense today in regular usage of the language.³ The denomination and the designation should as a rule be perceived as heuristic phenomena in which the discrepancies and excesses of meaning may perform a central function in the communication process. Thus, the new things unknown up to a specific date needed a name before any understanding of them might finally prove feasible. Prior to the task of denominating something unknown, the Europeans were engaged in their discoveries in whatever the part of the world: islands and territories had to be named as did plants and animals; unusual goods and objects required their own terminologies, which could not be carried out in accordance with the established rules. In his indications of “Indian” places, Columbus believed he was constantly hearing the designations that Marco Polo had brought back to Europe through the accounts of his travels and extending to include the names he gave newly discovered islands, which itself attested to the European intention to claim sovereignty over these lands (Todorov, 1984). In the case of Calicut, this took place in a different fashion – at least the contemporaries heard something more precise. Calicut is the name for the indigenous “Kolikodu” altered for European usage (Bouchon, 1988: 49-57).

Whatever Calicut designated, it would shortly become far more than the local port to which the name originally referred. In this sense, Albrecht Dürer, for example, on his visit to the Portuguese boatswain in Brussels, tells the following: “And I ate early in the morning with the Portuguese who gave me three porcelains and Ruderigo gave me some feathers, calicutten things” (Dürer, 1982: 67; Feest, 1992: 116). In another part of his travel diary to the Low Countries, Dürer also refers to calicutten cloths (Dürer, 1982: 70). Leonhard Fuchs makes a similar advance in his 1543 book *Kräuterbuch*: the paprika plant (red pepper), originally from Central and South America nevertheless appears as calicutten pepper.⁴ In both

³ On the concept of “indianisch” (Indian) serving as a synonym for “überseeisch” (overseas) and “exotisch” (exotic), see Heikamp (1970: 205).

⁴ Also in *Zedlers grossem Vollständigen Universal-Lexicon* (1732-1750), with the designation “Indian pepper”, the reader is referred to Brazilian pepper. Correspondingly, the following explanation is provided: pepper from Brazil or Guinea, Indian pepper, calicutten pepper, etcetera. The meaning of the adjective calicutten evidently holds little relationship with the designation of the origins like the adjectives Brazilian or Indian.

cases, this refers to things that did not really come from Calicut. The adjective “calikutisch” (calicutten) simply served to mean certain goods that were only known to Europe due to the voyages to Calicut, even while the route actually taken had led to the Americas, where the calicutten feathers of Dürer may have eventually come from.⁵

However, the richest meaning attributed to the adjective “calikutisch” (calicutten) comes with its application as “calikutische Leute” (calicutten people). The authors of travel accounts experienced major difficulty in coming up with names for the peoples of distant lands able to reflect the detail and accuracy of their observations. This is particularly the case because strange peoples are always approached in relation to those already known and because such descriptions always assume a pre-existing relationship between the two parties. For example, Girolamo Sernigi (Radulet, 1991: 77-92) writes the following on Calicut and its inhabitants:

And because the Portuguese came across the great Gulf and as far as the city Colochutt, the people there is neither white nor black, and the people is Christian, but poorly and the city is larger than Lisbon. And in this city there are churches and convents but there is no priest. Nobody holds any divine position, there is only a rock with a warm fountain and another stone on top of it issuing forth some form of balm. And every three years, they all run, both the young and old, naked to a watercourse that runs alongside the city. And its stone houses, in limestone and already ornamented as in any other country. And the king of this city is held in great honour and has a sumptuous court with all of his servants and lives in a marvellous palace (Greiff, 1861: 122).

These descriptions resulted in a rather notorious effect as they highlighted the known models of European societies (beliefs, structures of power, architecture of cities, etcetera). This means that they did not derive from observations of unknown elements but rather from that which was known, that which European readers, and their respective points of view, could already rely on. Because this type of description facilitated the European

⁵ Furthermore, *Grimms Deutsches Wörterbuch* contains an entry that refers to the ambiguity surrounding the concept of “calikutisch”. Under the designation “Kalkut” there is covered the expression “Kalekutshahn”. Simultaneously, this in effect poses the following question: “if its origins are in America, then where does the name come from?” “Solution” to the enigma: the turkey carries the name “Kalekutischer Hahn” (calicutten cockrel) because the boat that brought it to Europe came via Kalkutta (!). However, the confusion extends far further: in Grimm, it also states that the “Kalekutshahn” is called “turkey cock” in English.

approximation to strange realities, Lorenz Fries was equally able to appropriate the words of Sernigi in his *Cartha Marina* (Fries, 1527). Furthermore, these other beings also populated the Indian continent in representations by artists other than Fries: these prodigious and fabulous beings are also present to a greater or lesser extent in the works of Pliny, Diodorus of Sicily, Pomponius Mela as well as in the novel by Alexandre along with other canonical works (Schmitt, 1987; Wittkower, 1942: 159-197).

The land of prodigies and fables that India represented to the medieval West⁶ did not disappear from the minds of European circles immediately after the 16th century arrival of new and reliable information from the subcontinent. On the contrary, the Portuguese voyages seemed to give new wings to imaginary conceptions of a luxurious and opulent land located in distant Asia. Contemporary experiences, such as those conveyed by Sernigi or by Ludovico di Varthema – far more significantly in the latter case due to the impact attained – were not seen in separation but rather within the context of traditional representations.⁷ Thus, a large proportion of what appears to be fanciful imagination in the descriptions of India actually originates from authentic knowledge – for that period of time – from recognised tradition and not from any unfettered leaps of imagination. The permanent acceptance of the existence of legendary beings in India should consequently not be attributed to some possible excess of fantasy but rather the lack of that same quality – purely and simply lacking the courage to imagine that a millennium long tradition

⁶ Worthy of note, as a source that without doubt reflects the classical and medieval tradition, is the work *Weltchronik* by Hartmann Schedel (Nuremberg, 1493). This states within, and for example: ”in dem land india sind mensche mit hunds köpfen...“(in the land of India there are people with the heads of dogs...) (Sheet XII, verse) “und hat vil volcks vund stett vund ein inssel Thephania genant vol edelgestains vnd elephäten, auch die innseln crisem vnd argirem, reich an gold vnd silber“ (and there are many people and cities and an island called Thephania covered in precious stones and elephants, as well as the islands of Crisem and Argirem, rich in gold and silver” (Sheet XIII, verse).

⁷ The work *Die ritterliche und lobwürdige Reise ...* by Ludovico di Varthema (Augsburg, 1515) was illustrated by Jörg Breu the Elder, who would intersperse various motifs into his engravings, for example, depicting people adorned with feathers and whose land of birth was not among those ever visited by Varthema but rather in South America.

might turn out to be utter nonsense.⁸ Consequently, the voyages of discovery did not at first bring about any criticism of the classical authorities and instead served to confirm those same traditions: here as there heard much talk of great wealth and the strange ways of living and different things that seem to mutually reciprocate with the traditional content. The India of tradition, known as rich and fertile, in some way experimented with the rediscovery of its treasures in the cosmographies of the 16th century based upon the sea voyages then taking place. In addition, the conceptions of paradise that dominated the image of India in the Middle Ages were constantly getting transferred to Calicut by both witnesses and those conveying their testimonies (Dharampal-Frick, 1986: 83-107, 1991: 93-128; Vermeer, 1982: 51-78). This must have proven extremely effective when taking into consideration that in Calicut itself there were traditions that corresponded to the European. Hence, for Sernigi, tradition must have been definitively confirmed when coming to learn that the Indians held knowledge about King Prester John – that legendary figure that peopled the imagination of European spirits as much as the wealth of the subcontinent (Greiff, 1861: 126).

Calicut – as always and whoever is discovering it – is not only a real location but also a topos. The clearest sign of this topos is its effective or imagined wealth. And paradise cannot in fact be far from this location that is home to such great riches with the land bearing so many fruits:

There, the winters and the summers are considerably gentle with the trees
in leaf around the year and also bearing fruit / in them the colourful birds

⁸ Sebastian Münster describes in his *Cosmography* (Basel; taken from the 1588 edition) various fabulous beings and monsters and explains on page Mcccl: “now, those announced and very similar monsters or prodigies replace the old in the country of India: however, nobody from away from there would ever be able to imagine ever having seen these prodigies. However, I am not talking about God, of His power, / He is prodigious in his works / and wishes to set them before the eyes of men, / His wisdom and the undivided power through varied works / and doing in a country things / with which he amazes the inhabitants of those countries / and primarily wanting to show in India and also in Central Africa His great wisdom through something unique, with so many creatures and rare beings / and as much in the water as on the earth.” In other words, there was a lack of confirmed knowledge but this did not exclude the beings under description nevertheless being part of divine creation and hence also deserving of their inclusion within the cosmographic representation. That these beings lived in India was the understanding of the authorities of this era.

at the end of the day and an hour before dawn / make such calls and songs
/ that anyone might think / that they are in paradise (Franck, 1534: ccijj).⁹

The model of “experiences” with Calicut is in fact marked by the traditional idea of a rich and paradisiacal India. Calicut thus acquires a meaning that reaches beyond the mere status of a trading emporium. Still further, Calicut soon underwent a transformation into a model markedly bearing descriptions of other places in India. In the then contemporary representations of distant countries, we may always detect comparisons with the societies that influenced the conceptions and appreciations made by the author – apart from when knowing based only upon a comparison made through tradition. Calicut also acquires a role as *tertium comparationis* (term of comparison). Thus, Sebastian Franck was able to write about the people of Cananore (Kannur), in the Southwest of India: “The beings and belief are / here as in Calicut” (Franck, 1534: cxcvij). Furthermore, he says in his work about the people of Colon (Quilon): they “live and believe as in Calicut” (Franck, 1534: cciiij).¹⁰ Even as regards the powerful Narsinga (Vijayanagar) the author states: “There, the people eat as they do in Calicut” (Franck, 1534: cxcvij).

What then does “calicutten” mean in these contexts? Who are the Calicutten? Hans Burgkmair the Elder included three engravings in his famous *triumphal cortege of Maximilian I* (1516-1518) (Appelbaum, 1964) bearing precisely this title: “Kalikutisch leut” (Calicutten people). In itself, this fact highlights the great interest prevailing in the overseas exploration and we should here draw particular attention to the level of precision with which Burgkmair portrays his “Calicutten peoples”.

In one of these engravings, we find a greater level of detail (to this end, see the illustration) and an eleven strong gathering of people who, at first glance, form a group not only because they stand in line but also because their gestures and movements would seem to indicate that they are communicating with each other. Furthermore, we may enquire about just

⁹ The idea that India is close to paradise also naturally stems out of this medieval tradition. Take the work of Schedel, *Welchronik*, sheet XII, that states: “next to paradise near the river Ganges there are many people who do not eat anything”.

¹⁰ Similar observations may be found in *Cartha Marina* by Lorenz Fries or in the *Cosmography* by Sebastian Münster. The foundation for these comparisons is the travel account by Ludovico di Varthemas, which served as the source for the aforementioned works.

where Burgkmair came to know these Calicutten peoples that he never encountered in person. On which sources did he base his representation?



Fig. 48 Hans Burgkmair: *Triumphal cortege of Maximilian I* (1516-1518)

In an earlier work, Hans Burgkmair had already approached the portrayal of other peoples. In 1508, he illustrated the India Report by Balthasar Springer (s. chapter 17, Fig. 49), a “Fugger” commercial trader who, in 1505, travelled on the fleet of Francisco de Almeida (Schulze, 1902). For the publication of this account, Hans Burgkmair portrayed, according to the details provided within, a couple purportedly from Guinea, another from southern Africa – belonging to the people called Hottentots – and a third from the east coast of Africa, among others. Some years later, Burgkmair would make recourse to these illustrations but incorporating them only to encapsulate the multiplicity of peoples who, in honour of the Emperor, should be included into his triumphal cortege. Thus, the aforementioned engraving represents not so much a homogeneous group but rather a heterogeneous set with diverse and different members.

At the front of the cortege comes the Hottentot from the Springer picture – with an animal skin cloak over his shoulders, a loincloth and sandals, with his singular appearance rendering him individually characteristic in every account. To his left, closer to the centre of the picture, there is what is probably a Hottentot woman, with a child in her arms and similarly dressed in animal skins. Hanging at her waist – once again, as in Springer

– is a cup bearing the initials of Hans Burgkmair. By their side come West Africans recognisable through their necklaces, bracelets and weaponry that a young male carries in the Springer engraving. The back of this group features Tupinambá Indians from South America with their characteristic dresses and sets of feathers in their hairs. They carry corn leaves in their hands and for the very first time depicting a symbol that later became well known for the inhabitants of Brazil. Exotic fruits, parrots, monkeys as well as sheep, goats and bulls complete the picture.

In fact, entitling this picture “Kalikutisch leut” (Calicutten people) does prove very significant especially as not one of the “participants” has anything to do with the actual Calicut. “Kalikutisch” (Calicutten) performs here the overarching function of a catch-all title for everything that was at that time new: “calikutisch” serving to refer to all of the peoples encountered whilst searching for maritime sea routes throughout the western, southern and south-eastern hemispheres and with the “calikutisch” subsequently integrated into the triumphal cortege designed to represent a panorama of the entire world. Hence, they simultaneously gain a well-defined place that is shared by all among the community of peoples.

That set out above does in fact also mean that the peoples and countries that lay on the route to Calicut itself were equally “calikutisch”. Hence, the peoples of this time certainly considered this representation coherent in its depiction of a group of people even without any authentic representatives of Calicut. Instead, these will be represented in a different engraving with the same title Calicut, in which the inevitable elephant highlights the position of command in an imposing fashion.

The Burgkmair work represents a portrayal of a new world just as it was becoming known through the voyages of discovery. “New World” effectively meant far more than just the continent that we commonly identify with that concept entitled “the Americas”. On the contrary, this covered *all* of the regions that had been previously unknown. Thus, this covered above all those regions of Africa whose progressive recognition represented the first significant broadening of the horizons of knowledge and including the crossing of the equator and the circumnavigation of the Cape. Reaching Calicut contributed towards the interest in effectively describing them and represented the culminating highpoint. There was much new in all of this: the account of how the coast of Africa extended down below the equator, information on incredible peoples and customs,

accounts of kingdoms and fabulous riches – not only in Calicut but also in other parts of India – as well as the discovery of marvellous islands with their strange inhabitants in the Far East. We may presume that these newly discovered countries, their peoples, animals and products were understood as a whole as some coherent novelty. Therefore, the concept of “New World” (Randles, 1961: 1-39), as put forward by Vespucci, was perceived at the outset with a far broader meaning than that which today designates only the Americas.

For a series of publications through to the mid-16th century also bearing this expression “New World” – and even the very concept of “America” – included all of those regions that had been discovered from the European perspective by the Portuguese and Spanish. Sebastian Franck, for example, dedicates the fourth section of his 1534 *Weltbuch* to America but referring in the very title to the voyages of Alvisé Cadamosto (s. chapter 1) and Pedro Álvares Cabral among other aspects. Consequently, the actual description also begins with the voyage of Cadamosto along the West African coastline. In a chronicle published one year later by Christian Egenolff, we find texts from Franck’s *Weltbuch* in the same sequence. The repeated publication of texts is not, in itself, unusual as they correspond to the Italian anthology *Paesi novamente ritrovati*, which Jobst Ruchamer had translated into German in 1508. However, there is some surprise deriving from how these accounts continue to be presented as a block and precisely named “New World” and/or “America”.

Furthermore, in 1567 – and thus a full 75 years on from the famous voyage of Columbus – Sigmund Feyerabendt republishes the Sebastian Franck *Weltbuch*. Additionally, he publishes another work: *Neuwe Welt: das ist wahrhafftige Beschreibung aller schönen Historien von Erfindung viler vnbekanten Königreichen*. At the end of this long title he refers to the names of German travellers, who had – as he underlines – really been in this New World. Sebastian Franck’s book – at least partially – represents the first publication of the account of Ulrich Schmidel, a German who travelled to South America. While South America is again labelled under the concept of “Neuwe Welt” (New World), the book does not only refer to America. The first text published in the anthology is based on the *History of the Discovery and Conquest of India*, by historiographer Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, thus referring to Africa and Asia.

These examples all combine to demonstrate how the concept of the New World remained a unit that included the voyages to India right through

until past the middle of the 16th century. A myth, fed by the traditions of centuries and simultaneously bound up with economic interests, took its time to fade from the minds of the erudite. In the process of its gradual displacement, it receives a new name with an applicable spectrum that gets immediately amplified and inflated. Between Calicut and the Americas there oscillated the promise of a new world to the extent that another myth takes on the content of the classical: Eldorado becomes not only a western variant on the Indias so rich in gold, but also at the same time its replacement (Frey, 1987: 1-18). In the new description of the 16th century world, Calicut stood fast as the concept of radiantly attaining dreams to which medieval Europe remained much ensnared as the Modern Age dawned.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

BUILDING KNOWLEDGE: SEBASTIAN MÜNSTER AND HIS COSMOGRAPHY

At the beginning of the 16th century, there were already fair depictions of the outline of Africa, such as the map by Cantino, even while a full geographic description of this new earthly reality would only come in 1545. In fact, the earliest cosmographies of the 16th century did already contain references to the voyages through the Atlantic Ocean as well as the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope, even if their indications amounted to a pure and simple informational factual reference.

Hence, in the early decades of the 16th century, the descriptions of the African continent did not for the meanwhile cause any significant alteration to the already published works. Only with the cosmography by the renowned geographer and theologian Sebastian Münster and, more specifically, its second edition in 1545, does a chapter entitled “New Africa” (Münster, 1545) appear.¹ In this chapter, Sebastian Münster brings together information particularly focusing on the West African coastline. This included the first extensive and precise descriptions of Senegal and Gambia. Furthermore, this also makes the first approach to the equatorial region. In effect, Senegal is set out as the last kingdom prior to arriving at the Cape of Good Hope and thus reflecting the precarious state of knowledge on southern Africa. The author, Sebastian Münster, aware of this failing, laments at the shortcomings and the only parcelled out profusion of information on this continent. As he states, while Africa has only recently been discovered in its full extent courtesy of the voyages to Calicut, what is also certain is that little could be told about the inland regions of this “New Africa”:

¹ First edition, 1544.

Then, you have in summary the concept of all the lands of Africa with its kingdoms, peoples, animals, plants, waters and other identical things just as far as is possible to know in our times of navigation as far as Calicut in India. I would question whether much more is known about this land through the assiduous navigations and everything that has not been described or then has been described but not yet subject to publication (Münster, 1545: dcccxvij).

As this renowned scholar states, the presentation and characterisation of the regional multiplicity remains dependent on the material available to geographers. Hence, the publication of works, such as the closely welcomed travel accounts, proved of the greatest relevance. In the mid-16th century, this shortfall in knowledge would steadily be overcome with a countless number of texts translated and published. In order to redefine the geographic and human limits, there prevailed a profound need to gather more specific works able to quench the endless thirst for knowledge. Among the texts published, especially in Germany, there are the works by Portuguese authors that provide accounts of different regions of the African continent and, with their detailed and precise information, meeting the vivid interest in knowing more details about these far distant and remote kingdoms. Such is the case with the book on Prester John by Francisco Álvares, first published in German in 1566. This book by Álvares would become one of the most important reference works on this kingdom, whilst we should also mention the texts by Damião de Góis, such as *Fides, Religio, Moresque aethiopum*, in which this self-declared lover of the “things of humanity” was already putting forward the first informative details about this kingdom. To this end, we may also make reference to the work by Duarte Lopes and Filippo Pigafetta that, following publication in the later years of the 16th century, represented a book of unique knowledge on the kingdom of Congo and its surroundings (Lopes, 1597).

The publication of these writings, especially with their translation, took on great significance. Readers of German thereby attained access to an enormous quantity of geographic and cultural data in the later part of the 16th century, able to render the continent more clearly and featuring some of the regional particularities of Africa. The Portuguese texts would prove an irreplaceable and invaluable source for German geographic works.

In this knowledge building process, the Sebastian Münster cosmography represents one of the most interesting and charismatic sources. The primary importance of this work, making its first appearance in 1544 but

which would go on to run through forty-six different editions (Burmeister, 1964; Hantzsch, 1898) through to 1650, stemmed from the fact that each of these subsequent editions corresponded to its constant epistemological updating.

This prestigious effort to add complementary details particularly reflects in the chapters on the African continent. In as early as 1544, Sebastian Münster was expressing his wish to describe Africa “with its lands, animals and marvellous things” (Münster, 1544: dccclxxiiij), but that such would not be attainable as he only had a sparse quantity of information. Whilst Sebastian Münster invokes the voyages of the Portuguese to Calicut, there are few further details with the bulk of the information compiled from the classical authors such as Pliny, Pomponius Mela and Strabo who serve for constructing and characterising the African profile.

One year later, in 1545, there came the “New Africa” concept. Whilst still not knowing the precise geographic and human boundaries to the African reality, Münster is already inserting the findings of more recent accounts and a process that he hands onto subsequent cosmographies. Analysis of this *Cosmography* reveals just which information was acquired in the years lapsing from the previous edition, given their corresponding inclusion in the original text. This process of comparing the various editions of this work does testify to the gradual inclusion of news about overseas lands.² Between 1544 and 1628 – the last German language edition – it would in fact see some significant alterations synonymous with the constant replacement of the information. For example, the 1578 edition for the first time introduces a map that, despite being a tentative outline, clearly expresses an effort to visualise some of the facts known. This same edition also includes a text on some of the military activities of Emperor Charles V in North Africa with the goal of highlighting these new developments to the then contemporary German policies for the continent.³ In addition to this text, the edition also includes an illustration

² This publication would always be edited in the name of Sebastian Münster even while the renowned geographer passed away in 1552. Thus far, it has proven impossible to identify the names of the subsequent authors. We would also note that this fact is not highlighted in the secondary literature.

³ The introduction to this text illustrates the enormous significance given to the military expeditions of Emperor Charles V to North Africa. The interest in these expeditions is furthermore witnessed by the renowned *Flugschriften*, which rapidly and deliberately spread information about these events. Such is the case, for example, with Christoph Scheurl, *Verteutsch schreiben von Kayserlicher*

of an inhabitant of the “Land of the Blacks” for the very first time.

As from 1614, the book section dedicated to the African continent slips from sixth to eighth in the book because, as we may see, the information on European countries had expanded substantially and resulting in the book getting restructured. We would identify the changes made to the illustrations as the most interesting aspect to this edition. In fact, up until this edition, the chapter reserved to Libya always contained an engraving with anthropoid monsters, the well-known figures of headless men with a foot serving them as a hat with others having dog heads or with but a single eye. Returning to the text, this confirms the usual reference to the fabulous creatures described by Pliny. This thus reflected the well-known gallery of cynocephalus and acephali long since applied to illustrate Africa. Interestingly, in 1614, the picture disappears even while the written text does not undergo any modification. This would indicate an already greater understanding about the realities of the African continent, which had been found not to contain these fabulous beings. However, this same illustration would surprisingly remain to depict inland India.

The image of Africa would furthermore change again considerably in the 1628 edition when this continent is subject to a new regional division. This involved a reformulation of the existing chapters resulting from the great attention paid to the then received news in order to attribute them with their respective places in the new profile of the third part of the world. Africa now became a continent divided up into seven regions, specifically the Barbary Coast, Egypt, Numidia, Libya, Land of the Moors, Upper Ethiopia and Lower Ethiopia. These regions would then be subdivided into kingdoms that in the case of the Barbary Coast spanned the kingdoms of Mauritania, of Fez, of Morocco, of Algeria as well as Tunisia. They would also come in for consideration for the first time in this edition based in the main upon presenting the historical events and hence retaining the already established structure for this northern region.

The chapter dedicated to the “Land of the Moors” bears no resemblance to its predecessors, reformulating a new descriptive framework for that

Maiestat wunderbarlicher eroberung der königlichen Statt Thunis in Africa, Nuremberg, 1533; *Neue Zeytung/ von Kaiserlicher Maiestat Kriags rüstung/ wider dem Barbarossa/ gegen der Statt Thunis in Affrica zu schicken*, 1535; *Neue Zeytung von der römischer Kayser May./ vnd eroberung des Künigreychs Thunesse*, Augsburg, 1535 and as well as *Die Eroberung der Stadt Affrica*, Augsburg 1570.

stretch of the African coastline. The text sets out the geography and regional characteristics in accordance with the primary sources. In the case of Guinea, this includes explicitly referencing the name of Alvise Cadamosto (s. chapter 1), an author who would be faithfully reproduced in terms of the representation provided of the West African coastline.

There was a similar expansion in the information available on Ethiopia thanks to the accounts made by the Portuguese and resulting in the division of this kingdom into Upper Ethiopia, which corresponded to the empire of Abyssinia and the already known figure of Prester John, and Lower Ethiopia, described for the first time. The particularities presented on both of the Ethiopias in this cosmography also reflect the study and analysis of Portuguese works. Whilst Upper Ethiopia closely keeps to the texts by Damião de Góis and by Francisco Álvares, the correspondence existing between the Ethiopian royal family, the king of Portugal and the pope,⁴ as regards Lower Ethiopia, this primarily alludes to the text by Duarte Lopes, who published basic information on the Kingdom of Congo. In fact, the 1628 *Cosmography* would follow the general lines of the Duarte Lopes text, which also gets recommended for further study. Describing the kingdom of Monomotapa in this chapter extends to providing some considerations about the most important cities along the East African coast. Finally, there are some references to the Atlantic islands, to Madagascar and Santa Helena, while the Cape of Good Hope comes in the form set out by the Dutchman Jan Huyghen van Linschoten.

In the 1628 edition, Africa, given the corrections to the geographic profiles and the redefinition of the boundaries, another geographic, historical and cultural configuration emerged. This was framed by a new light with Africa becoming known in all its diversity with a particular projection southwards into areas hitherto unknown. The description incorporates the profiles sketched along its coasts contributing to a more complete and detailed profile. The information arising out of the voyages of exploration over the course of time enabled the building up of another image of the African continent. A gradual process of gathering and

⁴ This correspondence was published by Damião de Góis primarily in the work *Legatio Magni Indorum*, Antwerp, 1532, followed by *Fides Religio Moresque aethiopum*, Louvain, 1540 (through to the end of the century, there were various editions along with the subsequent publication of some sections in German in *Reis=Beschreibung* by Giacomo Baratti, Nuremberg, 1676) and also in conjunction with the work of Francisco Álvares.

assimilating knowledge that in turn impacted on the contents in the *Cosmography*.⁵

While authors such as Pliny, Ptolemy and Pomponius Mela still remain in the 1628 edition out of their status as having proposed the foundations to the world's composition, the knowledge acquired from more recent works are also referenced, mentioned and accepted as a complement to the classical vision of the world (Münster, 1628: 1). Without calling into question the authority of the classical writings, they did formulate a new stream of knowledge. In fact, describing the world in its totality, taking into account the material and the clarifications represented the core interest of these cosmographers; a fact that explains the coexistence of contradictory affirmations without any hint of criticism. The traditional doctrines remained in accordance with the initial degree of knowledge and not entering into conflict with the new facts.

Africa therefore received the denomination of a new territory that over the course of many years gained another form and content. While at the outset, the recognition of this continent meant the discovery of another world, a world beyond that of Ptolemy, with the passage of time it would be accepted and became part of world geography. The title "New Africa" would nevertheless remain attached throughout the course of the 16th century as a symbol of this change.⁶

Another field susceptible of revealing this evolution in the knowledge held is that of the illustrations. Once again, we find different examples with classical text content getting illustrated with current figures as is the case with the Johan Herold's German language edition of the work of Diodoro Siculo. Considered an important source on the earliest period in human history, Herold decides to translate the text on historical events up to the Trojan Wars. However, the engravings chosen for the edition are

⁵ We would also highlight that only in 1628 did America surge as a new continent with this then approached separately in the ninth book of the *Cosmography*. In effect, up until this date, it had always fallen within the scope of the Asian chapter within the two Indias tradition.

⁶ To this end, we should also mention the work of Michael Neander *Orbis terrae partium svccincta explicatio...*, published in 1583, where we still find this concept. Following an introduction about the north of Africa, he describes "New Africa" and detailing the now known West Africa coastline before moving onto reference the maritime route to Calicut along which were met never previously encountered peoples.

taken directly from the *Cosmography* by Sebastian Münster. Hence, leafing through the first chapter on Classical Egypt, we encounter images of the Nile in flood, a map of Egypt, a crocodile, the pyramids, etcetera, that we equally find in the chapter on Africa in Münster's *Cosmography*. When detailing how at the beginning of the world, men would have been savage and even cannibals, there comes the famous image of a man being carved up on top of a table. However, in addition to this, the work includes a map of Africa that already displays the newly discovered coastline which was not known to Diodorus of Sicily and that was first published in the Sebastian Münster book. We also get an inhabitant from the Land of the Moors as well as the rhinoceros drawn by Albrecht Dürer, that "strange animal". While on the one hand we may point out that both of these works did come out of the same typography in Basel, the workshop of Henri Petri, making recourse to the same woodcuts – as is known, new woodcuts were not always produced for different editions for practical economic reasons –, on the other hand, we should also note that recourse to the same pictures does certainly mean readjusting those images. Was this an occasional act? Or, on the contrary, a premeditated gesture? Are the themes approached not in some way timeless? The cannibalism referenced by Diodorus of Sicily was then in the 16th century being witnessed as a current practice in other parts of the globe. Thus, there may have been the intent of complementing the earlier facts with the currently available information – as in the case of the map. While the written text relates to past time and the other deals with an image of the actual world, are they not both evidence of the same human reality and therefore complementary? In this iconographic work, as we have already had the opportunity to verify from the geography based texts, scholars and men of learning, humanists in their majority, did not carry out some neutral and passive reception of the classical works and instead re-interpreted them so that they would be able to complete and complement their contents and make discoveries based upon the historically based facts. Indeed, just as would happen with recently produced texts, they would all be subject to analysis and interpretation. These complementary comments – that naturally take on different facets and tones in accordance with what is interpreted – nurtured the roots of a new horizon and another state of knowledge. While Portuguese authors swiftly moved on from the classical authorities, affirming that if they had been able to visit, they would "get all confused and ashamed", in the expression of João de Barros and fully confident in the superiority of the modern accounts – and attentive to the declaration made by Duarte Pacheco Pereira that the classical authors did not know a thing –, the German intellectuals

arduously worked their discourses to avoid any such rupture. The sheer pleasure of living out these new and ongoing discoveries did not lead them to undermine the classical texts or disprove their contents.

In effect, in this perspective, the initial dialogue with the Other becomes based upon both the information drawn from travel accounts and from the representations handed down by Classical writers. This same translational attitude pervades the adjoining of recent accounts with those set out many centuries earlier. In the unique anxiety to gather what was written and seen, we find allusions to fantastic and weird beings alongside the peoples described by those returning from voyages of discovery;⁷ interwoven together out of the objective of attaining some true understanding about the African human reality with the two layers of information therefore coexisting as both provided sources of relevance to the objective set.

We may take Sebastian Münster as our example and his description of those famous anthropoid monsters in Libya:

There are also accounts of many and different monsters, which are found in this land; above all of peoples who have no lips for talking and on the contrary use signals, like the deaf. Some only have one eye in their forehead, others do not have heads but rather have their eyes in their chest, some only have one foot and with this still run faster than people with two feet (Münster, 1544: dccix).

This information comes from classical source as Sebastian Münster himself duly affirms. In this case, he identifies the name of Pliny and even provides an explanation as to the reason such monsters exist, that is, the shortage of water. However, while incorporating the texts of classical authors into the discourse on Libya, certain doubts are already beginning to flourish in the comments following this description of monsters: “For these marvels, there have been no new precise details”. The affirmations of the classical authors were thus deemed worthy of preservation due to the veracity and validity of their contents. And, as there still remained the scope for encountering these extraordinary beings in lands not yet known, the authority of such writings remained unblemished. While there was no information to the contrary, they lived on as the first level of knowledge.

Describing the entire earth, highlighting the main coordinates and features of its general configuration alongside its natural and human composition,

⁷ See e.g. *Heydenwelt vnd irer Götter anfängklicher vrsprung...*, Basel, 1559.

constituted the objectives of these cosmographers. Their outputs were to provide readers with the geographic details of the earth and set out an ethnographic study of the different peoples dotting the four continents. The concepts of geography and history bordered on each other in meaning as drafting a geography of the land and simultaneously tracing the presence of a cultural geography comprising the history of humanity.

In this sense, these cosmographies express a desire to bring together the material available in order to set out a true and global picture of the world. Only based on all of the documental evidence might this true description of the world be forthcoming; a cosmography should serve as a collection of information on the world and an encyclopaedia of knowledge.

In recognition of the weight of the Greco-Latin legacy as the first leverage of knowledge, Sebastian Münster, for example, dedicated himself to a strategy of comprehensive understanding. In translating the works of Pomponius Mela, Solinus and especially Ptolemy, Münster reached well beyond a simply linguistic study but also actively searched for the underlying facts to these texts. Hence, the reason this cosmography presents these same authors, especially Ptolemy, as essential references in understanding and describing the world. Studying these authors provided vital data on which he based his knowledge and structured his cosmographic doctrine – this represents the premise to *Geography* by Sebastian Münster and published in the city of Basel in 1540. This also accompanied the Alexandrine geography with notes and clarifications in a cursive script in order to differentiate them from the original text – this means chosen by the humanist to publish the original source in conjunction with his duly signposted comments and thus attaining the documental harmony that this classic publication is renowned for. As a linguistic and interpretative study, this Sebastian Münster work represented the highpoint to Ptolemaic cartography. Henceforth, this work, which serves as a prototype for the following editions, would see editorial stability after having already formulated this humanist methodological model.

The reading and interpretation of works from the Classical and Medieval periods still corresponded to an ongoing search for the evolutionary lines to a history of humanity and therefore based upon the facts existing as proof of knowledge. Among the pages of this cosmography we find that proposed by the likes of Pomponius Mela, Strabo, Solinus, Pliny, Eusebio, Aristotle, Herodotus, Plutarch, Saint Augustine, as well as passages from the Holy Scriptures. These authors and writings contribute the foundation

stones to the theoretical positions taken, working tools of analysis able to provide an interpretation about the world.

Presenting the world alongside each one of its continents means reproducing that which has already been affirmed about each part of this world. In the case of the African continent, its nomenclature, geographic boundaries and its peoples were initially defined and described by Pliny, Ptolemy, Pomponius Mela, Strabo or Diodorus Siculus, authors that thus shaped the perceptions of the nature and the peoples of Africa.

However, step by step, their authority became restricted primarily to the north region and in particular to the classical borders of this continent – in which the kingdom of Egypt played a leading role. In practice, the descriptions of African peoples brought back by sailors would gain acceptance and become integrated into the existing encyclopaedias.

Throughout the different editions, the image and portrayal of African peoples is altered. At the outset, he refers uniquely and exclusively to the Rizopages, those who eat roots, Achei, Acridopagi or Troglodytes, whilst in later editions they are joined by references to the Azenages, the Nigriten of Senegal, as well as other peoples from the kingdom of Gambia, the Melli and peoples from the Cape of Good Hope. Thus, he for example mentions that the Nigriten of Senegal “[are] not very rich; have no cities and no pretty houses and the reason [for this] is that there you cannot find either rock or limestone” (Münster, 1588: Mccccxvj). Meanwhile, the peoples of Gambia “follow the Mohammedan law and eat on the floor like the Saracens and Turks. Among them do not grow vines or wheat, barley or oats: but instead baby corn, beans and peas...” (Münster, 1588:Mccccxvj.). The inhabitants of the kingdom of Melli “cultivate a lot of rice, eat dog, walk about naked, follow Mohammedan law and some adore idols” (Münster, 1588:Mccccxvij). Furthermore, along the Cape of Good Hope there are to be found “[...] many strange peoples” (Münster, 1588: Mccccxvi) still largely unknown. While the description is to a certain extent only summary and punctual, we may verify how there are certain topics that structure them. The first references made relate facts about these people going about undressed, thus, considerations as regards the appearance and clothing, before then moving onto their houses and asking about whether they have cities along with allusions to their working practices and how they cultivate their lands. This formula becomes clearer and more apparent in the last edition.

Thus, in 1628, as regards the West African coast and specifically to Guinea, there is reference to the Jalofos, the Mandigas, the Bijagois and the Cuamas. The description of each of these peoples, however, does not merely list the particularities of each one of these African societies given the emphasis on demonstrating the qualities of each people. Thus, this represents a portrait of the Other according to the underlying criteria established by the Same who is making the description. The Bijagois are thus presented as a thieving people (Münster, 1628: 1662), while the inhabitants of the Melli kingdom are deemed intelligent.

Melli is also a special kingdom: rich in wheat, rice, cotton and ivory that they use to trade. They also make a good palm wine. The capital of this kingdom is Melli where the people are more intelligent than the other Moors. [...] They have their own temples, priests and teachers and were the first to take the Mohammedan law (Münster, 1628: 1662).

The justification for the praise provided resides in this point, that is, precisely because they have managed to demonstrate a certain level of cultural expression in the construction of temples, the presence of priests and professors as well as the capacity to transform (palm wine) and take advantage of (wheat, cotton) nature, this people might still remain certainly different to the European peoples but there was scope for comparison – and ease of understanding. Just like the Europeans, the African also engaged in evolutionary processes based on various experiences in appropriating nature and rendering it as culture. This thus explains how the description becomes convoluted in presenting and listing the values inherent to the concept of culture. In fact, the culture of a people first takes material form in basic aspects such as dress, the building of homes or the planting of cereals that are then subsequently aligned with facets that are not so necessary such as weapons, for example. According to these internal characteristics, it proved possible to formulate a process of acculturation and its representative moments and stages. Thus, the presentation of the African peoples in the *Cosmography* intentionally underlines the different stages of development understood as overriding phases in the trajectory towards civilisation.

However, the African continent was also found to contain societies that lived in conditions which could hardly be recognised as human. Such was the case of the inhabitants of Borno, about whom the author writes: “The people there do not have any religion and are not Christians, Jews or Mohammedans, above all living like animals in common with their women and children” (Münster, 1628: 1662).

One of the factors put forward in justification of their human condition comes from their lack of religious practices.⁸ These peoples who lived without having attained any form of spirituality would, as is highlighted, display animal-like behaviours.⁹ This descriptive formula simultaneously provides a definition of the Other. Whilst some of the examples referred to as regards the behaviours of these overseas peoples would gain an understanding interpretation, others would be deemed genuinely barbaric and completely intolerable. In order to provide an appropriate outline, there were thus certain specific rules and norms to filter the cultural differences as if some form of scales with the virtues on one side and the vices on the other. Such considerations correspondingly reveal a certain particular appreciation and valuation as regards the criteria underpinning the description and characterisation of these peoples. The worship of the dead by the inhabitants of the Bena kingdom therefore becomes understandable in the eyes of the author: “When a distinguished man dies, a lot of gold is offered up to the dead; one part the king receives and the other is buried along with the body of the dead [...] because they believe that the dead need this gold” (Münster, 1628: 1665).

In turn, the worship of the dead by the Buramis proves barbarous:

When the king dies, all of his wives, servants and good friends are murdered along with his favourite horse and are then buried with him in order to serve him in another life. This is also very common in many other kingdoms of Guinea. However, the way in which they commit this barbarity is still more horrific as they cut off their toes and fingers and poke at the bones throughout three hours as if grinding them and then burying a sharp stick into the skull and this in the presence of those who have to suffer the same torture (Münster, 1628: 1664).

The stranger and more different the ways of living and of being of these foreign peoples, the greater the difficulty in rendering the Other understandable in terms of human qualities. We should nevertheless highlight one exception that comes with the descriptions of peoples deemed cannibals who, despite clear differences, reveal a certain familiarity that perhaps results from how cannibalism represents a long

⁸ This conception is already to be found in Portuguese works, for example the *Chronicle of the Feats in Guinea* by Gomes Eanes de Zurara; s. chapter 5.

⁹ The comparison to animals derives from various German authors in their travel accounts such as Andreas Ultzheimer (1616: 118), in which the peoples of West Africa are considered a horrible people, sharpening their teeth into fine points like dogs.

since debated phenomenon within the cultural legacy.

The image from the western coastline joins the description of a very different eastern coastline given that this contains a *civilised* zone. In fact, this was found to contain various kingdoms and all of them powerful as is the case with the King of Monomotapa, entitled the “Emperor of Gold” (Münster, 1628: 1667) and as well as the marvellous lands of Prester John, both coming in for enthusiastic and detailed descriptions. They seemed to have finally found information on this legendary kingdom that for so long had attracted such great attention and curiosity among the Europeans, not only for its famed riches and power¹⁰ but also out of an anxiousness and expectation over meeting a people believed to be Christian.

One of the most central and constant aspects in these descriptions of African peoples certainly relates to their religiousness. Their paganism, their idols and worship of nature, their strange ceremonies and customs end up coordinating a large part of the description documented in various accounts with a profound interest in the different facets of local religious feelings (Faes, 1981). The meeting between pagans and Christians, understood as a dynamic process (Koselleck, 1984: 211-259), provided these African gentiles with the opportunity to embark on a cultural learning that acquired its clearest expression and form in the European apostolic mission.

The Münster cosmography shows a clear intent to take into account each one of Africa’s regional areas and detail the impact of the various religious dialogues. In the already known north of the continent, Christians and Moors were irreconcilably set face to face without any perspective of dialogue and representing two self-assumed and strong religious groups. Furthermore, whilst on the western coast there were various peoples that from the European and Christian point of view were in need of some civilisation building, on the eastern coast, on the contrary, the inhabitants were already deemed to have attained a more advanced state of civilisation and actually already part of the Christian community in the case of Ethiopia.

This image of a rich and civilised eastern coast, contrasting with the practically barbaric west coast,¹¹ immediately stands out from the regional

¹⁰ While there is also criticism that in the kingdom of Prester John, the wealth given by nature was not fully taken advantage of; s. Münster (1628: 1671).

¹¹ This image of an Africa containing two different human realities, the west coast

portrait conveyed by the German cosmographies. This certainly represents a first attempt at, based upon the facts then available, conveying a panorama of the various different existing civilisations in Africa. Its presentation of African anthropological differences and their respective states of dialogue and culture established an image of a continent that would henceforth become part of world cultural heritage. Henceforth, the inhabitants of this “New Africa” would be ordered according to these identity portrayals in the human history that had only recently learned of their existence. The 1588 edition already reads:

[...] He [God] revealed to men this great and broad maritime path. He distributed men across the entire surface of the earth and adapted each one to the manner of each land; hence the Moor has to prove able to cope with the heat of the sky where he lives and the eskimo or Norwegian has to suffer the cold of his lands and thus each has to live according to the foods of his land; for some not only without great taste but also prejudicial to the body. Some here in our land like to drink horse blood as the Tartars do or the many that eat dog meat as they do in Africa. Just how many are the peoples that do not know what wine is or who do not have freshwater to drink and help themselves with the waters they collect from the skies. Similarly, just how many peoples dotted around the earth’s surface do not know any type of cereal and that, instead, make bread from the roots of different grasses or the fish in their region (Münster, 1588: Mcccxx).

And then continues: “And why are they used to living according to the manner of their lands, they live in those ways just as we do in our ways in our lands” (Münster, 1588: Mcccxx).

Sebastian Münster does not hide his enormous admiration for the cultural differences now brought to light by the Iberian voyages of discovery. The fact that humanity may be found dispersed around the globe and each people living in accordance with the climatic qualities of their place of birth came as a surprise above all to the cosmographers and their readers who from the outset questioned the magnificence of this divine work and order of the world.

We encounter the efforts made to generate an explanatory account for the cultural differences existing among the peoples of the earth. Out of the differences, there came the search for similar characteristics in the expectation of grasping the horizons of knowledge and thereby trace an

and the east coast, had already been sketched by Portuguese sources such as Barros (1552, ed. 1945, 1st decade), for example.

evolutionary line for humanity.

Encountering the different stages in the evolutionary process leading to civilisation meant it would be possible to rebuild the cultural chain and integrate foreign peoples into world history. One of the most commonly adopted processes involved establishing parallels with classical times and the earliest times in European history. In effect, at the beginning of the world, these peoples would also have gone about naked and many, including the Germanic peoples, would have been cannibals and burned the bodies of their dead and hence it was unsurprising that such practices were in use among the Indians (Francisci, 1670: 1520). Thus, in classical times, there were the anthropophagus, now the *cafres*, with the Hottentots becoming the troglodytes of the 17th century as they symbolised a people still to emerge out of a state of savagery, as had been the case of the troglodytes in classical times (s. chapter 3).

Presenting the world globally, without overlooking any of the different facets of its geographic environments in order to render visible the particular rhythms of each culture, each people and society, constituted the great objective of Sebastian Münster. He set out a pertinent portrait of the four corners of the world in a picture achieving a harmonious union between nature and man and the evolution of societies. The latent humanist curiosity drove the long and arduous task of compiling a work of this nature. The cosmography produced by Sebastian Münster openly stated the attempt not only to “[...] gather every image of Classical Antiquity as may at least be appreciated by the documents but also the customs that the peoples once formerly displayed, what were their rites, religions, the military, state and domestic orders, what were the main cities, how they grew and developed as well as what happened with the rise and fall of monarchies and kingdoms, what were the upheavals that took place in these kingdoms”, while continuing “[...] no! with the same dedication to this our work shall also present the recent events and refer to them whenever possible and taking into consideration the small size of this work”. The author then proceeded by inquiring: “And why not place all of this in a single work. The location of the sky and the earth is the same; the rivers, lakes and other water courses remain and for many [regions] there still survive the ancient names, in the general there occurred a great modification in human life and continues to be witnessed and hence a comparison with the classical times reveals a completely new century on the surface of the earth: human works demonstrate their change and instability. In my opinion, there is no more useful and desirable

account than that which conveys how antiquity may alter the history of humanity". Based on the permanent instability and constant change in things, Münster refers to power "[...] considering just how insecure is everything that men admire as eternal and permanent" (Münster, 1964: 169-171). In his opinion, there was thus the need to understand the past and the present in the history of each people or region and only in that way would it be possible to grasp the evolution of humanity. Works such as his cosmography should correspondingly gather together all of the facts and data capable of generating knowledge on human nature and its permanent process of transformation.

[...] with which religion, with which habits, forms of government, with which laws and institutions did the peoples of the earth rule their lives or still today live by; what outputs are there to this, that or another country; what destiny led a city to grow, another to regress; what variable is the duration of things that in recent centuries have emerged with new habits and customs and more new things while the ancient aged; what previously held great value, became worthless; what vacillating change resides in all things human whose grandeur shines through in governments of kingdoms or small countries (Münster, 1964: 164-166).

The interest of this famous geographer is, thus, to understand "the vacillating change of all human things". And this would only ever prove possible with the lengthy and thorough support of historical science; only this might inform, concisely and in detail, the manifestations and transformations in the march of culture.

Based upon the principle of defining this march of humanity informing the evolutionary process in general, in his work, Münster compiled a valuable documental legacy; Classical and Modern, side by side, to describe the four continents. As it was in classical times and as it is in the present emerges the same representative image of true knowledge,¹² as, from his humanist point of view, only this traditional and accumulative approach would be able to rebuild "the true course of historical events". In this compilation, Sebastian Münster encounters the ideal form for characterising

¹² Both works were deemed sources of knowledge and hence the classical works could be "perfected" by new knowledge; and the same might also be done vice-versa. Sebastian Münster conveys this idea in a letter written to Ägidius Tschudi: "The fruits of my research (on Hegau, the source of the Danube and part of the Black Forest) I shall compile into the work by Solino, along with some small maps of England, Switzerland, Greece, Italy, etc." And before adding: "In this way, the author becomes more understandable" (Münster, 1964: 29).

the world and its diverse and different stages of growth.

In the wake of Sebastian Münster, many other 16th century authors would scrutinise the determining and guiding factors to the development of natural and human particularities gathering the classical material with the current in order to put forward a comprehensive sum of knowledge.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

MAPPING GOA: SPACES AND SCENARIOS IN REPRESENTING THE ORIENTAL WORLD

Representing Nature

1508 saw the first pictures of India, more specifically of the Malabar coast, published in Europe. They were engravings by Hans Burgkmair, a renowned artist from Augsburg, who produced them to accompany an account of voyaging to India (Hirschberg, 1962). This involved publishing the diary written by Balthasar Springer, one of the Germans that travelled to the Orient in the armada headed by Francisco Almeida (Springer, 1509; Kleinschmidt, 1966).

As appropriate to a diary writer making his inaugural voyage to India, Balthasar Springer noted down the unfurling geography, information on the defined stages and significant events on the journey: the West African coast, the Cape of Good Hope, East Africa and India. The images correspondingly sought to provide emphasis to the cartographic and ethnographic content including a map with the distances and the route travelled, in addition to the depiction of families from each of the regions portrayed. Despite the specific differences that each clearly display, and as also intended by the artist, this amounts to the clear intention to visually delineate the geographic and the cultural route taken.

Based upon the text by the trader Balthasar Springer, Hans Burgkmair thus traces the first iconographic outline of India and the Indians following the voyage of Vasco da Gama. We would note how the artist sought to visually convey the Indians as seen by Balthasar Springer (Schulze, 1902). Thus, reflecting the words of the author and voyager, Hans Burgkmair sketches a first visual categorisation of the Indians.



Fig. 49 Hans Burgkmair: *Natives of Arabia and India*, 1508

In the work of Álvaro Velho, they are described as “[...] dark men. And they wear long beards and their hair hanging long and others have their heads shaven and still others clipped; and they wear hats with tufts, to signal that they are Christian; and with moustached beards. And their ears are pierced and in the holes they have much gold; and they go about naked from the waist upwards, down below wearing some very baggy cotton cloths” (Garcia, 1983: 184). Thus, Springer set out a new image that Hans Burgkmair encapsulated and put into circulation around Europe.

The engravings making up *Die Merfahrt und erfahrung nürwer Schifffung und Wege zu viln unerkannten Inseln und Königreichen* consequently prove a precious study on these recently discovered peoples. In an exercise combining geographic and ethnographic knowledge, Hans Burgkmair introduced a first record that Willem Janszoon Blaeu would later draw upon for his own map of Africa, *Nova Africa descriptio*, in 1630 (Leitch, 2010: 83): the geographic outline that in the large majority of cases would be framed by couples from the different rediscovered African regions, defining habits, clothing and even professions so that any observer would gain not only cartographic knowledge about the shape and boundaries of this continent but also details identifying and determining its human geography.

The portrayals of Hans Burgkmair from the outset prove this desire to represent this cultural and human diversity through making recourse to the observations of those who had seen such realities with their own eyes. Stephanie Leitch, in her work *Mapping Ethnography in Early Modern Germany, New Worlds in Print Culture*, defends how the engravings of Hans Burgkmair “were the first images to reflect the nature and degree of cultural difference that this contact represented. Burgkmair’s representations of African and Indian natives in a 1508 woodcut edition of a merchant’s voyage is the first print of Africans and Indians to assume empirical observation as a prerequisite to its production” (Leitch, 2010: 14). The attitude of this first record becomes very characteristic of the newness of such a work: recognising and valuing such observations. As the author highlights, in contrast with the Italian Renaissance in the main based upon *mimeses*, Hans Burgkmair, on the contrary, had to build up his own material sources drawing on recent and contemporary information able to sketch a new representation alongside new knowledge. As had already been done by the cartographers, based on this same newness, Hans Burgkmair would also map the realities of these recent discoveries, laying out new images on the lands and peoples of India.

Of all the engravings of artists contemporary to Albrecht Dürer, that which attained greatest renown was the work representing the triumph of the King of Cochin. Deploying familiar iconographic models – such as the triumphal cortege –, Hans Burgkmair provided a relative and familiar gaze on the indigenous people, rendering the graphical narrative into a better known and more common pictorial and iconographic representation. Attributing them with human aspects and proportions, Hans Burgkmair removed them from the stereotyped categories of the exotic that had hitherto formulated the image of the Orient and creating new categories in this process. Re-encountering similarities in the prose of this other/new world, a recognised strategy in the acquisition of knowledge as Michel Foucault highlighted (Foucault, 1966), legitimated the familiarities and interwoven traditions while simultaneously delineating other/new particularities to human nature.

This work would therefore call into question the fantastic and oneiric images of Oriental lands handed down by the authors of Classical Antiquity and the Medieval Era. The land of the *mirabilia*, such as that described by Pliny, the renowned author of *Natural History* (André/Filliozat, 1986), the medieval authors attracted by the expedition of Alexander the Great (Pagden, 2001: 1-15) would discover new profiles

and landscapes. In fact, and as Rudolf Wittkower affirms, the figure of Alexander the Great loomed large and made a lasting impact on the image of the Orient cultivated in medieval Europe and that held out against any swift dismissal:

One of the most important sources of inspiration during the Middle Ages was the 'Romance of Alexander' which was the guise of the great king's adventurous campaigns in many of the Indian fables. The original had been written in Greek while the early Middle Ages saw translations into every conceivable language and, in the middle of the 10th century, it was recast by Leo, the Archipresbyter of Naples. It is this version, commonly called the *Historia de proeliis*, which was of the greatest importance for the future spreading of this romance and on which most of the translations into the vernacular down to the 14th century depend. In addition, the letter by Alexander to Aristotle on the Marvels of India gained a wide circulation, which was current as a separate work by about 800 A.D., and applied over and over again until appearing in print in 1499 and several times throughout the 16th century (Wittkower, 1942: 179).

Europe would not easily forget the miraculous India of Alexander's conquests as the fantastic continued to fill the dreams of the men of the 16th century. The medieval Alexander, undoubtedly interlinked with the oneiric horizon of the Indian Ocean (Goff, 1980: 275) and its semi-human, semi-fantastic figures and peoples, as the abundant iconography that illustrates the medieval texts bears witness to, would continue to determine the perceptions of the Orient.

In truth, and even following the publication of works such as those by Balthasar Springer and Hans Burgkmair, the presence of the fantastic still hung heavily over depictions of the Orient throughout the 16th century and indeed still remains present in the European imaginary. However, mapping these new regions, the objective of various scholars such as Hans Burgkmair as well as Laurentius Frisius, in his re-publication of *Carta Marina* by Martin Waldseemüller (Waldseemüller, 1516), would begin replacing and demarcating the new visual perspective on Oriental regions.

The images of Hans Burgkmair are, within this framework, an example of the establishing of categories, symbolic of what Stephanie Leitch defines as a "contribution to the problem of identification" (Leitch, 2010: 14). In tracing new taxonomies and representations of the oriental world, the artist delineates a new visual description of the societies of the East, suggesting along the way how art may serve as a model for vision and perception.

Slowly but steadily, and with the contribution of works by others alongside Hans Burgkmair, progress was then made towards a representation better aligned with the “real life” as then expressed by contemporary authors.

Graphic Art in the Service of Knowledge

In 1543, the German erudite Leonard Fuchs (1501-1566) affirmed: “Who in his right mind would condemn pictures which can communicate information much more clearly than the words of even the most eloquent men? Those things that are presented to the eyes and depicted on panels or paper become fixed more firmly in the mind than those that are described in bare words”.¹ And the position formulated by the founder of botanical studies in Germany² became shared by many of his contemporaries such as Otto Brunfels, Andreas Vesalius, Georgius Agricola, among others. All these men of learning shared in the certainty that the production and respective dissemination of images played a fundamental role in the construction of knowledge in the Modern Age. In turn, images, representations are not only mere illustrations but rather the early outlines of scientific study.

In this sense, art also, and engraving in particular, falls within the scope of attempting to grasp such worlds. As we saw in the example of the work by Hans Burgkmair, engraving represented a means of learning, designing and setting down unknown forms and realities. Analysing the European press from the middle of the 15th century through to the mid-16th century, Peter Parshall and David Landau, in their work *Renaissance Print, 1470-1550*, write that: “Accurate visual representation was more than just a

¹ Leonhard Fuchs, *De historia stirpium*, Basel, 1542, pp. x–xi, quoted by Pamela H. Smith (2006: 86). Cf. also Smith & Findlen (2002).

² The work of Leonard Fuchs – in the wake of Otto Brunfels (1488-1534) and Hieronymus Bock (1498-1554) – originally described four hundred plants native to his place of birth before adding, and right from the outset, some of the plants from the Orient and the Americas. With excellent illustrations produced by fine artists and engravers, this work became a reference compendium. The engravers made their designs with the plants in sight and thus demonstrating a spirit of accuracy and veracity over how the work got done. This, indeed, reflects the innovation made by the herbariums produced in the north of Europe, which, in using living examples, and contrary to those of the south that depicted dried plants, introduced a more naturalist ambience into such manuals and their search for true knowledge. See chapter 18.

technical accomplishment. It was a highly specialized form of observation... Making illustrations was a way of checking facts..." (Smith, 2006: 88).

This "checking facts" was thus present in many of the studies and analytical exercises involving this nature. There is the same attitude underlying the production of herbariums, the anatomic studies, whether in painting or in the graphic arts. In the close relationship between the acquisition and the visual representation of the new knowledge, the images represent a means, a vehicle for investigating, understanding and knowing about nature. In this sense, the work of the engravers, many of whom gained due recognition as artists, would also fall within the scope of the serious works of observation and appropriation of reality and thus effectively investigative outputs.

As regards knowledge about the earthly planet, and in parallel with geography generally, it became increasingly important to realise that which Ptolemy had defined as a counterpoint to *geography*, as a choreography and thus as a description of the regions or locations that, in the Renaissance period, would become dedicated to topography, to the description of cities, their layouts and specific buildings.

The cities appeared, for example, in the celebrated *Weltchronik* by Hartmann Schedel, as a fundamental landmark "locating" each region and visualising the characteristics under presentation. Hence, very often, the tone taken also conveyed a historical dimension, that is, locating specific knowledge in space and time. The profusely illustrated work of Schedel, with many engravings by renowned artists such as Michael Wolgemut and Wilhelm Pleydenwurff, became a point of reference in this exercise of visualising the urban environment with his engravings correspondingly re-utilised by many other publishers and authors who sought access to and the sharing of this geographic knowledge. The engraving costs of production would partially account for this reutilisation of the xylographs even whilst this was not the only motive for the publishers and their editors in adopting them. What was instead at stake involved the production of knowledge deemed of relevance and therefore requiring recording and correspondingly distributing information. Whilst today images more closely resemble the reconstructions of reality, we have to take into consideration the emerging nature of this entire process of understanding and representing reality. Whilst readers today may be surprised by this concept of representation, what is certain is that these

works, signals of the birth of a scientific spirit, sought to provide a response to the ever greater demands for visual portrayal accuracy.

In the wake of Hartmann Schedel, other works continued with the same objective of mapping the new parts and territories of the world and the Orient in particular (Campos, 1998). For example, we cannot but mention the essential contributions made by voyagers who, with their observations and notes, set about sketching and mapping the places they passed through.

Thus, importance was also attributed to the cartography of Oriental cities. One of the oldest surviving representations of Calicut – the first most probably being the frontispiece to the Spanish 1503 edition of the Marco Polo book – is found in the *Carta Marina* edition by Laurentius Frisius.

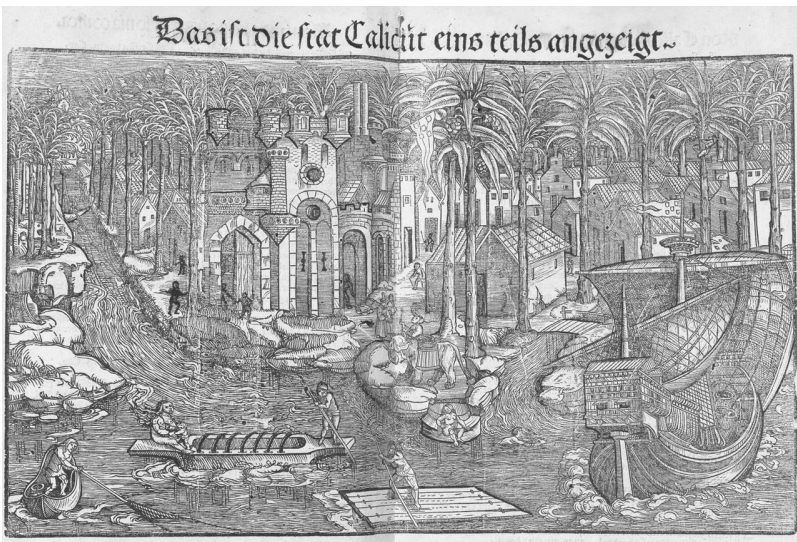


Fig. 50 Fries, Lorenz / Grüninger, Johannes: *Uslegung der mercarthen oder Cartha Marina*, 1527

In an exotic ambience, as would have been expected of Oriental lands, we see in the foreground various types of local vessels as well as including a Portuguese carrack. In the background, a messy agglomeration of houses within the midst of which the imposing high walls of palaces shelter their inner sections finished in salons of great luxury and ostentatiousness. The

myth of the Orient remained very much alive. Furthermore, there was the inclusion of such features as the palm trees and the elephant, described in the very first voyage to India.

It was not by chance that this city of Malabar became the first maritime port in the Orient to become known to Europeans and thus also depicted as a symbol of the cosmopolitanism arising out of voyaging around the world and as first began to be revealed in the early 16th century (s. chapter 15). Aware that such urban environments represented symbols of the emerging “modern state” (Santos, 1999; Sabatier & Gomes, 1998), the priority was thus attributed to cartography. Hence, there is no surprise that found among the many European cities, there again emerges a depiction of Calicut in the renowned *Civitates orbis terrarum* by Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg, which gets trailed as one of the most noble of all cities in the Orient (Braun, 1599; 2009). Indeed, in this work, recognised as one of the first city atlas compendiums, was also included the first known representation of Goa. This is a view over the urban expanse with the expressive title: “Goa fortissima India urbs in Christianorum potestatem anno salutis 1509 deuenit”.

In the late 16th century, the public domain received a layout of the city of Goa in the *Itinerary* by the Dutchman Jan Huyghen van Linschoten (1596). The visual image of this important Portuguese trading and administrative centre greatly resulted from the Jan Huyghen van Linschoten map.

One of the great objectives of this work by this voyager and secretary to the Archbishop of Goa is to describe and present, using his own words, “everything portrayed as in real life” or features “represented as in real life” (Linschoten, 1997: 140-160). This desire to provide an accurate and precise outline of the city of Goa and its surroundings is well explained not only in the text but also in the images that thus inaugurate a new representation of this Oriental settlement.

In keeping with *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, in which Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg present over five hundred views of cities, structured by different styles of representation, thus street plans, views, and bird’s eye views or oblique perspectives combining the two styles, the work Jan Linschoten published in 1595 included a plan of the island and city of Goa and, for the first time, representing the geographic space of the capital of Portuguese India.

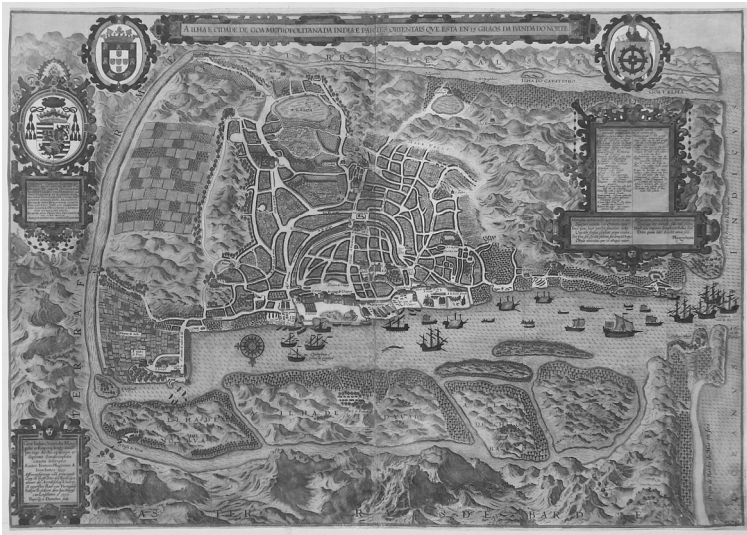


Fig. 51 Theodor de Bry: *Orientalische Indien*
(Jan Huyghen van Linschoten), 1598

This highly detailed and precise exercise of drafting a topographic plan, featuring the design of all the main buildings, streets, squares, gardens and estates, resulted in a publication that recreated the spaces that had transformed this renowned location whilst reserving it a leading position among the lands of the Orient. Goa, the centrepiece of an empire, thus acquired its certificate of identification. Henceforth, its profile is set out and in turn shaping its own identity and image as we shall demonstrate below.

Designed as a model reference point for the urban cities and centres of India, as defined by the royal charter signed by King João III, dated 1542, in which he affirms “[...] desiring that my city of Goa be ruled and governed in such a way as it sets an example to my other cities and fortress in these lands... just as and in the same way as is done in this city of Lisbon [...]” (Carita, 2006: 120; Carita, 1999: 77-90), the Goa project took on a brand-standard that became prominent in its plans.

As Helder Carita highlighted, designed and built in the first half of the 16th century, the urban layout of Goa reflects the urban tradition handed down by the major Manueline reforms (Carita, 2006). As in Lisbon, we may also

here visualise the river front, the palace, the royal square and charitable institutions. The complex bureaucratic machinery, again in the image of Lisbon, gains not only space but also gets inscribed into the profile of the administrative, economic, military and religious centre.

In a profile that closely resembles Portuguese cities, the capital of the State of India emerges alongside the seawall, symbolising grandeur and uniqueness and as described by visitors and chroniclers. The urban layout selected by Afonso de Albuquerque would incorporate the symbolism of its origins with the scope for expansion inscribed into its plans as we shall see. Framing the spaces central to the empire, we discover how the much referenced surrounding lands in themselves represented one of the motives for the choice of Goa as the “key to all of India” (Santos, 1999). The seventeenth century sources (Avelar, 2002: 22-31; Curto, 1997) describe them in a flattering and apologetic fashion saying that these are famously fertile lands, where there are many orchards bearing unique fruits, gentle waters, an abundance of wine, rice, vegetables, many cattle along with the other provisions provided by the land and the sea; a richness that, in the words of Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, provided the Portuguese with many revenues (Castanheda, 1979: 11). In 1612, alongside the plan of Goa reproduced in *Livro de plantaforma das fortalezas da Índia*, we may read the following: “The land is cool and produces all types of provisions and fruits with many different types of cattle and irrigated with good waters” (Garcia, 2009: 118).

The *Itinerary* by Jan Linschoten does not however only convey this unmistakable contribution to the prominent urban model and the very first steps in the cartography of territorial power. In effect, this *Itinerary* will also, as the name indicates, describe some of the representative scenarios from the everyday life of the peoples of Goa as witnessed in the well-known engraving of the Goa auction.

Understanding the Oriental reality, Linschoten visually presents scenes from daily life in Goa: “*Auction held every day in the morning on Rua Direita in the City of Goa*”.



Fig. 52 Theodor de Bry: *Orientalische Indien*
(Jan Huyghen van Linschoten), 1598

In this localised and clearly defined section of the city, we find the diverse social and ethnic groups that made up the day-to-day life in Goa, a city “with houses and streets in the Portuguese fashion” (Linschoten, 1997: 146). As the title already conveys, this is the auction that took place daily between seven and nine o’clock in the morning. This thus proves a gathering that Jan Huyghen van Linschoten compares to the Amsterdam stock market, given that there are also here people from all the surrounding nations and regions. He is only to differentiate one factor, that is, how here there are both members of the nobility and the more regular traders. In the background, we see the main buildings along Goa’s key thoroughfare with their “scissor” tiled roofed homes with the verandas bedecked with characteristically Luso-Indian wooden tables and, in the foreground, scenes from a mercantile world: auctioneers selling off goods, traders in Indian goods and products, whether jewellery, horses, slaves or spices in a “marvellous picture to contemplate” (Linschoten, 1997: 146). Whenever anybody died, their goods would be sold off there and, as in any business world, there was the presence of the *xarrafos*, or the currency dealers that, as is described, are found on every street corner and supposedly Christian Indians who were miraculously correct and accurate in their accounts. Whilst some sold or bought, others simply passed by, such as the Portuguese borne aloft on the famous litters.

However, beyond this image, perhaps the best known engraving in his work, other spaces and other peoples of Goa are portrayed as in that dedicated to the peasants or agricultural workers who get termed *canarins*. In juxtaposition to the former, this engraving displays a rural scenario – indeed, a view greatly appreciated by Dutch painters and engravers.



Fig. 53 Theodor de Bry: *Orientalische Indien*
(Jan Huyghen van Linschoten), 1598

At the centre, and in the foreground, we encounter a naked woman. By her side, another woman pours water over her. Looking at the picture, we very much recall how the young lady and her respective iconographic features draw upon the painting *Venus* by Sandro Botticelli.

As in the case of *The Birth of Venus* (Fig. 54), this represents the woman in the foreground, with a long, drawn out and downcast gaze, whilst the other features stand very much in the background and endowing them with a figurative role in the scenario portrayed. The engraver clearly sought to highlight this central figure in relation to those surrounding her and not the unity of the set, and hence incorporated various scenes of representation in order to ensure the attaining of this effect. Hence, there are different levels of representation – very much in the then prevailing graphical narrative fashion – to narrating the lives ongoing in Indian villages, in particular the *canarins*, the workers tending to the palm trees in India, across their different tasks and labours in order to guarantee greater thematic coherence to the scenic representation of the work. On the means of these scenes, the *Itinerary* text relates: “They are very clean of body as they wash their entire bodies daily and, whenever they pour or dispose of waters, which they always do hunched down, both the men and

the women and whether Moor or Mohammedan. They always wash with their left hands because they eat with their right hands and do not use utensils” (Linschoten, 1997: 164), and hence we are able to recognise gestures and behaviours behind the usages and customs described by Linschoten.



Fig. 54 Sandro Botticelli: *La nascita di Venere*, 1485/86

Furthermore, the meaning attributed to water, the symbolism of purity certainly alludes to baptism, which the composition serves to emphasize, recalling Christian representations of the baptism of Christ. Equally certainly, and in an analogy with Venus,³ this also seeks to announce a birth – human and spiritual – within an exuberant and promising ambience, similar to memories of the idyllic gardens of Eden. In the case of Sandro Botticelli (Panofsky, 1982), the image recreates a Renaissance conception of *humanitas* and projecting it onto other landscapes and scenarios.

These examples consequently bear witness to both the engravings by Jan

³ We would note that Linschoten mentioned Venus, when writing on the lack of nuns in Goa, affirming that „nobody managed to convince the woman to leave their surroundings and renounce Venus, with whom they would rather risk and lose their lives as they make few efforts to expiate and end their voluptuousness“ (Linschoten, 1997: 146).

Huyghen van Linschoten and represent unparalleled monuments in the spatial and iconographic construction of Goa. In this geographically and visually gathering and categorising work, Goa becomes a fundamental point of reference in the circuits of knowledge production and emerging as a physical space where the human presence determined the flow and consequently the importance of this powerful space.

Goa and the Networks of Knowledge

The value attributed to, and certainly also the taste of contemporaries for cartography featuring the terrestrial globe, for example in the production of maps as we may observe in the pictorial works of the Dutch painter Jan van Vermeer, shows how they became an interesting and significant part of European daily life. The majority of the painter's works would hang in the rooms and chambers of their owners displaying the map both as a symbol of possession and having mastered all of the knowledge built up over the two preceding centuries (Alpers, 1981: 119-168).

His *Allegory of Painting* (1666-1667) features the presence of an enormous map and thereby conveying a close relationship between the two arts. However, many other examples also followed, bearing witness and accounting for the geographic work of man as a citizen of the world. By thus introducing maps to portraits and descriptions of the world into the daily lives of European citizens, Jan van Vermeer gave expression and profile to the process of recognising and appropriating the earthly planet.

Meanwhile, the cartographer Willem Janszoon Blaeu (1571-1638) affirmed that he built his maps to ensure that those staying at home might still be able to travel (Alpers, 1981: 159). And there are many contemporary accounts of others sharing this opinion as may be demonstrated by several of the many and different preface descriptions to travel accounts published in the Europe of the 16th and 17th centuries (Lopes, 1992). The travellers were thus chroniclers and reporters on these new realities that conferred upon them the power to construct images. Their works became true sources of knowledge, read and appreciated by various different readers with many scholars and enthusiasts on the histories of other lands and their peoples. The *Itinerary* by Jan Huyghen van Linschoten went on to become one of the works of reference and its engravings, especially the layout of Goa, would be reproduced by many other authors.



Fig. 55 Jan Vermeer van Delft: *The Allegory of Painting* (c. 1666–68)

In truth, the work by Jan Huyghen van Linschoten, with its detail on the toponymy of Goa and its surroundings, proved to be a very valuable body of information on this grand urban settlement and serving as an illustration in many other works published over the course of the 17th and 18th centuries.

Correspondingly, we find a reproduction in the selection of cities drafted by Matthäus Merian in the year of 1638. The author of *Neuwe Archontologia cosmica, das ist, Beschreibung aller Kayserthumben, Königreichen und Republicken der gantzen Welt* (Merian, 1638; Silveira, s.d.), Merian was a renowned engraver and the son-in-law of Johann Theodor von Bry, son of the well-known editor of travel account collections, Theodor von Bry, with whom he worked and therefore accessing a major specialist and appreciator of both graphic art and the habits and customs of other localities.

In the year of 1672, the explorer Philipp Baldaeus would reproduce an engraving based upon the layout by Jan Huyghen van Linschoten, capped by a perspective of the city – very similar to that of Georg Braun – on the same scale as the plan and rendering the composition of these two levels, plan and view, a highly beautiful engraving of Goa (Baldaeus, 1672; Lopes, 1998: 180-181).

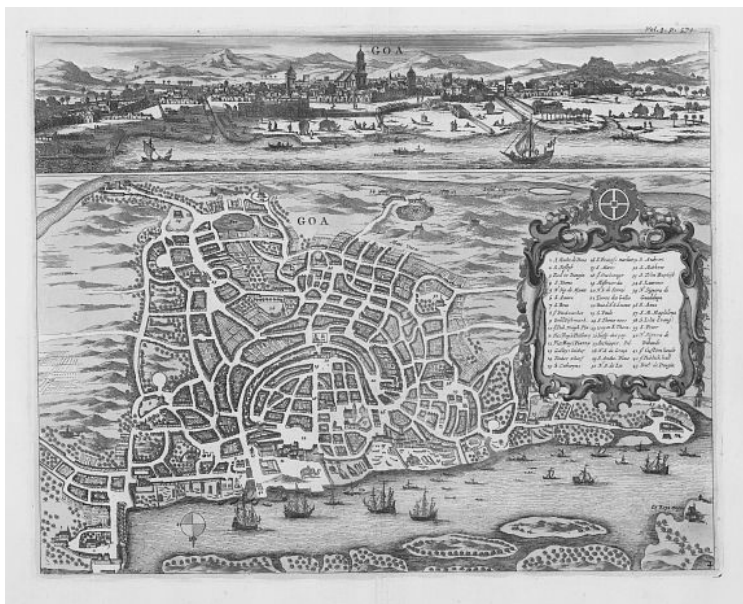


Fig. 56 Philipp Baldaeus, *Wahrhaftige Ausführliche Beschreibung der Berühmten Ost-Indischen Küsten Malabar und Coromandel*, 1672

The French geographer and soldier Alain Manesson Mallet printed it in his 1683 *Description of the Universe*, naturally therefore featuring “Les Plans les Profils des principales Villes des autres lieux plus considerables de la Terre”. Among the main cities, Goa gained a correspondingly high profile positioning (Mallet, 1683).

Pieter van Aa, a recognised Dutch editor of maps, atlases and collections of travel accounts from the early 18th century published his work in 1720 (Aa, 1720) and which Jacques Nicolas Bellin, a cartographer and hydrographer in the French navy, made use of three decades later, thus in 1750 (Bellin, 1750, and again in 1764). A publication by Jan van Schley,

the engraver for the Dutch edition of *Histoire Général des Voyages* by A. F. Prévost, also made recourse to the Linschoten model (Schley, 1764).

The xylographic examples by Hans Burgkmair, as well as the plan and other engravings about Goa, demonstrate the long and productive work of artists and scholars, who might best be understood as pre-scientists, undertaken in the 16th and 17th centuries: closely attentive and curious about depicting nature. And, within the framework of this serious exercise, cartography came in for particular attention, in particular the making of maps and plans, such as that of Goa. In the hands of science and art, both makers of images and producers of knowledge, there emerged a new representation of Goa, a reflection of greater knowledge and more experience.

Furthermore, testifying to the importance of this cartographic knowledge, we may point to the highly interested and active network of knowledge bringing about its diffusion and dissemination. In the different European centres producing knowledge, especially geographic knowledge, such as the Netherlands, France and Germany, the spatial representation of the capital of the state of India appeared among the world's urban centres as a reflection of the recent acquisition of scientific-cultural knowledge.

Within the scope of this assiduous and fundamental presence in the geological and iconographic records and inventories, Goa stands out as one of the most commonly represented urban centres in the lands of the Orient, inscribed into the map of the world as one of the places conveying the political-territorial affirmation of modernity.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

THE PLANT REVELATION: GARCIA DA ORTA, CAROLUS CLUSIUS AND ASIAN SPECIES IN EUROPE

The science of botany
reacted much more
positively than any of the
other sciences to the “new
World” of plants and their
products.

Donald F. Lach (1977: II, 445)

At the end of the Middle Ages, man began looking at nature not only as the miraculous work of the Creator but as an object for observation and understanding. Thus, as Jacob Burckhardt highlighted in his renowned work *The Civilisation of the Renaissance*, the discovery of nature would play a fundamental role in the mental and cultural turnaround that would spread throughout Europe at the dawn of modernity.

Based upon the Portuguese case, Mário Martins also identifies the presence of this theme in the Portuguese medieval culture of the Lower Middle Ages. In his perspective, historians have neglected certain already clear signs of change that would, over a short period of time, determine the more categorical type of thinking and culture of the then prevailing society. Martins was referring precisely to the relationship between medieval man and nature, considered by historiography as poorly understood and thus a factor cherished little by medieval man.¹ In his

¹ Mário Martins highlights how the fact of restricting the scope of studies to specific authors and works has led historians of the Middle Ages to take this position. As an example, he refers to the historian Etienne Gilson who, in approaching St. Thomas Aquinas, Alberto Magno, among others, affirms: “Si donc les hommes de ce temps ont mal connu la nature” (Martins, 1969: 87).

opinion, there was a clear need to take into account other authors and their contemporary works. Whilst the inherited compendiums would remain, and for a considerable period of time, the maximum exponents of knowledge, what is equally sure is that we are already able to discover in amongst the literary production works characterised by their observation and experience with Mother Nature. This proves the case in the work analysed by this renowned author: the *Montaria* riding manual by King João I. This work, as Mário Martins defends, despite not yet being a scientific book, is nevertheless written in accordance with the wisdom gained from experience, as would later be proclaimed by Camões. This interpretation, also taken up by later readings (Gouveia, 1988: 89-103) seeks to convey an attitude and the knowledge current to the modernity then beginning to emerge. In practice, and as this author states:

We conclude that [...] knowledge about nature, in the Middle Ages, should not only be sought in the contemplative, with the eyes cast more to the heavens than the earth. Not exclusive to the philosophers, then generally little concerned about the concrete immediate and individual, we also have to encapsulate the empiricism of the men who, even while encouraged by the pleasures gained from hunting, extended out over mother earth, its plants and animals and aspiring to this world of the five senses. Perhaps thus, they discovered not so much of philosophy but rather a philosophic attitude – in this case valuing the experience and searching out detail as the necessary sources of concrete knowledge on the different aspects of nature (Martins, 1969: 100).

In truth, in highlighting this *attitude valuing the experience and the search for concrete knowledge on the different aspects of nature*, these authors foretold of a new way of interrelating with and perceiving the world.

This attitude, appearing both in Italy and in Portugal as illustrated by the aforementioned cases, represents the “turning in the tide” in Europe as we may put forward other examples of this same fact. We may point to the Flemish paintings of the late 15th century that came in for such praise as regards the descriptive and realistic artistic expression of Johan Huizinga, for example, in his characterisation of the Autumn of the Middle Ages (Huizinga, 1996), as well as the vast and extensive quantity of travel accounts of the lands and countries of Europe as well as pilgrimages to the Holy Land, and that already demonstrate greater zeal and labour over their descriptions of the world being travelled through (Andrade, 1972; Cristovão, 1999; Reichert, 2001).

In recent decades, this travel literature has been the subject of many different and diverse historiographic studies that deserve highlighting for their valuable contributions towards fostering a new vision of the world. The perceptions of these pilgrims and travellers prove ever attentive to the world around them and increasingly seeking to sketch, describe and explain it in its unfathomable and multiple mysteries.

This also establishes the context for the important advance in the cartography of the 15th and 16th centuries. New profiles and boundaries were established whether for European regions or for worlds more distant that slowly but steadily became set down in records. And the maps had long since expressed a great deal of attention to the features of nature present in the mapped regions. Thus, mountains, rivers, lakes, animals, trees, bushes served to describe and structure the knowledge. Furthermore, these maps explained not only the geographic conception of the author but also reflected the condensed knowledge prevailing in an encyclopaedic fashion in the long and extensive footnotes that they incorporated (Guerreiro, 1999: 148-165). This effort and commitment resembled the descriptions of voyages and travels where the intention was to provide an accurate account of the nature encountered. Furthermore, both exercises stemmed from the same desire to convey knowledge about the world.

Having traced the earliest foundations of geographic knowledge, there came then the first compilations of this knowledge – many set down by the feathers of travellers or the friends of those with experiences of such voyages (Schedel, 1493; Münster, s. chapter 16). In addition to commercial, diplomatic or pilgrimage reasons, such travelling also took place as a means of abandoning not only one's land of birth but also the very idea of a closed world. Just how many were the men of seven departures who, like Prince Pedro, set off down a corresponding number of paths?

However, on the one hand, the European continent gained new dimensions whilst, on the other hand, it was rendered small. Setting off from the Iberian Peninsula, the Europeans began opening up to adjoining and to a certain extent already familiar regions, but then proceeding on with a search for other destinations in entirely different worlds. Whilst the desire for knowledge describing the real did not only stem from these overseas voyages, as explained earlier, what is equally certain is that these new and recently discovered worlds did reveal some astonishing new realities.

In the process of recognising these new worlds, nature in general and non-European flora in particular would come in for very special attention. As from the very first expeditions, the species of vegetation served as proof of the discovery. The arduous nature of exploring unknown oceans was thus compensated by the abundance of the vegetation encountered en route. According to Gomes Eanes de Zurara (s. chapter 5), the much desired rounding of Cape Bojador would be celebrated by the delivery to Prince Henry of some herbs similar to those in the kingdom and whose flowers were named the roses of Saint Mary in Portugal.² This gesture symbolised the greatly sought after mastery and possession of those virgin lands.

The pride and the pleasure at the advance through the South Atlantic also gained expression through descriptions of the riches and the variety of the equatorial world. Diogo Gomes, who travelled throughout much of the world, refers: “And those middle lands are replete with fruit trees but other species of fruits and their trees are of such thickness and of a height that you can only really believe through seeing” (Garcia, 1983: 35).

In fact, to many travellers, the description of a new region or place would not have seemed complete without portraying its natural side. Hence, there are assiduous references to the aspect and quality of the lands that they took in on their travels, for example in the account of Álvaro Velho of the inaugural voyage of the maritime route to India. This contains various references to lands of fine grasses, large forests and, as happened with the Bons Sinais River, allusions to the fact that such places yielded “many fruits of many types and the men of this land eat them” (Garcia, 1983:168). This incidence of nature was perceived as servile and enveloping men in its maternal embrace, and taking advantage and using such natural resources brought enthusiasm to the voyager. Nature would guide the perspective of many travellers and explorers. Furthermore, whilst sometimes this gaze was naïve and fortuitous and lacking in any prior knowledge, however, as regards the Orient, the voyagers already knew and held strong and ancestral expectations.

² “And why, sir, - said Gil Eanes, did it seem to me that I should bring some sign of the land, something that grows from it, I gathered these herbs that I present to Your Honour, which we, in this Kingdom, call Santa Maria roses” (Zurara, 1981: 73). The chronicler João de Barros adds: “Those which were brought before the Prince, he smelt them and such deep honour did he take in seeing them as if they were the fruit and evidence of a Promised land, gave great praise to God” (Barros, 1945: I book, ch. IV, p. 25).

From *Mirabilias* to the Marvellous Surprises of the Orient

Both Classical and Medieval authors demonstrated fantastic imaginations as regards the lands of the east. Pliny, the renowned author of *Natural History*, would stress how India was a land of prodigious *mirabilia*.³ Perceiving the river Ganges as one of the rivers of paradise, the conclusion that its adjoining lands might be fertile and rich hardly comes as any surprise.⁴

One event above all contributed to this image: the expedition of Alexander the Great (336-323 B.C.). Around fifty botanists, physicians, geographers and philosophers accompanied the conqueror as he advanced through Persia and India and who would write a great deal on these so highly desired regions – especially on the much famed spices that had already long since been sought after and incorporated (Faure, 1991; Detienne, 1972).

However, while certainly bringing back more precise information on these lands, what remains equally certain is that such details were then wrapped up in fabulous and fantastic descriptions as we may grasp from the intentions of the letters written by Alexander, among others, to his master, Aristotle. The differing versions would become, behind only the Sacred Writings, the most widely read work of the Middle Ages. In truth, through to the 15th century, there are various accounts alluding to the deeds of Alexander. The medieval Alexander undoubtedly got bound up with the image of a profusely prodigious India. The wonders of India became a chapter common to the encyclopaedias of this age and always scrupulously detailing the treasures of the Orient. These texts were also abundantly illustrated. The iconography adopted by artists displayed fantastic landscapes populated by fabulous beings and unquestionably an important contribution to the success of these works.

In truth, Europe never gave up on recalling the fabulous India conquered by Alexander and that continued to attract the interest of European courts, fascinated by its rare and exotic products. The Middle Ages would indeed inherit this taste for both the Orient and for spices of Asian origin.⁵ We

³ On the Classical image of India, see Jacques André and Jean Filliozat (1986).

⁴ Isidore of Seville also makes mention of mountains of gold, guarded over by monsters and giants in keeping with the descriptions of Pliny and Solino (Sevilla, 1982-1983).

⁵ Such was the value attributed in the Middle Ages, spices served as a currency

need only recall the name of Marco Polo to ascertain just what impact and interest in travel accounts such as those of the Venetian trader and author of *Description of the World*, better known as the Book of Marvels, had on the Middle Ages and once again stunning a Europe that desired these accounts of the prodigious riches of this world to the east.

Marco Polo, nevertheless, stands out only as one of many explorers that began looking at the world around and beginning what would be the long and intricate path towards inventorying and classifying the different Asian species. In his account, he correspondingly includes information on the origins, characteristics and purposes of the famous spices as we may demonstrate with this extract dedicated to the kingdom of Kollam:

In this land [...] There are many peppers and in great abundance. That the hills and fields abound in them. I wander streets in which the pepper grows amidst domestic sounds. And they harvest them in May, June and July (Paulo, 1502, ed. 1922, fol. 69r).

In addition to pepper, the best known of the Asian spices – it would have been the soldiers of Alexander that had first brought pepper to Europe –, there are references to ginger, clove, nutmeg and other spices such as candlenut. Marco Polo would have been the first European to encounter the ginger plant in India and China and relates how the caravans would transport the dried roots to Asia Minor from where they were dispatched to Venice. In Europe, this rhizome, in addition to its flavour, became appreciated for its medicinal properties. The explorer thus succumbed to enthusing over all of the abundance of all the aromatic species and the many other things “whose similarity we never saw from overseas” (Paulo, 1502, ed. 1922, fol. 62v). Hence the revelation of a *promised* land as was then proclaimed by his contemporaries.

Appreciated in Europe, these spices would thus literally traverse continents. Over long and intricate paths, these species would finally be landed in Italian cities such as Venice, the birthplace of Marco Polo. On arriving in Italy, they got distributed around the Mediterranean and the Atlantic as a means of reaching Northern Europe, especially the England of this time and the cities making up the Hanseatic League. This was termed the *galere de fiandra*. However, Venice also made recourse to

that came in for just as much appreciation as gold. The payments of debts and taxes as well as gifts would be made in weights of spice. See, among others, Küster (1997).

overland routes to serve other rich trading cities such as those of southern Germany, also very much participating in this pepper trade.

Demand continued to rise as beyond being associated with wellbeing, pleasure and luxury, the spices (Lopes, 2002) would become ever more incorporated into food habits and diets.⁶ Furthermore, their pharmaceutical qualities also remained a significant factor. While oriental pharmacology had long since applied the medicinal characteristics of these species to produce medication, ointments, beverages or scents, it would now be the role of Europeans to test these miracles. Thus, cinnamon⁷ was discovered to serve as a good remedy for pectoral angina, liver problems, headaches as well as curing fistulas; clove became an excellent remedy for throat aches, liver problems, dizziness, whilst nutmeg was deployed as an antidepressant and that, along with cinnamon, became the prescription par excellence for good humours.

Such marvellous things would be expected at Vasco da Gama's return. The carracks on the inaugural voyage along the maritime route to India would bring back not only these highly sought after spices but also reports on the regions that they came from. In one of the annexes to the account of this first voyage, its presumed author, Álvaro Velho, records how the spices would not all be indigenous to Malabar. Whilst pepper would have originated in the not yet discovered lands of Malabar, for example, cinnamon was already attributed accurately to the island of Ceylon, where there are, as is stated, "the finest that there is in all of India" (Garcia, 1983: 217). There are also allusions to the clove and nutmeg trade with

⁶ Among the species then known, the most commonly used were pepper and cinnamon, the species accompanying a medieval meal from the starters through to the desserts. One menu dated to the year of 1303, and drafted in honour of a bishop, expresses this culinary diversity always adorned with spices: among the many spices listed there are: egg soup with pepper, saffron and honey, fish with pepper and as well as pears and apples seasoned with pepper and aniseed. Finally, to top the menu off, there were confectionaries made from sugar, pepper, nutmeg and ginger. Cf. Mahn (2001).

⁷ We know that there are frequent references to the importing of cinnamon ever since the 8th century. For example, already into the 12th century, there are accounts of the spice trade, especially in cinnamon, in Portugal. The *Inventory and Accounts of the House of D. Dinis* (1278-1282) lists the acquisition of spices and medication, among them, cinnamon. The importance of spices in general and cinnamon in particular as a medieval therapy may furthermore be demonstrated, for example, by the *Thesaurus Pauperum* attributed to Pedro Hispano (1210/15-1277), who would die as Pope John XXI. See Guerreiro (1999). S. also chapter 19.

Malacca, as well as Asian species such as aloe, a scented wood whose juices are a purging agent, Brazilwood and the gum benjamin tree, a tree indigenous to Sumatra, Java and the kingdom of Siam, whose resin was also perfumed.

This new knowledge would spread swiftly throughout Europe, not especially through the writing of Álvaro Velho given that this would remain a manuscript, but rather through the epistles of King Manuel and the missives of the Italian traders who attentively monitored the advances of the Portuguese maritime enterprise. Accounts such as that of the Florentine trader, Girolami Sernigi, who portrayed the trade with the Orient and, similar to Álvaro Velho, informed on the commercial ambience of Calicut, where not only cinnamon, pepper, clove, ginger, lacquer and Brazilwood could be found, but also, as mentioned, there were entire forests of such woods (Loureiro, 1998: 45). Hence, the widespread consensus that the king of Portugal had found the greatest treasure in the world as expressed by Tomaso Deti, another Italian trader (Loureiro, 1998: 59), for example.

Henceforth, we encounter not only the depth of the interest in and curiosity about the Orient (Bouchon, 1999: 311-333) but also a rising search for more concrete data on the eastern reality. There is, as we shall witness, greater care put into describing and identifying Asian species in keeping with a greater awareness about the need for a more thorough and scientific discourse on such facts. Thus, we note a clear intent of travellers and explorers to carefully contemplate and detail oriental botany. We may point to the example set by the Venetian trader Nicolau de Conti, renowned for his account of twenty-five years of voyaging throughout the Orient⁸ and describing pepper in an early attempt to deepen the accuracy of knowledge about this plant: “The tree that bears the pepper are similar to our own. Its berries are green in the manner of juniper berries over which they throw a little bit of ash and then put them out into the sun to dry” (Paulo, ed. 1922, fol. 82r.).⁹ These records, interspersed with a lot of other information about the oriental world, convey a deep seated desire to know more about and evince this knowledge on Oriental species. And the

⁸ Nicolau de Conti was published in Portugal by Valentim Fernandes in 1502 in order to confirm and update the information from Marco Polo. Conti passed on precious information about spices, their origins and their respective trades (Paulo, ed. 1502).

⁹ Balthasar Springer, who travelled in the armada led by D. Francisco de Almeida, would say that peppers resembled bunches of grapes (Springer, 1509).

analogy of these known species – with pepper resembling ivy – becomes the principle adopted by these Renaissance men.

One author who undoubtedly played a fundamental role in promoting and valuing oriental botany was the Bolognese Ludovico de Varthema. Long and precise descriptions, such as that provided for pepper, enrich his account with precious information on the state of knowledge (Ramusio, ed. 1978-1980, I vol.: 833-34).

As with the attentive and detailed description of the pepper tree, there are many others that might be mentioned and making his account a recognised and rich descriptive inventory of oriental flora. Varthema would also be one of the first Europeans to document the consumption of betel nut (Ramusio, ed. 1978-1980, I vol.: 828), putting forward a correct description of its preparation, as highlighted by Rui Loureiro (Loureiro, 2005: 1-20).

There is the same zeal and attention when describing the fruits, whether the mango, jackfruit,¹⁰ banana – already mentioned in the Indus valley by Alexandre the Great–, or that which remained considered as the most bountiful fruit tree of India: the coconut tree (Ramusio, ed. 1978, I vol.: 836).

Having described the tree, in which the amazement and admiration of the observer become apparent, he presents the fruit as edible whilst the husks serve as firewood. Hence, the description of a providential tree given that it supplied food, clothing, construction materials whether for houses or for vessels, in an endless list of purposes. The palm trees would nevertheless become, and following the words of Ludovico de Varthema, one of the most admired and commonly mentioned species by these authors that would render this tree a symbol of the Orient as adopted by the West and as we shall return to below.

The descriptive and informative character of this work, one of the first printed works on the Orient, explains one reason for the extent of its circulation throughout Europe. The desire to discover “personally” and see other regions “through their own eyes”, as the reader gets informed in

¹⁰ According to José E. Mendes Ferrão, the oldest historical reference to this fruit that the Portuguese encountered in India comes with the account of the anonymous pilot who mentioned that the Zamorin of Calicut “ordered the serving of some fruit that appears to be melons but that outside were crisp but inside were sweet”. See Ferrão (1992: 182).

the prologue, led the author to set off for the Orient. Beyond that noted about the lands and peoples encountered along the way, he dedicated a great deal of attention to otherwise unknown botanical species. As he always believed more in what he saw than in what he had heard told, he resolved to publish his itinerary in order to ensure his experiences might be of benefit to those interested in these themes and who did not have the opportunity to wander off around the world. In 1510, Rome would see the publication of the first edition of a work that became an editorial success. Through to the middle of the 17th century, the *Itinerary* by Varthema would go through three editions and in addition to reproductions in other travel collections. Following the Italian editions,¹¹ the travel account would be published in Spanish (1520), Flemish (1544), French (1556), English (1576) and German. In Germany, the first edition, in Augsburg, dates to 1515 (Varthema, 1515) and is followed by the re-publication of the collection of travel writings by Simon Grynaeus (1534), in 1548, in the city of Frankfurt and, one hundred years on from the first edition, in Leipzig.¹² The sheer wealth of information in this text led Hieronimus Megiser, the author of the final edition, to publish it again in 1610.¹³

While the desire to discover far off and unknown regions led the German editor of the first version of Varthema's *Itinerary* to publish it in German five years later, thus producing the first translation of this account, we also find that, and following on from many different editions across the North of Europe, this writing would emerge enriched by forty-six illustrations by the renowned engraver Jörg Breu the Elder.¹⁴ And within this framework, we should also highlight how the choice of the themes for illustration demonstrates the frequent incorporation of engravings related to the regions making up the Oriental natural world (Lopes, 1998). We would therefore propose that it was also the profound interest in nature related

¹¹ Rome 1510, 1517; Venice, 1517, 1518, 1520, 1526, 1536, 1550, 1560; Milan, 1519, 1523; Venice, 1535, 1536 and also the work by Giovanni B. Ramúcio 1550, 1563, 1588 and 1606. We would also reference the Latin editions, Milan 1510, and the work of Simon Grynaeus in 1532, 1537 and 1555.

¹² Varthema was also published in English in 1577 and 1625 and in Dutch in 1503 and 1664. This latter also came out over a century after the first editions.

¹³ Held in such high consideration as this report bears witness to, describing it as a priceless document to geographers and scholars of the world and hence there was no work of cosmography that did not take it as "ad descriptionem Asiae" (Varthema, 1610, prologue, unnumbered).

¹⁴ The first edition of 1515 was illustrated by Jörg Breu the Elder. For reproductions, see Geisberg (1930: 211-13).

facets and themes that justified the very high level of receptiveness that this work experienced among European publishing houses.¹⁵

Some years later, it would be the turn of two Portuguese subjects, both residents in Asia, to contribute towards the classification and inventorying of the oriental natural world. We refer here to the botanist Tomé Pires, author of one of the first geography treatises, written between 1512 and 1515, and the work of the factor and explorer, Duarte Barbosa, dated 1516. In effect, the products described by Tomé Pires in his *Oriental Summary* (Pires, 1978) remain today as central points of reference to Portuguese pharmacopoeia whilst the *Book of things that I saw in the Orient* provides a valuable compendium of the variety and importance of the natural world.

One of the species featured, the palm tree, was also subject to great attention by Duarte Barbosa as follows:

All of this land of Malabar, along the sea coast, is covered with palms; they are as tall as tall cypresses, whilst the palms have very clean and smooth trunks and only above is there a crown of branches in among which there grows the large fruit called the coconut; this is a fruit that they make great advantage of; each year many of them are transported in the vessels of Malabar. Each tree yields annually without ever failing without their being more or less fruit. Each tree maintains the people of Malabar who cannot go hungry because this same tree yields ten or twelve fruits, all necessary in the service of men and of great assistance to them and taking advantage of them every month. First, the tree gives these coconuts that, when green are a very sweet and much appreciated fruit; from them you extract milk just like the almonds; and each of these green coconuts has within a large quantity of very fresh, flavoursome and cordial liquid that is better than water from the fountain; after these coconuts get dried and that same water coagulates into a white layer, the size of an apple, which is also very sweet and flavoursome; and the same coconut, after time passing, is eaten and they make a lot of oil from them in presses, as if nuts, and the husk of these coconuts is mixed with the leaves to make charcoal that is used by jewellers who are not working with gold; from the other husk, which there is more of on the outside, they weave threads and make rope that is used to trade throughout many regions; and from the tree, they extract the must of the sap and make wine with it, more exactly firewater, and in such quantities that they load many vessels full with it,

¹⁵ As may indeed be proven by the assiduous recourse to their copies of *Itinerary* by many scholars, such as Andrea Cesalpino or Carolus Clusius, who quotes it frequently in his notes in *Aromatum*.

and the same must make a good vinegar and a very sweet sugar that is traded on a wide scale in India; the leaves of the same tree are interwoven to form the size of a branch that covers all of their houses as the law says that they cannot cover their roves with tiles apart from for the houses of the king or of prayer; and from that tree they get wood for their houses and also for firewood; and all of these things in such abundance that they send off many vessels with their cargoes full.

There are other palm trees of another sort, shorter, from where they gather the leaf that is used by the gentiles to write their accounts and letters and books and there are other lither palm trees, very tall, with clean trunks and which bear bunches of fruit, the size of nuts, that they eat like the betel, that they call *areca*, which is, among them, greatly estimated and widely consumed and enjoyed and there are such quantities that many vessels loaded with this cargo set off for the kingdoms of Cambay and Daquem and many other parts, which they take already sorted and dried (Barbosa, 1989: 118-19).

Truly a compendium entrance, this description is one of various examples of the knowledge condensed onto the pages of this work and that conveys an understanding of its great importance. Men of learning in the 16th century were engaged in seeking out the similarities and difference in the things of the world. We may take the example of the description of the cloves that he saw in the Moluccas:

The undergrowth of these islands is all clove that grows on laurel like trees with the leaves of an *arbutus*.

The same clove grows on pines, like the orange flower or honeysuckle; the shoots are very green, before changing colour; when mature becoming a very fine red. To such an extent that at that time the people of these lands go about harvesting these trees and drying them in the sun where they turn black; if there is no sun, they smoke them dry. Afterwards, when they are very dry, they sprinkle them with a little salt water so that they do not break up and retain their qualities (Barbosa, 1989: 153).

It is firstly resemblance that determines the description of a new specimen – a vital moment in the fervent reading of the world. The tree is like the laurels, the leaves are like *arbutus* with the flowers appearing as if those of the orange tree or honeysuckle.¹⁶ In a constant discovery of Oriental species, Duarte Barbosa set out in his *Book* a true inventory of recently discovered flora.

¹⁶ This represents the logic of the visible as defined by Luís Filipe Barreto (Barreto, 1986: 135-138).

In the words of the illustrious historian Luís de Albuquerque: “The two writers, Barbosa and Tomé Pires, are true sources of irreplaceable information and Ramusio grasped this very well in converting both into Italian and including them in his famous collection” (Barbosa, 1989: 175). The man of letters Giovanni Ramusio did know his motives for inserting these two texts into his collection. *Navigazioni e Viaggi* sought to reconstruct an image of the world on a planetary scale and that would only prove possible through works such as these resulting from having lived there and personal experiences resulting along with vast knowledge on the characteristics and qualities of the prose of the world.

Orta and Clusius

Out of the increasingly vast European typographic outputs, the workshops and printers had long since published a long list of writings dedicated to botany. Thus, we find works such as that by Pietro Crescenzi, author of one of the most widely read and known treatises on agriculture in the 14th century, or Konrad von Meigenberg (1309-1374), known as the northern successor to Albertus Magnus, who translated a manuscript (dated to the 13th century) by Thomas of Cantimpre entitled *De natura rerum*. The new version, which took the name *Das Buch der Natur* (The Book of Nature), first came out in 1475 in the city of Augsburg. This work became a reference mark and especially as it contained the first printed illustrations in natural history. However, what particularly matters is that from the very outset these engravings were not perceived as mere decoration but on the contrary their specific intention was to convey a visual image to the text, part of the process of scientific identification and understanding. To this end, this work would serve as a model to the illustrated books with its success reflected in the six editions published through to 1500.

Later, other works would be published such as *Herbarius Latinus*, the first herbarium published in Mainz in 1484. First and foremost, this represented a compilation of Arabian and Classical sources with some one hundred and fifty engravings of plants listed in alphabetic order. One year on, this had already been published in both Latin and German and in the latter case with the title *Gart der Gesundheit* and, despite the close proximity to *Herbarius latinus*, this work featured more illustrations with a final total of over four hundred.

Meanwhile, in the 16th century, works appeared by authors such as Leonard Fuchs (1501-1566), considered one of the founders of German

botany. His work, building on that of Otto Brunfels (1488-1534) (Brunfels, 1530) and Hieronymus Bock (1498-1554) (Bock, 1539) originally described some four hundred plants from his land of birth, which were supplemented from the beginning by some of the plants of the Orient and America (Fuchs, 1543). With excellent illustrations, the work of renowned artists and engravers, this compendium became a benchmark reference work. As may be demonstrated, the book's illustrations involved the engravers making their designs with examples of the plants physically in front of them, thus also reflecting the spirit of rigour and veracity underpinning this work. Furthermore, this usage of living examples was new to herbariums made in the North of Europe and in contrast to those of the South that made recourse to dried plants and introducing to these manuals a more natural feel in the search for new knowledge. This meant a long path needed taking and the authors expressed their awareness that a great deal of commitment and learning was needed. Hence, the difficulty lay in grasping and conveying the information with Leonhard Fuchs a good example of this. Nevertheless, and despite already including information on plants from the new worlds, as is the case with pepper trees,¹⁷ originally from America, Fuchs denominates them generically as Indian pepper¹⁸ or Calicut pepper (s. chapter 15) – this being the means by which he gained access to these new discoveries, while maize corn appeared listed as Turkish or Asian wheat.¹⁹ This example proves very significant the importance of the work of these men and the need for still more and deeper knowledge.

Within this scope came the first work on oriental medical botany by the Portuguese author Garcia da Orta (c. 1501-1568), who would not only

¹⁷ In Europe, as Fuchs states, these are swiftly introduced into the diet as they have just as spicy a taste as pepper. Already in the mid-16th century, this plant was under cultivation as an ornamental plant. The famous gardens of the bishops of Eichstätt in the times of Johann Conrad von Gemmingen (1594-1612) had over fifteen different varieties with fruits in different shapes and colours, yellows, oranges and reds. Working there were Jochim Camerarius and the pharmacist Basilius Besler (1561-1629), author of *Hortus Eystettensis* (Nuremberg, 1613), one of the largest of all illustrated books on botany.

¹⁸ Hieronymus Bock had also already introduced a chapter on the pepper tree, a plant that he would see in Germany. Although he mentions what Pliny and Theophrastus had said, he additionally makes a reference to the Portuguese voyages to Calicut.

¹⁹ He refers to how this plant easily adapts to European gardens and that corn grain could be ground to make flour for bread.

unpick erroneous and false ideas in relation to Asian species but also bring many new and relevant breakthroughs to the attention of his highly interested contemporaries.

Aware of the present moment, Orta dared state: “I would say that you learn more in one day by the Portuguese than you do in 100 years by the Romans” (Orta, 1987, vol. I: 210) – this is also the clear expression of a Renaissance belief in the value of observation and leveraging experimental knowledge. His work is thus built on a permanent questioning of the knowledge handed down and contrasting such with experiences and with observations. Whilst this fact might now seem easy and clear, it was not to Garcia da Orta. This attitude, synonymous with modernity, required knowledge, patience and certainly no little daring as we shall see. On the natural history of India, there were already known references, notes and writings. Contrary to other regions – or continents, such as the Americas about which nothing was then known – there did already exist, whilst diffuse and vague, various pieces of information set down by the feathers of such authors as Pliny, Herodotus, Theophrastus, among others. With the dawning of modernity and the advance in the means of printing, there was witnessed on the one hand the publication of works hitherto unknown and unpublished: Latin, versions of Greek and Arab writings, as well as a large number of witness accounts that had encountered the most diverse facts about nature and the world,²⁰ while on the other hand there was the appearance of the accounts by travellers who thereby sought to amend and correct the knowledge existing. As already mentioned, Travel Literature also played here an enormous role given that, among the notes of the authors, there were included countless and singular observations about natural history or simply about certain species or their medicinal properties.

Indeed, it was against the backdrop of this confrontation between two worlds of information that Garcia da Orta set off for the Orient. That the subsequent work was no easy task, he himself makes clear: “A great challenge did we have to perform and great to us for unravelling those that Alexander cut out in refusing the labours involved in such efforts” (Orta,

²⁰ Within this context, we may evoke the publication of *Historia naturalis* by Pliny (Venice, 1469), *Historia plantarum* by Theophrastus (1483) and the commentaries to the work by Dioscorides as the works published in Venice in 1516. We should also mention here the works by Pietro Andrea G. Mattioli (1501-1577) as well as the important collaboration with the Portuguese Amato Lusitano (1511-1568). His *Índex Dioscoridis* dated 1536 was published in the city of Antwerp. On the work of Amato and its repercussions throughout Europe, see Gouveia (1985).

1987, vol. I: 173). Thus, among the abundant and vague information available, this diligent and august author had to find the common thread that would lead to knowledge. To this end, he required the patience to undo the knots, that is, the errors and confusions; and this being the art to the task in hand as only thus would he be able to maintain continuity in the order of affairs. No cuts should be made, as Alexander the Great had done, to the common thread in order to unravel it faster was how Garcia da Orta himself encapsulated his task. We might at first sight see a more effective and quicker solution but that would also cast out the existing relations and structural connotations. Just how would the botanist and scientist proceed?

We do know that, on leaving for India in 1534 as a physician, Garcia da Orta took in his baggage an academic background – Orta had done his studies in Alcala and Salamanca. Thus, Orta does not represent a mere traveller; he is an erudite traveller. He could and would make recourse to his knowledge, to the intellectual legacy. However, in the Orient, Orta drew upon *in loco* observation. This led to a particular situation. Among the traveller, there was an erudite; just as among the erudite there came a traveller. Hence, what he was to see was distinguished by that which he had read just as happened with those who came to read about what he had seen as indeed highlighted by Count Ficalho in his work *Garcia da Orta e o seu Tempo* (Ficalho, 1983).

That the author had read widely, we may deduce from the countless quotations and references made. However, Orta did not rely only on his readings. In the mid-16th century, his knowledgeable discourse on both realities would give way to a single and clear *thread*. Correspondingly, he did affirm that Pliny erred, that Theophrastus was off the mark when referring how classical cinnamon would have a lot of nuts as he had not been to the Orient to learn how this was a tree (Orta, 1987, vol. I: 211) or still furthermore “I hold no fear of neither Dioscorides nor Galeno because I tell you the truth and I know what that is” (Orta, 1987, vol. I: 105). Where did he find the courage to correct his classical ancestors? The confidence in his affirmations is the expression of experience and observation. Orta trusted in what he had seen. This proved the principle to his knowledge: “and I know this very well as I have witnessed it firsthand” (Orta, 1987, vol. II: 246).

It was the opportunity to travel and see *in loco* that provided the courage to contradict the classics and, at the same time, endowing him with the

authority to make such statements. His interpretations were now based not on the readable but on the visible as pointed out by Luís Filipe Barreto (Barreto, 1986: 109-201).

Garcia da Orta did not intend to disrespect the classical authors, he talks of them with the greatest respect – we should not overlook that the title and narrative structures of the work by Garcia da Orta are *Colloquiums*, thus, conversations between two characters, Doctor Ruano, a former student of Salamanca, an erudite of learning who knows Dyoscorides and Pliny inside-out, and Orta, the experienced observer who unperturbedly affirms *I saw* –, without however putting at risk or giving up on his freedom of appreciation of this new knowledge.

Observation became an ally of experience. When talking about mangoes, a species that drew his enthusiasm for its beauty and flavour, he refers to how a Bombay tenant brought a basket of mangoes to give to the governor:

You come at the best time in the world: I have a mango tree on my island [of Bombay] that gives two harvests, one at this time and another at the end of May and whenever the fruits abound and their smell and flavour, this excess comes to me before time and we therefore ourselves taste this fruit that is of his Lordship.

And cutting it with a fairly blunt knife, he affirms that “in another time, this exceeded all of the fruits of Spain” (Orta, 1987, vol II: 101-102). Always attentive, Orta investigated the new reality surrounding him and instigating his own experiments as if in a private laboratory of observation.

In *Colloquiums*, he classified over fifty Oriental drugs, primarily of vegetal origins, such as aloes, benzoin, camphor, the golden shower tree, opium, rhubarb, tamarinds and many others. This is the first thorough description made by a European of their botanical characteristics, origins and the therapeutic properties of many Oriental plants with medicinal properties, and despite them already being known in Europe, such knowledge was hitherto either erroneous or incomplete. On occasions, he also notes down some clinical observations, one highlight of which includes the first known description of Asian cholera.

With this work, Garcia da Orta bequeathed a valuable and priceless legacy with his witness account enhancing a more real and accurate image of Oriental nature. The mythical dreamlike Orient thus gave way to a

representation more approximate to reality. Correspondingly, the work by Garcia da Orta, recognised as the first naturalist study of these species, becomes a landmark reference in knowledge on these Oriental drugs – and thereby gaining in reputation and admiration. Indeed, it was not by any chance that his work *Colloquiums on the Simple and the Drugs of India* was translated into Latin by the highly renowned botanist Carolus Clusius (Charles d'Écluse). In fact, Clusius was then deemed the leading botanist in all of Europe. Born in 1526, Clusius studied law in Louvain and Marburg before taking medicine in Wittenberg. Later, now living in Montpellier, he would discover his interest and passion for botany. This city would host his first study in this field as well as his French translation of a work by Rembertus Dodonaeus (1517-1585), author of a history of plants.²¹ In 1564, he set off as a preceptor on behalf of Jakob Fugger, one of the leading German trading families, for his first scientific voyage through the lands of Spain and Portugal where he was to spend two years discovering, describing and collecting over two hundred new species of plants. Hence, the following years were dedicated to the writing of *Historia stirpium per Hispanias* as well as translating Portuguese and Spanish botanical works. In fact, during his time in Portugal, Clusius came into contact with *Colloquiums* by Garcia da Orta and one year later already had the privilege of his own personal copy. In 1567, he published a reduced and noted version of the work under the title *Aromatum, et Simplicium Aliquot Medicamentorum Apud Indos Nascentium Historia* (Clusius, 1576, 1973)²² in the city of Antwerp with the Clusius version seeing new editions in 1574, 1579, 1593 and 1605. The Flemish botanist thus published five editions and in addition to some notes to the book in 1582. He never gave up working on his version, improving it and filling it out with further notes and prints and which, as already highlighted by the Count of Ficalho (Ficalho, 1983: 379), reflected the prestige he attributed the Portuguese book. The work of Orta represented the core structures to which he set about adding additions and annexes.

His fame reached across the borders of the kingdoms of Europe. First, he was summoned to Vienna, where Clusius was to remain in the service of Emperor Maximilian II throughout fourteen years. One of his acts was the planting of a *hortus medicus*, a botanical garden,²³ an experience he would

²¹ *Cruyde Broeck*, Antwerp, 1563.

²² Other editions of *Aromatum*: 1567, 1574, 1579, 1593. Costa: 1582, 1593, 1605.

²³ In the Europe of the Renaissance, there was a great deal of interest in botanical related issues as demonstrated by the enormous variety of books undergoing

repeat in Prague. In the latter city, he would also collect data on the local flora and in the process becoming one of the best known experts on European flora. However, the new worlds also fell under his consideration and hence the fourth edition (1593) of *Colloquiums* would be a joint edition of the text by Garcia Orta alongside the work of Cristóvão da Costa (1525-1593) and Nicolau Monardes (1493-1508), a work on American flora.

Clusius was also the translator of travel accounts, such as those by Thomas Harriot (Harriot, 1590),²⁴ Jacob Le Moyne (Moyne, 1590) and Walter Raleigh.²⁵ Finally, aged 66, in 1592, he is nominated the director of the garden of the University of Leiden, a position he holds through to his death in 1609. In this garden, he naturally planted fine and curious new plant finds from these other worlds.²⁶

Carolus Clusius, the greatest European botanist of his time, knew the value of the *Colloquiums* and grasped the need to raise the profile of the work by Orta. Hence, his role as a botanist extended to the task of translating and commenting upon this innovative written account. In his own version, he does not hesitate to strip away the structure of the work that correspondingly moves on from being a dialogue to an alphabetic presentation of the scientific material that he wished to convey. Hence, he comes up with a reduced version that presents a condensed summary of the content revealed by Orta. This thus does not represent any *ipsis verbis* translation of the Portuguese text, with its original version falling into obscurity. In truth, nobody read the *Colloquiums* in their Portuguese original, as already detailed by the Count of Ficalho (Ficalho, 1983: 379). Whilst this is not the place to go deeply into this matter, we may nevertheless emphasise that this represents a particular moment in the reception of the *Colloquiums*. To the European men of science, what mattered was the scientific content and that was correspondingly ensured. In other words, the actual work of Garcia da Orta did not fade from view,

publication in this period. With plants brought back directly from other continents, floriculture in Europe correspondingly flourished and expanded rapidly. Among the oldest of such gardens were those planted in Pisa, Padua, Florence, Bologna, Leipzig and Leiden, the latter established by Carolus Clusius as a school and garden of learning.

²⁴ Work published by the renowned Theodor de Bry.

²⁵ Published in conjunction with Thomas Harriot (also illustrated by Bry).

²⁶ He is believed to have introduced the tulip, originally from Turkey, to the Netherlands, the flower as we know that has now become a national symbol.

as indeed happened with many other Portuguese works, and may thus be deemed and duly recognised as a fundamental contribution towards the prevailing contemporaneous scientific discourse.

It is within this same attitude that we should understand the inclusion of images, a contribution that, as seen above, stems from the desire to provide a visual clarification of the description and characteristics of the respective species. This labour of rigour and care of the provision of nature based information reflects the scholarly approach to studying the mysteries of the universe.

These alterations, as well as the consequent alphabetic reformulation of the content presented, constitute the main methodological principles behind the consolidation of a discourse increasingly striving to take on scientific overtones. Correspondingly, in only editing all the information actually necessary to learning about oriental botany, Clusius therefore restructures the work. Clusius thus spurns so to say the “methodological and cultural dialogue” to highlight only the oriental factual details. The content, or “scientific matter” as expressed by the Count of Ficalho, was that which the European men of letters wished to grasp. Even in the final edition, *Exoticorum libri decem: quibus animalium, pantarum, aromatum* ..., from the workshop of Christopher Plantin,²⁷ we may grasp the level of respect and renown with which this work was cherished by many of the enthusiasts and students of the prose of the world.

Clusius was not the only editor of the work by Garcia da Orta, others would follow in his footsteps, but it was primarily his doing that saw Orta attain a wide reaching European readership. And, certainly, it was these editions of Garcia da Orta that encouraged their translation²⁸ and formed the foundation for the study of Asian flora.

²⁷ Christopher Plantin, an Antwerp located printer, drew upon the work of Pieter van der Borcht, who had already designed and painted plants for other Flemish botanical works, especially specimens from the Orient and the Americas based on living models, some of which had been planted in the gardens of Leiden. Clusius was, as stated, the first to cultivate these exotic plants and study them systematically.

²⁸ The Latin version of Clusius was translated into Italian by Aníbal Briganti (Veneza, 1575) and reprinted in 1580, 1582, 1589, 1605 and 1616. There was also a French translation by Antoine Collin in 1602 and a second edition revised and expanded in 1619.

Among those following on from Orta,²⁹ we may reference the case of the physician Cristovão da Costa, a Portuguese subject born in Africa, who actually met Garcia da Orta in India and who Clusius, as we saw, would also meet. Based in Burgos, Cristóvão da Costa went to India in the company of Viceroy Luís de Ataíde, having arrived in Goa in the year of 1568. Ten years later, he published *Tractado de las drogas y medicinas de las Indias Orientales* (Costa, 1578; Barreto, 1986: 111-201), a work in which he, as the subtitle states, “verifies much of that written by Doctor Garcia de Orta”.

Closely following the information left by Orta, Costa also in the main concerned himself with the content presented and with the visual image of the species described. As he states in the prologue, his work appeared with the objective of overcoming some of the failings in Orta’s work, especially its lack of images:

There also lacked another substantial perfection to this work, which are the pictures, and the sketches of the plants that it includes: with Doctor Orta certainly occupied with more serious matters and which must have mattered more, failed to include any of them. It seemed to me, that in our nation, there would be a book of such great benefit, if giving news on these good things and in there showing some examples of them, and with figures, to better understand them, and that this might be done only by those who had subject them to careful and tender gaze and having tried them. Zealous for the good of this land, with the charity that is my close duty, I deliberated in favour of doing this work and sketched each plant while living, extracted with its roots, beyond the other things that I have seen and that Doctor Garcia de Orta could not for the reasons given (Costa, ed. Walter, 1964: XXVII-XXVIII).

Following these editions, the name of Orta will always remain a point of reference. The immense knowledge of his work reflects in the sheer numbers of the references and utilisations made by other texts, works and their authors. And out of the consideration that “nature showed the most of its knowledge, more than the many varieties of stones, mountains, herbs, flowers, plants, animals, and another infinity of things, that do adorn this so very impressive theatre that we call world...” (Costa, ed.

²⁹ Such is the case with the physician to Philip II, Juan Fragoso, who also based his work on the book by Garcia da Orta to write his *Discursos de las cosas aromaticas, arboles y frutales, y de otras muchas medicinas simples que se traen de la India Oriental, e sirven al uso de la medicina*, Madrid, 1572.

Walter, 1964: XXXI.), we correspondingly encountered many different authors setting themselves to work on these contents.

Travellers and explorers such as Jan Huyghen van Linschoten (1563-1611) (Linschoten, 1997), scholars such as Nicolau Monardes (1493-1508),³⁰ Andrea Cesalpino (1519-1603),³¹ Jacobus Bontius (1592-1631),³² Basilius Besler (1561-1629),³³ Henricum van Rhede (1637-1691),³⁴ Johannes Commelino (1629-1692),³⁵ Guilielmus Piso (1611-1678),³⁶ Michael Bernard Valentini (1657-1720),³⁷ the pharmacist Peter Pomet (1658-1699),³⁸ or men of letters such as Erasmus Francisci (1627-1694),³⁹

³⁰ Nicolau Monardes, *Simplicium medicamentorum ex novo orbe delatorum...*, Antwerp, 1582. Edited by Carolus Clusius in 1593.

³¹ Andrea Cesalpino, *De plantis libri XVI*, Florence, 1583.

³² Jacobus Bontius, *De Medicina Indorum*, Lib IV: 1. Notae In Garciam ab Orta..., Lugduni Batavia, 1642. Other editions: 1645, 1658, 1718, 1719.

³³ Basilius Besler, *Hortus Eystettensis*, Nuremberg, 1613. The pharmacist responsible for the garden Eichstätt quotes Orta on countless occasions in his work.

³⁴ Henricum van Rhede and Theodor Janson, *Horti Malabari pars prima, de varii generis arboribus et frutacibus siliquosis Latinis, Malabaricis, Arabicis, Brachmanum Characteribus nominibusque expressis, adjecta Florum, Fructum, Seminumque nativae magnitudinis vera delineatione, colorum viriumque accurata descriptione, adornata per Henricum van Rhede tot Draakestein et Theodorum Janson*, Amsterdam, 1678.

³⁵ Johannes Commelin, *Horti Medeci ...*, Amsterdam, 1701.

³⁶ Guilielmus Piso, an Amsterdam physician, who in his *De India utriusque naturale medica* (Amsterdam, 1658) quotes Garcia da Orta in great detail and applying the Portuguese nomenclature to many specimens.

³⁷ Michael Bernard Valentini, *Museum Museorum, oder vollständige Schau=bühne aller Materialien und Specereyen nebst deren natürlichen Beschreibung/ election, Nußen und Gebrauch...*, Frankfurt/M., 1704. The author is a German physician and his work, an excellent compilation of plants, spices and Oriental products, which is profusely illustrated would become a valuable lexicon for overseas products.

³⁸ Peter Pomet, *L'Histoire générale des drogues, traitant des plantes des animaux et des minéraux...*, Paris, 1694; 2nd ed. 1709. Outras obras *Catalogues des drogues simples et composés*, Paris, 1695, 1709; *Le Marchand sincère ou Traité général des drogues*, Paris, 1695; There were also editions in English and German: *Der aufrichtige Materialist und Specerey= Händler oder Haupt= und allgemeine Beschreibung derer Specereyen und Materialien* Leipzig, 1717.

³⁹ Erasmus Francisci, *Die lustige Schau= Bühne von allerhand Curiositäten*, 3 Bde., Nuremberg 1663, 1671, 1673; Erasmus Francisci, *Neu-polirter Geschicht= und Sitten= Spiegel ausländischer Völcker...*, Nuremberg, 1670; Erasmus

Eberhard Werner Happel (1618-1690; s. chapter 7),⁴⁰ or the encyclopaedia writer Johan Heinrich Zedler (1706-1763),⁴¹ based their works on Orta, whom they deemed had made a priceless contribution towards the knowledge held on botany and Oriental medical and flora related matters.

Whenever necessary, he makes recourse to the precise descriptions of Asian species from the Garcia da Orta work but in the precise manual version by Clusius. And the scholars on these issues made recourse to the work by the Portuguese botanist as one of the greatest specialists on Oriental plants. Among the many entries in the great *Universal Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste*, the largest dictionary of the 18th century, we encounter the name of Garcia da Orta on various occasions. For example, when dealing with the original supplier of the names, the entries on mangoes, wild mangoes, Chinese cinnamon and cinnamon contain references to the work of Orta however, also when describing some of these species there are references to the Portuguese botanist. Sometimes, his name also gets referenced in association with that of Clusius even if not always such as, and for example, in the entry for coconut that states that anyone wishing further information should consult “Garzia ab Horto”. There is also an entry with Clusius’s name which mentions his translations of the work *Aromatum* by Garcia da Orta from Portuguese and refers to the editions of 1574 and 1593. Perhaps we may even state that some descriptions and presentations by Orta are frequent and model the setting as is the case with the entries on mangoes and palm trees.

Whilst this does already represent another story, it is curious to verify how the palms and their respective different varieties and their respective fruits, the coconuts, would come to gain such a significant and high profile in the

Francisci, *Ost-und west-Indischer wie auch Sinesischer Lust-und Stats-garten/ Mit einem Vorgespräch Von mancherley lustigen Discursen; in Drey Haupt=Theile unterschieden, Der Erste Theil Begreiff in sich die edelsten Blumen/ Kräuter/ Bäume/ Meel= Wasser= Artzney= und Gifft= gebende Wurzeln/ Früchte/ Gewürze/ und Specereyen/ in Ost-Indien/ Sina und America...*, Nuremberg 1668.

⁴⁰ E. G. Happel, *Gröste Denckwürdigkeiten der Welt oder so=genannte Relationes Curiosae...*, 5 vols., Hamburg 1683-1691; E. G. Happel, *Mundi Mirabilis Tripartiti, Oder wunderbaren Welt, in einer kurßen Cosmographia fürgestellt*, Ulm, 1708; E. G. Happel, *Thesaurus exoticorum oder eine mit Außländischen Raritäten und Geschichten wohlversehene Schatz=kammer, fürstellend die asiatische, africanische und americanische Nationes*, Hamburg, 1688.

⁴¹ Johan Heinrich Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste*, 64 vols, Halle and Leipzig, 1732-1754.

reception given to the Oriental world. Such symbols associated with the Orient were then integrated into European culture in accordance with the respective different contexts.

At the beginning of the 16th century, the renowned Albrecht Dürer noted in his diary his great surprise at a coconut that Rodrigo, the Portuguese factor, had gifted him (Dürer, 1982: 67). A man of the arts, he was attentive to the world around him, seeking through *imitatio* a pathway to his artistic expression. Later, we know of the fine works of art made out of the coconut husk that are found in collections of curiosities,⁴² especially those in the *Kunstammer* of Emperor Rudolf II.⁴³ As we have seen, there were as many descriptions as there are forms of utilising coconuts in India along with the palms that this highly providential tree supplied alongside everything else usable. Hence, the logic behind this tree becoming an emblem for Baroque literary academia such as *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft*, that sought – under the auspices of the motto “Alles zu Nutzen” (All to use) – contributing to the variety of ways for developing knowledge and culture under the symbol of a tree, simultaneously rare but of multiple usages.⁴⁴

Over the long haul of appropriating and valuing the nature of the Orient, there were various different contributions as we have had the opportunity to highlight. However, the works of Garcia da Orta and Carolus Clusius constituted a particularly significant moment in the advancement of European knowledge on Asian species. Both were imbued with the same spirit: learning and conveying that learning on whatever plants had to reveal.

⁴² These plants would also be sought after as objects for collection. The botanical garden and the offices of natural history are concrete witnesses to this spirit of collectionism. See Callot (1951: 43-55) and Kopplin (1987: 296-317).

⁴³ See *Exotica* (2001) and *Focus Behaim Globus* (1992: vol. 2, 860-862).

⁴⁴ Cf. *Im Garten der Palme* (1992). Matthäus Merian, the son in law of Theodor de Bry, who both knew these other worlds well, designed this landmark in academia.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

“TO THE SMELL OF THIS CINNAMON”: NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF A RARE SPICE

We might claim that much is known about the products in greatest demand among Europeans at the dawn of modernity. The famous response given by the Portuguese on their arrival in Calicut: “we come in search of spices and Christians”, has for a long time been one of the best studied facets to the History of the European Expansion. A more detailed perspective indicates, however, that many of these cases approach spices in general and without taking into consideration the particularities of each one of the great variety of spices traded in the Orient and then onto the West. Or where there are detailed and exemplary studies, they tend to focus on species, whether pepper, clove or chilli, as those generating the greatest impact on the then prevailing trade networks.

Whilst with a certain hesitation – given the aforementioned reasons –, we nevertheless decided to advance with the study of another spice, which might demonstrate on the one hand the need for more detailed studies on each one of the vegetal species to which we attribute the name of spice, and the pre-eminence of studies on the historical trajectory of each one of the goods subject to analysis on the other hand. Cinnamon has a long story of being estimated and sought for – a history densely related both to a continuous increase of knowledge and to ever changing social practices.

Thus, we chose to apply six short items to approach the history of an Oriental spice that as from Classical times had been profoundly bound up in the European imaginary of the Orient and which was adept in stepping over borders: cinnamon.

In truth, whilst pepper was the main spice brought back aboard the carracks returning from India and the good most traded by the Portuguese, with Portugal getting tagged as the kingdom of pepper (Godinho, 1983-

184; Magalhães, 1998), what is equally certain is that the poet Sá de Miranda feared that the kingdom would lose its population not due to pepper but rather “to the smell of this cinnamon”. Whilst this was the main good that officers and the seamen on the India Run were authorised to bring back with them, then the smell, as we may say alongside Garcia de Orta, and the taste of this cinnamon surprised and pleased the Portuguese and leading them off to adventure over Oriental seas and lands. To the writer, this certainly suggested the perfumed aroma and the agreeable taste of this spice that most suggestively conveyed the seduction and the charm of the Orient.

From the Marvellous Oriental World

As one of the best known spices ever since Classical times, cinnamon was imported by the Hebrews and Phoenicians before the Greeks and Romans, with traders regularly heading to the coast of Malabar to exchange gold for spices. Cinnamon represented one of the Oriental spices that get mentioned in the Holy Scripture. Hence, cinnamon gets given in a recipe to Moses by God for preparing a Holy Chrism,¹ as well as various references to its usage as a perfume.²

Long since available for acquisition in Europe, cinnamon was very much a part of the European imaginary about the marvellous and fabulous world of the Orient. Both Classical and Medieval authors nurtured this fantastic image of the Oriental lands. Pliny highlighted how such lands were prodigiously replete with *mirabilia*, referring to a vast gallery of fantastic beings (André/ Filliozat, 1986). Furthermore, India was deemed to be located near Paradise as the River Ganges was believed to spring forth from Paradise before flowing in the direction of Indian lands. Thus, it comes as no surprise that these lands were perceived as fertile, that the people there were tanned in colour and, what is more, there existed, and among other goods, cinnamon, ivory and as well as precious stones.

¹ *Exodus*, 30, 23-33.

² In fact, the Romans were already applying different species of cinnamon as a perfume and to cover up body odours as is made clear by this odd epigram by Marcial (c. 40-102 A.D.):

Of cassia and cinnamon most black,
 You go, Corácio, to the vase of Nicero,
 Of the phoenix high nest do you sniff.
 Of me, who smells of nothing, you only ridicule:
 I prefer to smell well than not to smell. (Quoted in: Guerreiro, 1999: 131).

Furthermore, there were supposedly mountains of gold, generally hard to reach, guarded over by monsters and giants. Indeed, this is the image of India that Isidore of Seville scrutinised in *Etimologias* (Sevilla, 1982-83), returning to the descriptions left by Pliny and Solinus, for example.

In effect, Europe would never forget the memories of the fabulous India conquered by Alexander, with the European courts maintaining their interests in Upper and Lower India (Bouchon, 1999: 311-333) – as well as defining their sources –, and their fascination for the precious gems, rare products and marvellous animals, and cherishing and sustaining the desire to seek out this lost Paradise, where the leaves are always green and the lands fertile and highly rich in spices.

From the Most Fertile and Richest Lands

In this search, the Portuguese gradually advanced through the South Atlantic – having reached River Senegal, Alvise Cadamosto was already feeling as if close to Paradise³ –, rounding the Cape of Good Hope and en route for the so-sought after land of marvels. In the first Indian port that they dropped anchor in, as we may read in the appendix to the report on Vasco da Gama's travel, they claimed to have found “all the fine cinnamon that there is in India” (Garcia, 1983: 217). This news was immediately incorporated into the missives that King Manuel I wrote to the Catholic Kings and informing them of the riches discovered – and, among the spices there came a reference to this cinnamon –, or to Cardinal Jorge da Costa in which the king identifies the land with the renowned Taprobana.⁴

The mythological image of India got strengthened with these new developments. The cinnamon – especially the finest and most refined as subsequently portrayed by the poet of the *Lusiadas* – grew on the island of Ceylon that the Portuguese then attributed as the mythical Taprobana of the Greek and Roman authors. Hence, this correspondingly recognised

³ "They say that this river is one of the four rivers that flow from the terrestrial paradise that is called Gion, and from there coming to bathe all of Ethiopia; finally, from this comes the Nile (according to what we may learn from those who have travelled and seen this world). That the Nile then passes through Cairo before entering into the Mediterranean seas. This forms the aforementioned river and many other rivers in addition to this Senegal..." (Peres, 1948: 116).

⁴ Text published in Rome, in the year of 1506, with the title of *Gesta proxime per Portugalenses in India...*, which would then also be published in various languages, like in Germany, probably in Nuremberg, already one year later.

how the explorers had stepped beyond the limits of the old world to become the lords of this world packed with marvels. We may take as an example the panegyric tone of *Emmanuelis Portugalliae Regis Elogium* written by the humanist Giovanni Poggio in reference to the arrival of the Portuguese in the new Taprobana:

Their armada, finally invading the island of Taprobana, the first in all of the planet, but more truly designated by the geographers as belonging to another world, or according to the opinion of Pliny located beyond this world, and defeating with a small contingent the countless enemy troops and making the king of the island their own tributary. *What an admirable feat, what an unprecedented achievement! Who would ever have believed that the Portuguese would ever reach India? And what more admirable and incredible deed that they came also to tame Taprobana, which previously neither Bacchus nor Hercules, nor any other being had ever before reached?* [...] But you not only had the temerity to invade it by arms but also after a great victory, render it your tributary (Figueiredo, 1987: 113).

Furthermore and of still greater importance was the decision by King Manuel I to immediately set out a clear geo-political vision in keeping with the relevance of this island and as verified in the instructions given to Viceroy Francisco Almeida, stipulating the construction of a fortress in Ceylon:

And it would seem to us that you should strive greatly given the qualities of this island: firstly, for being so rich and so prosperous and having there the fine cinnamon and all the abundance of pearls and all the elephants of India, and located so closely to Malacca and the Gulf of Bengal, through which pass the majority of the supplies of India [...] and set on the passageway of all the vessels of Malacca and Bengal and with not one able to pass without being seen and known from that location. [...] And it would also bring us great pleasure that here in the seat of this fortress not only all of the respects due of subjects but also because it would be a matter of great satisfaction and contentment in our esteem for yourself and our fortress on Taprobana, a place that now we call Ceylon; of which all of the authors of the world have written so much and described with such great praise all of its riches and other goods; for which we do take great pleasure in receiving this and making here and on this island of Ceylon your main seat as from there you would best be able to survey and take in all of the things from other parts for being in the midst of all of the fortresses and things that we have there (Marques, 1998: 60).

Intending to establish his capital there, the monarch immediately recognised its symbolic role as the heir to a historical and cultural tradition and equally swiftly identifying its positioning as a vital and strategic link in local trading networks.

The image prevailing of a rich and fertile island continued in the contemporary sources. In 1529, João de Garcês wrote in one of the Letters of the Services of India that does inform His Highness “of the Island of Ceylon holds all the greatest riches that there are in India” (Albuquerque/Costa, 1990: 328-29). In 1552, Father Manuel de Morais informed the Jesuits of Coimbra: “This land is the most fertile that there is in the world in my view, because there are things there that cannot be found in any other part” (Alves, 1989: 103), or in moments of crisis in the State of India, there is the proposal to turn the island of Ceylon into the central base of the Empire as traced by Francisco Rodrigues Silveira in his *Reformação da Milícia e Governo do Estado da Índia Oriental*. However, it was not only the Portuguese issuing words of praise, with the same hymn being sung in works by the Dutchman Jan Huyghen van Linschoten and the German Albrecht Herport and as well as the French author Francisco Pyrard de Laval (Linschoten, 1997; Herport, 1930; Laval 1944). Dating to the early 17th century, this latter work maintained the references to the abundance and fertility of the nature on Ceylon, attributed as the land of delights.

In these fertile and strategically located lands, there was also a sacred place, Adam’s Peak. Duarte Barbosa reported how in the middle of the island there was a very high mountain on which stood a very high stone peak with a tank of water, a stone and the footprint that they say is of our father, Adam. Hence, from all over, come the Moors on pilgrimage affirming that this was the place where Adam rose to Heaven. This mythical-religious factor became a constant reference in the descriptions of Ceylon; and how that was where Adam lived correspondingly meant these were lands of paradise⁵ – certainly yet another input adding to the mythical and historical value of this geographic region.

⁵ For example, Jan Huyghen van Linschoten refers to how certain the Indies were the place of Paradise (Linschoten, 1997: 103-104).

Cinnamon as a Rare Good

As from the 8th century, there are frequent documentary references to the importing of cinnamon. In the 12th century, the spice trade, and cinnamon in particular, is detailed in Portuguese sources, specifically in the Inventory of the Accounts of the House of King Dinis (1278-1282) and accounting for the acquisition of spices and medications, including among which cinnamon.

To describe the already flourishing European trade in spices, we may reference the measures taken by the city of Bruges, one of the main Medieval trading posts and especially as a centre of the European spice trade. The first *Ordonnances* date to the beginning of the 14th century (1304), regulating and protecting the trade of spices in the city. In practices, Bruges would play a fundamental role in the 13th and 14th centuries as a trading post both for the wholesale and the small scale sale of spices. We would highlight here that by spices, we refer to all of the medicinal and pharmaceutical products, substances and inks that came from the Orient. In one *ordonnance* dated to 1304, which would again be confirmed in 1470, including cinnamon referred to as a spice and medicinal spice and among the five *royal* spices (Schmitt, 1986: 162-169), thus, among the most sought after and profitable.⁶ This document stipulates that nobody holds authorisation to supply ginger, pepper or cinnamon in a *maison de poix* or in any other location without due authorisation from the city; with any infringements of these rules subject to severe penalty.

The example of Bruges reveals how the Atlantic and Mediterranean worlds already held close contact with the Orient. This, thus, provides the context in which the Portuguese advanced down through the South Atlantic. That Moroccan settlements were “open doors” to the spice trade had already been witnessed by Gomes Eanes de Zurara in his *Chronicle of Ceuta* when telling how, on the day following the taking of the city, after having destroyed many of the goods, the Portuguese, out of greed and regret, set about trying to recover the grains of pepper and cinnamon:

⁶ This intense demand for cinnamon remains with evidence available for the entire Modern Era and as testified to by the work of the Dutch autor Philippus Baldaeus, *Wahrhaftige Ausführliche Beschreibung der Berühmten Ost-Indischen Küsten Malabar, und Coromandel, als auch der Insel Zeylon*, Amsterdam, 1672.

And reason there was for understanding the scale of the waste that on that day had been done because the spices were many and of great value and *the streets were no less full of them than the junks on days of great festivity, which are afterwards trodden upon by the crowds that passed through there and also with the heat of the sun that was great, exhaling behind itself a great odour.* However, that damage without gain brought about immediate regret, the hunt for lost things proved compelling after having walked the streets and gathering the pieces of cinnamon and grains of pepper, entirely ignoring all of the work and tiredness that this task did give them (Zurara, s. d.: 161).

Gomes Eanes de Zurara alludes to the wealth of this Moroccan city, the centre of large scale spice trading and making specific reference to cinnamon and especially its particular smell.

We would diverge to recall the studies by Lucien Febvre in which he draws attention to the Renaissance “*plaisir du nez*” (Febvre, 1968: 393-399). As this renowned historian states, we should remember how French Renaissance authors actually proved more sensitive to perfumes than to colours and openly declaring the predominance of the olfactory sense. This certainly also reflects in accounts put forward by Portuguese authors, especially for example the work of G. Eanes de Zurara quoted above or the already mentioned poet Sá de Miranda.

With many authors making reference to the great demand for this spice in Portugal (Linschoten, 1997: 294), cinnamon would for many long years remain a rare spice associated with opulence and riches. António de Oliveira de Cadornega tells, in his *Descrição de Vila Viçosa* (1681), how at a time when bundles of cinnamon were mounting up in the warehouses of the House of Bragança – with the Bragança family awarded the freedom to bring back from India, free of any duties, one hundred *quintais* of cinnamon –, his agent had advised the then head of family, Teodósio, to sell it. To which he responded: “Leave off the cinnamon. I shall not cede to your greed so that, when I marry off my son, such shall serve as the firewood for the cooking” (Cadornega, 1982: 61).

Curiously, there is a similar episode told of the great German trader Jacob Fugger, who is said to have burned on a fire made out of cinnamon logs, and in front of the Emperor Charles V, one of the debt receipts owed to him by the crown and thus demonstrating to his monarch that he released him from the payment of his debts (Küster, 1997: 290).

This cinnamon bound prestige indeed dates back to the Roman Empire. According to Galen, those Roman emperors who attributed themselves divine statuses would fill their personal coffers with cinnamon. It is said that Empress Livia ordered a temple be purpose built around a stick of cinnamon in honour of her husband Augustus and the Emperor Nero would have mourned the death of his wife with a funeral pyre made out of his cinnamon stocks (Thomaz, 1989: 224).

On the Cinnamon from Ceylon

As seen, right from the very first voyage of Vasco de Gama to India, there were references to Ceylon cinnamon. After these first accounts, others followed such as that of Ludovico de Varthema (Varthema, 1978: 753-892) and Duarte Barbosa (Barbosa, 1989), who detail the growing and harvesting of cinnamon on the island of Ceylon. Thus, according to Barbosa, this island cinnamon is very good and pure, cinnamon that grows among the hills in trees that bear a resemblance to laurels. He further adds that it is the king that orders the cutting of the branches, the stripping of the bark and their drying in particular months of the year. Hence, he supplied the traders and as he also details, no subject in his kingdom could harvest any cinnamon apart from the king himself (Barbosa, 1989: 125).

Thus did he also become the partner to the Portuguese. Hence, the consequent need to establish stable and beneficial relations with the kings of Ceylon. In truth, the Singhalese social structures emerge as if particularly organised around the trade in spices. Thus, the lords of the lands where the cinnamon grew were subject to paying what were termed *paravenias*, with which the king could supply the traders. Hence, the trade did not only depend on the traders but also on the owners of the lands, who also constituted an equal and important source of commercial capital – indeed, a characteristic of Indian trade and economy (Goody, 1996).

João Ribeiro in his *Fatalidade Histórica da Ilha de Ceilão* (1685) highlights how in fact cinnamon and elephants were the major sources of income to the rulers of the island. And in his description of Singhalese society, Ribeiro details the *chaliás* as among its residents even while living in separate villages and the manpower that cuts the cinnamon and delivers it to the king in accordance with the stipulated *paravenias*. He adds that the *chaliás* were identifiable by the knife that they wore at their waste and applied to strip the cinnamon from the trees and also indicative of the privileged rights that they enjoyed (Ribeiro, 1989: 27).

On these same men, Gaspar Correia describes how they are masters who, in a single day, cut two *quintais* of cinnamon and tells how they deliver various bundles of cinnamon to the owner of the land who in turn hand it to the receivers of the king, with scribes recording whether the amount given matches the set obligatory amount. The author adds that this is all done in an orderly fashion and, should the king require more cinnamon, he pays for it. They deliver the spice to the port of Colombo, the largest on the island as already described by Tomé Pires (Pires, 1978: 356) and where the king had a great palace.

As regards the quantities of cinnamon, references from as early as 1506 state that there was as much as you wanted to harvest (Correia, 1975: 652). The account of the cinnamon harvest was also reflected in the engravings as we may appreciate in the work of Ambroise Paré or Philippus Baldaeus, rendering the *chaliás* as a characteristic symbol of Sinhalese society.

The harvest would then be transported to the royal warehouses or, later, following the construction of the Portuguese factory, directly to this trading post as we learn from a services letter drafted by Nuno Álvares in the year of 1527 (Albuquerque/Costa, 1990: 315). In this missive, Álvares informs how in his opinion the fortress and factory would not need many people as at the time of gathering the cinnamon, vessels arrive from along the rivers, with the factor and scribe and another fifteen or so men able to deal with the recording and storage procedures. Furthermore, immediately afterwards, the carracks arrived from India to take the spices off to the main commercial centres.

As regards the quantity received by the factor in as early as 1507, there is reference to “protection cinnamon”, thus, and as affirmed by Gaspar Correia (Correia, 1975: 718), a tribute that the king of Ceylon promised to pay and oscillating between 300 and 400 bundles of cinnamon throughout the 16th century (Silva, 1991: 220-232). However, while the Portuguese crown sought to extend a monopoly over the cinnamon trade, whether by restricting the commercial scope of the king and local traders, and including private Portuguese traders, this certainly was never actually respected in practice. Hence, cinnamon effectively got traded by two means: the state, maintaining the trade routes, and the private trade, engaged in by those on board the vessels plying the “India Run”, along with the officials and the so called *casados* (which means Portuguese travellers who married indigenous women) of Colombo and the other

ports of Ceylon and Cochin, in summary, all those who wished to master the Sea of Ceylon (Flores, 1998).

In fact, the cinnamon trade proved fairly lucrative: the price of a bundle of cinnamon would rise ten times over on the coast of Malabar (Silva, 1973: 14-27). Every year, a carrack would set sail from Cochin to visit the island and pick up the tribute and take it to the port on the coast of Malabar in order to supply the carracks voyaging from the kingdom; with the surplus then taken off to Goa, where it fed into the Asian trading routes.

Strategically situated on this cinnamon island was a centre vital to the maritime commercial routes taking in Malabar, the Coromandel coast, Bengal, Malacca and the Red Sea. Hence, and for example, exchanging rice from Coromandel for sugar from Bengal, the cloths of Gujarat, the horses and silks of Ormuz, or the metals of Malabar, Ceylon would supply cinnamon among other products.

In truth, we should emphasise that only with difficulty can the history of any traded good be defined without immediately referencing the others with which it was directly related. In talking about the cinnamon of Ceylon, we have necessarily to mention the elephants and precious stones that were plied along the same trade routes. As Vitorino Magalhães Godinho defined for the history of the Portuguese economy, we might also affirm a “cinnamon cycle” (Godinho, 1990: 481-82). While such a title seeks to underline the importance of the loads, what is certain is that we are never able to overlook at least two of the already mentioned products that proved vital foundations to their monetary circulation. In as early as 1506, António Real, brimming with enthusiasm over Ceylon, wrote to the king: “from Ceylon, much cinnamon, rubies, sapphires, elephants, that the Moors bring over to here” (Flores, 1998: 133), characterising from the outset the mercantile triangle that structured the wealth and commercial meaning of this island.

Cinnamon and a New Reading of the World

With the origins of cinnamon unknown, the Classical and Medieval authors and their compendiums and treatises span many fabulous myths about the characteristics and qualities of cinnamon.⁷ Knowledge about

⁷ Herodotus tells, for example, how cinnamon was found in the nests of birds that would later bring it to the lands where Bacchus lives and how hooded serpents

India, and specifically on its flora, naturally had a wide reaching scientific-cultural impact on the West. The discovery of other worlds rendered a reformulation of existing knowledge both necessary and urgent. Hence, starting out with a cartographic and anthropological reconstruction, contemporary scholars felt the need to classify and rank the knowledge held on the profile of the world. Among the various objects of study, cinnamon would be one such theme of reflection for scholars such as the renowned Garcia da Orta (s. chapter 18). In dialogue with the legacy of classical knowledge, Orta sought to classify the diverse Oriental denominations of this spice, defining both the false and the true, pinning them down geographically and describing their characteristics and the medicinal properties⁸ of a recently discovered plant and allowing his writing to flow with the visible interpretation acquired in person in the field.

Let us take his description of the cinnamon tree:

The trees are the size of olive trees [...] the flowers blossom white [...] and with black and round fruits, larger than myrtles because they would be like hazelnuts [...] leaves like laurels [...] roots that spill sap that smells of camphor and seeming cold (Orta, 1987: 212).

This is a visual characterisation based upon the observed interpretation and that, as was common in contemporary accounts, makes frequent recourse to analogies with the known reality and in this case Portuguese flora, as well as the experiences of different human senses: beyond vision, the olfactory and tactile senses. Here, a valuable witness of just how, little by little, a more real and true image of the world and in particular that of the Orient would be built up. The mythical and dreamed about Orient would thus give way to a representation better approximating the actual reality.

guarded this precious substance. On the mythological character attributed to spices and particularly to cinnamon, see Detienne, 1972.

⁸ Cinnamon oil would also be referenced by Garcia da Orta and also continuing into the 18th century, one of the most expensive of all products as proven by the order made by the botanical gardens of the Jesuit brothers in the College of Santo Antão, in Lisbon, to the druggist Lourenço Scaniglia. See Dias (1999: 101-103).

Beyond Borders: From the Orient to the Atlantic

The arrival of the spices in Europe would result in profound alterations in European dietary practices. The prestige that such spices held would also bring repercussions for the history of the European diet, particularly in terms of their excessive use of them. This “folie d'épices” as it sometimes gets designated took place to such an extent that in Germany, Luther regretted how the country seemed to have more spice than wheat and also, in the 18th century, the Reverend Mably complained that the Germans were poisoning their visitors such was the amount of cinnamon (Rocha, 1998: 49). In England, however, there was the extraordinary mixture of ginger and cinnamon, called camelina, and also much appreciated in France. We may thus affirm that cinnamon would become progressively more popular to the detriment of pepper that in the Britain of the 18th century cost six times more (Rocha, 1998: 49). Portugal also witnessed this greater utilisation of spices in foodstuffs and with cinnamon also surprisingly commonly included, as may be seen by reference to the oldest Portuguese cookbook. Besides clove, with 45.8%, cinnamon is the most frequently mentioned spice (Santos, 1992: 63-101).

Furthermore, with the arrival of this good in Europe, there witnessed a harmonious fusion between this oriental spice and the white gold of the Atlantic: sugar – also deriving from the Orient. Serving initially as a perfume, medicine or as a foodstuff, it will be the sweets and desserts, and an association of this product characteristic of Portugal since the 17th century, which keep cinnamon in such great esteem. Recipes for Christmas sweets and desserts, such as *filhozes*, can satisfy the sweetest of teeth. The manufacture of these sweets was very much a conquest of modern times. The renowned Portuguese sweets, based on sugar and eggs, underwent development especially during the 17th and 18th centuries in the Portuguese religious communities of this period (Marques, Ferro, 1990).

The introduction of new culinary flavours, new desserts equally reflect new ambiances, new cultural contexts, new tastes and new habits. The meals staged by some of the noble residences began to incorporate the rich decoration of tables and a protocol that would certainly seem to convey new social rules. Eating and drinking increasingly became associated with festivities but also with an ambience of sociability. Within this framework, we may make reference to the example of a drink that began coming to the attention of the West: punch. Originally, punch was made out of: tea, rum, sugar, lemon and cinnamon. Special moments of social interaction became

filled and adorned with new flavours served up on porcelain pieces purposefully designed for such effect – in this case, the punchbowls – enabling new experiences (Flandrin/Montanari, 1998; Pereira, 2000).

This represents a smell and a flavour that, arriving from the Orient, enriched the prevailing dietary practices and, while adapting to another reality, creating new experiences and sensations.

In these notes on a history of cinnamon, we sought to highlight the mythical and symbolic dimensions of the discovery of this marvellous world, the geographic history of a product also associated with a fertile and favourable nature that collectively explained the prestige that surrounded and defined cinnamon as a rare good with economic, social and political consequences to its commercialisation, without ever forgetting the *in loco* knowledge that ended up driving alterations in the means of both depicting and understanding the world as well as the new experiences thereby resulting.

CHAPTER TWENTY

ON HOW THE “SAVAGE” BECAME EVER MORE SAVAGE: PERSPECTIVES ON AFRICA IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE

Research within the field of the History of the European Expansion spans a series of questions and problematic issues that stretch to include matters of a cultural order such as those that occasioned the so-called voyages of discovery. Within this scope, there includes a field of historiography commonly referred to as the “self-discovery of Europe” (Kohl, 1982: 13-21). In the expansionist process, new things, regions, peoples and civilisations entered into the awareness of Europe, triggering a turnaround that certainly proves as significant as the consequences left behind by the Europeans in the lands where they travelled.

In this context, at the core of research, recent decades have seen the emergence of a particular field studying the effects of the voyages of discovery in the production of knowledge about both oneself and the Other in terms of the Europeans. As regards research into the effects of the Discoveries, and consequently, the “culture of the Era of Discovery” necessarily accepts that in relation to the 16th and 17th centuries, there remains open a set of questions especially as regards the reception of knowledge returned on overseas lands, particularly in the countries playing active roles in the Discoveries.

Within the scope of this discussion on the image of a globally altered world, the knowledge that we have on Africa plays an essential role (Bitterli, 1970, 1980, 1986; Hamann, 1968; Klement-Kleinschmidt, 1972; Kohler, 1966; Lister, 1959).¹ In effect, in earlier chapters, we have

¹ Some authors have contributed by publishing critical editions of sources referring

attempted to highlight this process of reception that determines the dissemination of knowledge about this continent in the German writings of the 16th and 17th centuries and in particular and revealing insights into the *modus* of erudite discussions in this period.

Defining the African continent as a new world and understanding the reception of knowledge about this reality as an example of the cultural processes ongoing in Europe already contains an inherent thesis that requires defence. There is an engrained habit of referring exclusively to the Americas as falling under the concept of a New World. Nevertheless, if we consult the sources on the 16th century and even the 17th century, it becomes possible to grasp how the obvious meaning of the concept represents a product of the evolution in which in an initial phase the new world concept was approached in a far broader sense (s. chapter 16). In fact, this already referred to the same interests and initiatives that, in setting out from Europe, headed off overseas to diverse continents. The new world was not limited to the Americas given that Asia also was and above all – from the chronological point of view – Africa, counted among the new destinations targeted and hence, in reality, reference should be made to the new worlds (Knefelkamp/König, 1988). The meridian sections of this continent were just as unknown to the Europeans as that continent that a German geographer entitled with the name of Amerigo Vespucci.

Vespucci himself did not associate America with the concept of a new world to the extent that the dimension of this continent at this time remained a complete unknown. Africa, on the contrary, was entirely familiar terrain as regards its northern reaches (and in no small part due to the mediation of biblical history). Nevertheless, that which was found to the south of these regions, that there was an equatorial Africa of such great expanse and awaiting discovery and never mind its inhabited status, all of this appeared in the eyes of the explorers, as with those who received their subsequent travel accounts, as a completely new world. It is true that they did not yet understand just how to fit in this new information about their own world. However, as the voyages overseas shared a common objective, there was also the perception that the characterisation of the new discoveries, in principle, displayed a sense of cohesion. Whether the news was arriving from Africa, the Americas or the Orient,

to the history of West Africa, such as Jones, 1983; 1985 and 1990. Cf. as regards this matter, Heintze/Jones, 1987, Jones/ Streck, 1996, Horta, 1991 and Dias, 1992.

the reports nevertheless encapsulated within themselves that novelty, in the general or the particular, then subject to such privileged attention.

Consequently, the opportunities to discover themselves as masters of a world and according to a new image, was not in any way a process exclusive to the Americas. In writing – as is the case with the illustrious historian J. H. Elliott – that Europe discovered itself in discovering America (Elliott, 1970), the label falls into redundancy due to excessive generalisation. Whilst correct as regards the European assimilation of overseas experiences, the analysis of Elliot requires some broadening as it is not confined only to America as the trigger for this evolution. Hence, the perspective we here assume and refuting such studies that take America as the only real influence. For example, Anthony Pagden writes:

The impact of other discoveries had been restricted to the areas there were discoveries in. Columbus' discovery, however, like the discovery of printing and Galileo's proof of the heliocentric theory, affected the whole of European culture (Pagden, 1986: 7).

What the renowned historian Anthony Pagden affirms about the discoveries of Christopher Columbus is entirely true; incorrect, however, is the lack of consideration shown to the other inputs from overseas exploration. Indeed, Pagden would seem not to have taken too seriously the spotlight he threw upon Columbus as further along in his work – he also, and not exclusively, in the citations of his sources – the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope and expeditions of Vasco da Gama are described as holding an absolutely identical level of relevance. Hence, it would seem unfair to consider that Anthony Pagden uniquely associated the Americas with the moments in which the discoveries began to be felt in Europe:

A new world of European moral and social understanding had begun with the discovery of the new world of America (Pagden, 1986: 10).

The affirmations of J. H. Elliott and Anthony Pagden on the reception of the discovery of America may be decisively deepened and differentiated in accordance with the study focused on the reception of the discoveries of other continents. The steps that led up to the “invention” of the Americas as the New World – in the terms described by Edmundo O’Gorman (Gorman, 1961) – may be equally demonstrated as regards the cases of other regions. This furthermore means not only expanding the range of examples and facts but also the scope for conclusively adding to the thesis that stands out from the research work of J. H. Elliott, Edmundo O’Gorman

and in addition to Fraucke Gewecke (Gewecke, 1986; Chiapelli, 1976), more specifically: that the discoveries represented a process that, irreversible of individual facts, was strongly determined by its European coordinates and with the meanings of this process, in turn, shaping and altering them (Todorov, 1984; Osterhammel, 1998).

What is thus at stake in the “discovery” is the contact with this strange reality, essentially wider reaching than that enabled by the restrictive association with the Americas based upon which the Europeans found themselves obliged to reformulate their vision of the world. There are the grounds to affirm that the discovery of new worlds also ended up driving the need for a new conception and understanding of the world as a whole. Whilst the level of strangeness and uncertainty prevailing in the first direct confrontations had such an impact, this was precisely because it also brought to light the diverse and entirely different realities beyond any pre-existing expectations. The different-beings of the overseas lands and their peoples represented in the cultural terrain the true challenge with which the Europeans were confronted in the wake of the “discoveries”. Furthermore, it was precisely the multifaceted character of this different-being that would force the men of the 16th and 17th centuries to develop new and more appropriate geographic, political, historical and, above all, anthropological conceptions. For the first time, there was awareness, throughout its entire amplitude, that the trajectory of humanity was neither uniform nor linear, and that incorporated observations on many different realities, states of development and factors of differentiation. Thus, there emerged the need to question just what factors determined the human status, just what lay at the true nature of the inhabited world.

To this end, to the European *intelligentsia*, the reports of new worlds, as was then set out in the travel accounts and chronicles, proved excellent sources of new and expanding empirical knowledge. Furthermore, in addition to these writings, other sources equally played their role and contributed towards the formulation of an idea of a new world. In this particular case, we especially refer to the countless engravings, illustrations and allegories created by contemporary artists based upon the news brought back from overseas. Recognition is due to the field of the arts and the genuine contribution of the men of letters and the artists of northern and central Europe to the modern era imaginary and even in the earliest of phases. Right from the first printed sheets telling of the news of arrivals in new worlds through to the allegories of the political relationships around the world, sculptors and engravers, unknown

designers and painters of world renown contributed to ensuring Europe was able to define an ever more concrete image of the world throughout its novelties and varieties (s. chapter 8 and Lopes, 1998).

Given all of these questions, the realities of the African continent as a new world elicited great interest. The construction of a new understanding of geography, history and anthropology had to include information on Africa, an essential dimension to the variety and otherness that was then being searched out.

Based upon such observations, there comes a reel of questions. If, on the one hand, this highlights the significance of Africa as a new world and in terms of the self-discovery of Europe, on the other hand, this in turn requires the contextualisation of this meaning. While Africa gets perceived as a new world, just what is its relationship with the other new worlds discovered by Europe in the meanwhile? Contrasting the perception of Africa with the perceptions of other regions, we may evaluate far more accurately the relevance of this continent as well as the role of the European observer given how one or the other case may be highlighted with the greatest exactitude.

For this comparative research, we delimited a self-defining geographic space simultaneously endowed with great amplitude between its respective borders: that of the South Atlantic. On the one hand, the boundary comes with the West African coast and, on the other, Brazil (Lopes, 1995b; Pietschmann, 1999: 21-39). Here, where there ran the base line in the Atlantic commercial triangle, it is possible to describe in a particularly clear way the common points and the differences in the respective European perceptions on the otherness of the peoples of these lands.

A reading and a comparative analysis of the 16th and 17th century sources as regards this question returns a surprising thesis. Research of the very first travel accounts by those who made the first contacts with the inhabitants of Africa and Brazil, in contrast with the subsequent representations of the peoples of the South Atlantic, provide the grounds for the observation that with the passage of time these depictions turned ever more depreciative. Or to express this more directly: comparing the travel reports of the earliest journeys with those who visited at a later date, we find that in the eyes of the Europeans, the savage had become still more savage.

While, for example Alvisé Cadamosto, the Italian trader in the service of Portugal (s. chapter 1), described the peoples that he met on his very first voyages along the African coast showing some interest and even some enthusiasm, in the later reports one detects a more clearly defined distance in relation to the non-European peoples. We thus encounter, in Otto Friedrich von der Groeben (Groeben, 1694, ed. Leipzig, 1907; s. chapter 4), the envoy and representative of Friedrich Wilhelm of Brandenburg for the construction of a fortress in Guinea in 1683, clear signs of a conscious demarcation with the African peoples. Whilst hitherto, whenever it was necessary to nominate the differences, there was always reference to us, the Christian, in opposition to the non-Christian, the difference now became established as between us, the Europeans, and those not European. This definition of oneself as European manifested and verbalised an altered sense of consciousness. While still talking about Christian and non-Christian, this still leaves the scope, in accordance with the doctrine of Christian salvation, for the Christianisation of the non-Christians. Nevertheless, the difference between Europeans and others establishes a dividing line that proves unsurpassable to both sides (Barreto, 1983; Koselleck, 1984: 211-259). The two groups are distinct and remain so – and these differences weigh far heavier than the partial mutual differences between the respective European peoples and their African peers. Notwithstanding the partial differences in particular cases, we may find in Otto Friedrich von der Groeben and in other equivalent accounts two groups that are standing off against each other: the Europeans and those who definitively are not.

The reasons for this opposition, visibly more defined, between oneself and the alien, may stem from – and here the formulation is deliberately cautious – a certain disillusionment experienced in the dialogues developed between Europeans and other peoples. Thus, for example, the missionary priest Antonio Zucchelli (Zucchelli, 1712, 1715) writes how in his opinion the Africans are only able to learn a handful of things where not nothing from their meeting with the Christians. Whilst formerly it had seemed possible that they would come to grasp and adopt the doctrines of the missionaries, this soon turned out to be an illusory hope. Because – he stated – with all the evidence and without the slightest hesitation, the pagans return to their former customs and ways of acting, spurning, time and time again, everything that they had learned in the meanwhile. Antonio Zucchelli describes how they had always imposed great penitence and punishments as this was the only way to attain the correct forms of behaviour. And the Italian priest continues to refute any possible objections to such practices in the following terms:

Many, nevertheless, who read these words shall be surprised at the severity of the treatment that we give to these people and might be more inclined to believe that it would be preferable to apply tenderness and love as that would achieve more from them and the best means of correcting their vices. However, we find that all those who think this way do not hold either the knowledge or the correct information about these blacks. During the long period of time that we have stayed here, in this mission, we have tried every means conceivable to ensure Christianity gains a good welcome; there simply has been no means of achieving success, as, in fact, the more we reach out to them full of love and tolerance, they only become ever worse because they are not people guided by rational sanity. Therefore, should we wish to prevent the flouting of the rules, we have to act with firmness and strictness and copiously punishing those who, on examining their vices, do not succumb to greater sin and who at least abstain from them out of fear of the whip and the corrective; and in this way stay away from the stone path of scandal on which they may encounter many others (Zucchelli, 1715: 241).

While, at the beginning, Antonio Zucchelli still intended to make certain concessions as after all they were dealing with the “savage” that might still one day turn into good Christians, with the passage of time, he believed he had come to recognise all the behaviours of these beings as characterised by falsehoods and lies:

In truth, what prevents the majority of cases from attaining the wellbeing of their souls is the fact that they possess the most refined talent for hiding their evilness from the eyes of missionaries, especially the great sins against the first commandment of God, to such an extent that many frequently deny it even while under the sacred seal of confession and they often commit the most nefarious of sacrileges. It happens that they are subject to the violence of their own chiefs who, while external to our party (as they have a natural fear of the whites), as they care, show greater zeal over the honouring of God, at least the occult who seek to maintain the old habits and customs that they secretly nurture among themselves (Zucchelli, 1715: 287).

Relative to the accounts coming from Brazil, we tend to find fairly similar observations as those registered by explorers of African lands. The comment of Amerigo Vespucci, still fairly gentle in tone as regards the indifferent Brazilians, peoples without law but also embodying a natural innocence, would again appear with certain modifications in the accounts of the Portuguese colonisers. However, already by 1579, Pero de Magalhães de Gândavo (Gândavo, 1576, ed. 1984) characterised the Indians as having in general a jovial temperament, strength and good

complexions, along with a courageous character that did not fear death; however, on the other hand, they made recourse to war with a great deal of audacity and without contemplating the consequences. In his eyes, they were ungrateful, inhuman, cruel, bellicose and vindictive. They lived with a total lack of any concern without any other worries beyond eating, drinking and killing. According to Gândavo, they were truly without merit as at the mercy of their lust and depravation behave as if shorn of any reason (Gândavo, 1576, ed. 1984: 33). To this end, Pero de Magalhães de Gândavo went on to describe the cannibalism rituals. The cruelty that they deal with their prisoners and, after all the abominations, they went on to eat their flesh and revealing – that in his opinion – the Indians actually tended to favour over “brute animals” and as if incapable of recourse to reason (Gândavo, 1576, ed. 1984: 43).

Still more drastically, there is the situation taking place in the late 17th century,² as we may testify according to the accounts emerging out of South Africa. On the occasion of settling a Dutch colony on the Cape, there was no great concern over establishing a closer form of dialogue with the indigenous population in the region (Elphick/ Giliomee, 1979; s. chapter 3).

Precisely when facing this example did it become necessary to question the dichotomy between the Europeans and the peoples of overseas lands – as recognised by accounts coming out of the entirety of the regions around the South Atlantic in the late 17th century – should be associated with the earlier encounters and experiences. Thus, does this dichotomy rather relate to the attitudes and expectations the voyagers, missionaries and colonisers brought with them from Europe and now recognised as without any due foundation? In any case, there is the recognition of a nexus between their consciences as Europeans and the demarcation against peoples strange to them, a connection that proves equally present in the description of the savage that turns out to be ever more savage.³

Whilst at the dawn of the European Expansion, there was still the search for the unusual and the Other and, consequently, the interest driving the highlighting of accounts of the strange customs and habits held by the overseas peoples, this same uncommonness gradually got converted over the course of time into an unsurpassable obstacle to reciprocal relationships.

² Tomas Beck (1991) highlighted analogous results as regards North America.

³ As regards the phenomenon identified in the encounter with China, see Demel, 1993.

Europeans now assumed an unshakeable awareness of themselves as accredited with a superior statute due to their very ideas and forms of conduct.

Whilst there are no grounds for generalisations – again here we find exceptions – we may state that the majority of authors perceived their own ways of life and points of view as right and correct and that other people should, correspondingly, adopt. Even when making an effort to defend some strange way of life and grasp the differences, this starts from the principle that the non-Europeans represent another level of humanity, thus, at a lesser stage of development. François Le Vaillant (Vaillant, 1790, ed. 1796-1801), the naturalist who would become famous for his ornithology studies and his books about the voyage he made to South Africa in the late 18th century, serves as one good example: even with a genuine desire to understand based upon an attitude that clearly displays the assumption of European superiority. Thus, and for example, Le Vaillant explains the Hottentot custom of killing one of the children when twins are born as they do not feel in a position to raise both children (Vaillant, 1790, ed. 1796-1801, 1st vol.: 234) The explanation stems from a genuine will on the one hand to grasp and to the extent this indeed leads Le Vaillant to question: “In his natural state, man is good; why should the Hottentot be an exception to the rule?” (Vaillant, 1790, ed. 1796-1801, 1st vol.: 277). However, on the other hand, the explanation given itself implies the feelings of superiority: which to us is obvious, and specifically wishing and being able to maintain life was not an acquired fact among the Hottentots, due to their subsistence way of life. They are simply human beings in their “natural state” who, a little like children, do incomprehensible things; but do so for reasons that may be overcome when, one day, they reach beyond the state of nature. Furthermore, this European sense of superiority⁴ also gets revealed when approaching writings explaining and grasping strange customs – François Le Vaillant criticises vehemently the earlier accounts that react with animosity and a failure to understand the custom described –, encountering a parallel in the formation of a self-awareness of oneself in other contexts.

When, for example, Charles Montesquieu wrote his *Lettres Persanes* (Montesquieu, 1965), he did take on the disguise of a Persian, but only

⁴ Even in relationship to Brazil, it is possible to demonstrate that European travellers *a priori* assumed the inferiority of the Brazilian peoples. Cf. Domingues (1992: 183-207; 2000).

utilises the alleged impressions of this character in order to criticise what the European Montesquieu disliked about the Europe of his time. Montesquieu sought to observe and criticise Europe from a Persian perspective. However, he did not seek to take the Persian role seriously as a Persian or even to identify with him. Furthermore, in this case, when there is a great availability in the openness to the Other that seems particularly grand, we should also not ignore the true objectives of this availability. The point of flight in the *Lettres Persanes* by Montesquieu is not Persia but rather Europe. We may find identical attitudes in many of the writings of this period. To provide a very diverse example: in his *Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes* (Fontenelle, 1984), Fontenelle dedicates, for example, some passages to the sciences of astronomy of China in accordance with his theological premises as to the plurality of the world. However, his conclusions are unequivocal as regards who deserves primacy in amongst all of this plurality: “En vérité, je croi toujours de plus en plus, qu'il y a un certain Genie qui n'a point encore été hors de notre Europe” (Fontenelle, 1984: 178). Sometime later, he again affirmed this in an equally clear manner: “je doute qu'aucun Peuple nous égale” (Fontenelle, 1984: 179). There thus can be no clearer exclamation of his claim as to European superiority even within the framework of his attempts to describe the plurality of the worlds.

The discussion of these questions continued throughout a large part of the 18th century. Determining the European attitude towards the “rest of the world” took place around a discussion of the history of humanity that sought to understand this historical path. Within these terms, emphasis rested on the reflection necessary to describe the diverse states of the evolution of humanity before finally considering their respective origins.

One of the best known examples illustrating these reflections comes with the work of Jean Jacques Rousseau, in which the perception of non-European peoples and the self-evaluation of the European, presented in the form of travel accounts, undergoes systematic consideration (Rousseau, 1964: 109-223). Less known than the work of Rousseau is its critique by the writer Christoph Martin Wieland (Wieland, 1795). According to Wieland, the theories and opinions of Rousseau, and above all on the idea of the “good savage”, rest upon a mental construction that displayed a problematic structuring that is lucidly set out by Wieland. In his opinion, Jean Jacques Rousseau deployed false premises in the construction of his theory. Especially whenever making recourse to the

models of peoples deemed to be living in a state of nature, for example, the Indians and the Hottentots, Rousseau entered into error:

None of these small tribes that he names as savage are actually in this animal-like condition that he identifies as our primitive state. They all live in some species of society; they know friendship, conjugal and paternal love; they are not at all alien to forms of art; and, it is more probable that only through the inhuman procedures of the Castilians did fear trigger in them a certain savagery that was not otherwise natural to them (Wieland, 1795: 135-36).

Christoph Martin Wieland alludes here to an issue that may be documented in the modern era sources on this theme of the perception of non-European peoples and the self-evaluation of Europeans: how and wherever the European sources engage in positive definitions of their relationships with non-European peoples, this is always from a point of departure that might best be expressed as displaying a certain ignorance as regards these peoples. Thus, put otherwise: however much the Europeans allege that they grasp the nature of overseas people, they do so based upon a position definable in specific terms, as Europeans, in accordance with European interests and with a Europe focused worldview. Christoph Martin Wieland certainly stands out as one of the first authors to recognise this bias caused by their own interests and conceptions and, in his work *Reise des Priesters Abulfauaris ins Innere Afrika*, criticising all of those efforts in which the good and noble intentions of civilisation got transformed and had an adverse effect. Take the following:

There are thick heads that cannot grasp how the outer displays of virtue are the virtue in and of itself; that certain absurd rituals with which certain peoples, for example the Hottentots and the inhabitants of Camchatka accompany certain respectable actions in no way affect the intimate dignity of these actions; and that taking an impartial approach to the fact – a naked female in California, despite her nudity may be every bit as modest as the respectable lady Quintagnona, chief lady in waiting to Queen Genoveva (to whom we pay our due respect), enveloped in her great neckline and her very flowing, high decent and Baroque farthingale (Wieland, 1795a, vol. 15: 3).

Christoph Martin Wieland sees in these prejudicial ideas and sentiments a great danger to the non-European peoples (Mielke, 1993; Sadji, 1979). He identifies and criticises right from the outset a theory of civilisation that establishes and defines patterns and in keeping with these makes judgements and seeks positions of relative superiority towards Others.

Indirectly, this only ends up stressing the intimate interconnections between the perception of the non-European Other and the self-evaluation of Europeans. This therefore critically positions itself in the face of a tradition that on the one hand led to an allegedly firmer consciousness of being European and one's own self but, on the other hand, rendered the "savage" looking increasingly more savage. In the service of this tradition, the 18th century came up with definitive formulas and concepts. However, this process – of which the cases given by Wieland serve as good examples – proves unimaginable without the desire to throw off the shackles and the curiosities of the preceding centuries. While nudity drew the attention of the early voyagers, to the "thick heads" of the later phases, such was now seen as a decisive and sure signal of a lack of civilisation. What had been registered in earlier reports as an experience of the Other steadily evolves over the course of the 18th century in the sense of a discussion over concepts. We should also point out how the 18th century theoretical advances took their effective material foundations, that is, the fundamentals to their arguments from the diligences of the preceding centuries that only the corresponding encounters had enabled the registration and due transmission of the knowledge accumulated. While, in this phase, there still remained the openness to a very often unexpected encounter, it becomes steadily clearer over time that this confrontation with the Other takes place within the scope of expectations and attitudes. The Other loses the right to an encounter free of any pre-established judgements and prejudices.

Consequently, the meaning of the new worlds to the Europe of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries may be analysed from a dual perspective. On the one hand, their "discovery" had provided Europe with a great stimulus, a challenge and an opportunity for growth. With the discovery of these new worlds, Europe also discovered itself. The encounter with other peoples and cultures fostered the raising of consciousness in Europe and effectively enabling the beginnings of its identity construction process. On the other hand, the perception and experience of these "new" realities became increasingly subject to the influence of this recently constructed identity. The Other was not perceived in ever more exact, fair and deep reaching terms. On the contrary, focused on their own self-evaluation process, Europe began more and more perceiving the sheer dissimilarity of the Other. Hence, through contacts with the *civilised*, the *savages* did not become better known and understood but rather increasingly different. The perception of the diverse cultures does not experience any rising differentiation but rather a resemblance under a common notion of otherness.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Some of the texts included in this volume have been published before. Please find here information on the original version.

1. Alvise Cadamosto and the Discovery of a New World. Unpublished.
2. Hans Staden – the "True History" of a 16th Century Voyage to Brazil. First published in Portuguese under the title: Hans Staden - a 'verdadeira história' de uma viagem ao Brasil no século XVI. In: *Portugal - Alemanha - Brasil. Actas do VI Encontro Luso-Alemão*, org. Orlando Grossegeesse, Erwin Koller, Armando Malheiro da Silva, Mário Matos. Vol. II. Braga: CEH, 2003, 45-55.
3. Between Forced Settledness and Expulsion: The Situation of the Khoikhoi in the Cape Colony. First published in German under the title: *Zwischen erzwungener Sefßhaftigkeit und Vertreibung. Die Stellung der Khoikhoi in der Kapkolonie*. Bamberg, 1992 (= Kleine Beiträge zur europäischen Überseegeschichte, 15).
4. Otto Friedrich von der Groeben: A Voyage across the Atlantic on behalf of Brandenburg. First published in Portuguese under the title: Otto Friedrich von der Gröben: uma viagem ao Atlântico em nome de Brandeburgo, in: *Actas do Congresso Internacional Espaço Atlântico de Antigo Regime: poderes e sociedades*; Lisboa 2005, electronic document.
5. The Non-travelling Voyager: Gomes Eanes de Zurara. Unpublished.
- 6 "We saw today marvellous things". Valentim Fernandes and the Portuguese Discoveries. First published in Portuguese under the title: "Vimos oje cousas marauilhosas." Valentim Fernandes e os Descobrimentos Portugueses, in: *Portugal - Alemanha - África. Do Imperialismo Colonial ao Imperialismo Político*. Actas do IV Encontro Luso-Alemão. Coord. A. H. de Oliveira Marques, Alfred Opitz, Fernando Clara. Lisboa: Colibri, 1996, 13-23.
7. (Re)Discovering the World in Books, Magazines and Newspapers. Hamburg and the News from Overseas (1650-1700). First published in Portuguese under the title: (Re)Descobrir o mundo em livros, revistas e jornais. Hamburgo e as notícias de além-mar (1650-1700), in: Curvelo, Alexandra e Simões, Madalena (Ed.), *Portugal und das Heilige Reich (16.- 18 Jahrhundert)*, Münster, Aschendorff Verlag, 2011, 169-178.

8. The Maritime Voyages and the Art of Images. First published in Portuguese under the title: As viagens marítimas e a arte das imagens. In: M.S.L. (coord.): *Os Descobrimentos Portugueses nas Rotas da Memória*. Viseu: Universidade Católica Portuguesa 2002; electronic document.

9. *Turquerie* in the Iconography of the 16th Century. First published in Portuguese under the title: "Turquerie" na iconografia do século XVI, in: *Xarajib, Revista do Centro de Estudos Luso-Árabes* 4, (2004), 119-129.

10. The Portuguese in Christoph Weiditz's *Trachtenbuch*. First published in Portuguese under the title: Portugueses do século XVI no *Trachtenbuch* de Christoph Weiditz, in: *Oceanos* 26 (1996), 104-107.

11. The Voyager as a Scholar. Amerigo Vespucci in Early Modern Graphical Representation. Unpublished.

12. Seeing, Hearing, Speaking: Early Modern Representations of Missionaries. Unpublished.

13. *Peregrinação* by Fernão Mendes Pinto: A Source of Knowledge. First published in: *Fernão Mendes Pinto and the Peregrinação*, Dir. Jorge Santos Alves, vol. I, Lisboa, Fundação Oriente, INCM, 2010, 257-270.

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15. Translation and Imagination: 'The Calicut People' within the Context of 16th Century Cosmographies. First published in German under the title: Tradition und Imagination: 'Kalikutische Leut' im Kontext alt-neuer Weltbeschreibungen des 16. Jahrhunderts, in: *Asia Maritima. Images et réalité. Bilder und Wirklichkeit. 1200-1800*, ed. Denys Lombard / Roderich Ptak. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994, 13-26.

16. Building Knowledge: Sebastian Münster and his Cosmography. Unpublished.

17. Mapping Goa. Spaces and Scenarios in Representing the Oriental World. First published in Portuguese under the title: Mapear Goa. Espaços e cenários na representação do mundo oriental, in: *Goa. Passado e Presente*, ed. Artur Teodoro de Matos/ João Teles e Cunha, Lisboa: CEPCEP 2012, 827-840.

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20. On How the “Savage” became Ever More Savage. Perspectives on Africa in Early Modern Europe. First published in German under the title: Wie die Wilden immer wilder wurden. Afrika als neue Welt, in: *Jahrbuch für europäischen Überseegeschichte*, I (2001), 47-60.

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