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DE NOVO MONDO

ANTWERP, JAN VAN DOESBORCH
[ABOUT 1520]



THE HAGUE
MARTINUS NIJHOFF
1927

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DE NOVO MONDO

200 numbered copies

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Printed in the Netherlands

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DE NOVO MONDO

ANTWERP, JAN VAN DOESBORCH
[ABOUT 1520]

A facsimile of an unique broadsheet containing an early
account of the inhabitants of South America together
with a short version of Heinrich Sprenger's
Voyage to the Indies

EDITED, WITH TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION
OF THE LATIN TEXT, AND INTRODUCTION

BY

M. E. KRONENBERG



THE HAGUE
MARTINUS NIJHOFF
1927



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DE NOVO MONDO

ATLANTIC OCEAN EXPLORATION

PARROT 1301

A detailed description of the
of the island of St. John
the island of St. John
the island of St. John
the island of St. John

the island of St. John
the island of St. John

the island of St. John



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FACSIMILE	at the end

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THE CHURCH IN THE
MIDDLE AGES
THE CHURCH IN THE
MODERN AGE
THE CHURCH IN THE
FUTURE

INTRODUCTION ¹⁾

The original of the Antwerp broadsheet here reproduced is to be found in the University Library of Rostock. I am most grateful to the librarian, Dr. Claussen, who first drew my attention to it and agreed to send it over to The Hague for closer examination. Up to the present it seems to be the only copy known of this remarkable piece of printing by Jan van Doesborch, and for this reason a reproduction may be of some value. A transcription of the Latin text, with the abbreviations expanded, has been added, for although another was published some years ago, it is to be found in a not easily accessible publication ²⁾. The text is followed by a translation, the original being obscure and corrupt in many places and, as I

¹⁾ I feel greatly indebted to my friend Mr. Stephen Gaselee, Librarian of the Foreign Office in London, who first helped me to explain some difficult places in the Latin text and afterwards was so kind to revise my foreigner's English.

²⁾ F. Hümmerich, *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Fahrt der ersten Deutschen nach dem portugiesischen Indien 1505/6*, in *Abhandlungen der Königl. Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosoph.-philologische u. historische Klasse XXX Bd., 3. Abhandl.* (München 1918), p. 31—34. This work is quoted hereafter as Hümmerich. My transcription, made before I had seen the one he gives, differs in a few minor points from his.

found, not always intelligible even to good Latin scholars, so that we can hardly expect every one interested in old voyages to be able to read it without such assistance. In any case a hardly-known record of the first inhabitants of South America, together with a Latin version of Sprenger's travel to the Indies, ought to find its way all over the world and not remain buried in one of the smaller German libraries, to be read only by the fortunate few.

THE CONTENTS OF THE BROADSHEET

The text, though it looks like a single whole, actually consists of two different parts, without any connexion whatever. The first part (A), to which alone the title *De novo mondo* belongs, is by far the shorter, beginning "Figura degentium" and running on as far as "vivendo superant"; the rest of the page belongs to the second part (B).

A. We have here a description of the people living in South America (Armenica as it is called), to which the name of Albericus Vespuccius is attached. Three different versions of this part are known to us, to be distinguished as *g*, *e* and *l*.

1°. One in German (*g*), printed on a broadsheet, two copies of which are known to exist, with different settings-up and perhaps printed from different wood-blocks, one in the Staatsbibliothek at Munich, the other in the New York Public Library¹). The German text (transcription

¹) Reproductions of the N. York copy: 1°. Stevens's American Bibliographer I (Chiswick Jan. 1854), opposite p. 8. (cut only, without the text); transcription and translation of the text ib. p. 7—8; 2°. Justin Winsor, Narrative and critical history of America II (Lond. 1886), p. 19, (a bad and reduced reproduction, without the text); 3°. Bulletin of the New York Public Library 26 (1922), preceding p. 755 and ac-

below in Appendix I) consists only of four lines beneath a woodcut, the cut itself being of primary importance. It is quaint and has a typical German character, but is without artistic value. It measures (Munich copy) 223 by 336 mm. and represents a group of eleven cannibals, eight adults and three children, on the sea-shore; one eating a human arm; two making love and another looking on; a woman nursing a baby, with two other children near; part of a human body, roasting in the smoke; three men with weapons, and on the sea two ships. The type of the

companying the article of Wilberforce Eames, *Description of a wood engraving illustrating the South American Indians*, p. 755—760; 4°. Dr. A. Petermanns *Mitteilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt* 71 (Gotha 1925), p. 21, illustrating R. Schuller, *Die älteste bekannte Abbildung südamerikanischer Indianen*, p. 21—24 (a poor, reduced reproduction, without the text). — Of the Munich copy I only know one reduced and rather defective reproduction (the colours not having been taken out) at the end of the *Gutenberg Festschrift* (Mainz 1925), illustrating the article of G. Leidinger, *Die älteste bekannte Abbildung Südamerikanischer Indianen*, p. 179—181. Some other references: E. Weller, *Repertorium typographicum. Die deutsche Literatur im ersten Viertel des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Nördl. 1864), p. 35; H. Harrisse, *Bibliotheca americana vetustissima* (N. York 1866), p. 51, no. 20 (Harrisse is mistaken in mentioning a copy in the British Museum Library, a mistake to which also Schuller and Leidinger still cling, although it has been corrected so long ago as 1919 in the *Lit. Suppl. of The Times* and again in 1922 by Wilberforce Eames) and in his *Additions* (Par. 1872), p. viii; C. H. Coote, *The voyage from Lisbon to India 1505—6 being an account and journal by Alb. Vespuccius* (Lond. 1894), p. 56 (this work quoted hereafter as Coote); Hümmerich, p. 31; The earliest American view, in *Literary Supplement of The Times* (Oct. 16, 1919), p. 576.

four lines of printing underneath has not yet been identified, although this should be possible if one were able to compare it with a sufficient number of contemporary German types, such as the Munich library is sure to possess. Both Augsburg and Nuremberg have been named as possible places of printing.

2°. One in English (*e*), forming the beginning (fol. 2) of another publication by Jan van Doesborch, *Of the newe landes* (c. 1520), consisting of different tracts. A complete copy is preserved in the British Museum Library, an imperfect one in the Henry E. Huntington Library at San Marino and a fragment at Oxford in the Bodleian Library. It is a fortunate circumstance that this very passage of the book was reproduced by Proctor ¹).

3°. Our Latin version (*l*).

These three versions however are not at all textually alike, and the only thing that can be stated with certainty is that they are derived from a common source. Proctor, when describing *e*, suggested that the English had been translated from a lost Flemish original ²).

A closer comparison of the three may be of some interest. The shortest is *g*; even the year of the voyage and the name of the newly found country are omitted. It has

¹) R. Proctor, Jan van Doesborgh (Lond. 1894), Pl. XI. For descriptions cf. ib. no. 22; HARRISSE, op. cit. no. 116; W. Nijhoff en M. E. Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche Bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540* ('s-Grav. 1923), no. 1311.

²) Proctor, op. cit. p. 32 and 101.

only something to say about the people, their appearance and customs. Yet it offers one detail (about the gems with which the men adorn themselves), which the two others lack. Positive information is mostly given by *l*, this being the only one of the three relating that the two voyages lasted from 1496 to 1499 (*e* only names the beginning of it in 1496) and was undertaken by Vespuccius, by order of the King of Portugal (the name of the latter is also mentioned in *g* and *e*). *l* gives us the exact latitude and situation of the new country, called there Armenica, as in *e*. On the other hand, *e* says a good deal more about the customs of the people, their fisheries, wars and medicines. In one respect again *g* and *l* agree, whilst *e* differs, the age of the people amounting to 150 years in *g* and *l* and to 300 years in *e*.

How closely the three are related, notwithstanding small divergencies, is best proved by shortly summing up the principal facts contained by each (following the order of *l*), and adding which of the versions mention them.

1°. people naked (*g. e. l*), given over to bestial voluptuousness (*e. l*); fine, well-built (*g*).

2°. dressing their bodies partly with feathers (*g. e. l*), for beauty's sake (*e. l*).

3°. their fields not marked out (*l*); they hold everything in common (*g. e. l*).

4°. men have sexual intercourse with all kinds of women, even with their nearest relations (*g. e. l*).

5°. people eat each other (*g. e. l*); men even eat their own wives and children (*e*); they hang the bodies in the smoke (*g. e. l*), as is the usage with swine's flesh among us (*e*).

6°. they have no king (*e. l*), no lord, no god (*e*); no government (*g*).

7°. people live 150 years (*g. l*); they live up to 300 years and do not die of illnesses (*e*).

Most of the following details are to be found only in *e*, some also in *g*.

8°. in the country there are many wonderful animals (*e*).

9°. the women are very lecherous (*e*).

10°. the people practise a good deal of fishing; good swimmers, going under the water and fetching fishes out of it (*e*).

11°. there are often mutual wars (*g. e*); on instigation of the older men, prisoners are killed and eaten (*e*).

12°. they live longer than other people, because of their good medicines (*e*).

13°. men wear precious stones on their face and breast (*g*).

Whilst the style and small divergencies of the three versions exclude even the possibility of one being translated from another, the great similarity of the contents points conclusively to a common source. The great question now to be considered is whether the story actually

goes back to an authentic voyage of Vespuccius, or whether he is only named by way of advertisement in our Latin text. In like manner in the Middle Ages many spurious tracts, both printed and manuscript, were ascribed to Bernard, Bonaventura, Gerson or other persons of the high authority of those great names. All investigators, who have occupied themselves with the life of the renowned Florentine traveller, agree that it is wrapped in many uncertainties. Even the number of the voyages he made is still under discussion. Whilst Vignaud¹⁾ in his excellent work, persisted in giving him the honour of four voyages between the years 1497 and 1504, his recent Italian biographer, Alberto Magnaghi²⁾, in a thorough, but rather heavy, study comes to the well-founded conclusion that only two voyages may rightly be ascribed to him, the first from 1499 to 1500 in the Spanish, the second, from 1501 to 1502, in the Portuguese service.

It is certain that the last word has not yet been spoken in this controversy, but at all events it seems a mere fiction that Vespuccius should have made two voyages for the King of Portugal as early as 1496 to 1499, which our Latin text assumes: during those years he was living still in Spain.

¹⁾ H. Vignaud, *Améric Vespuce 1451—1512* (Par. 1917).

²⁾ Alb. Magnaghi, *Amerigo Vespucci* (Pubblicazioni dell' Istituto Crist. Colombo, no. 30; Roma 1926).

Must we then rather rely upon the versions *g* and *e*, where the name of Vespuccius is omitted, and only some sort of voyage undertaken by order of the King of Portugal is mentioned? This theory too is unsatisfactory. The three versions contain too many details also found in the *Mundus novus*¹⁾, not to suggest some connexion with this work and consequently with Vespuccius. For although Magnaghi denies the authorship of this popular book, translated into many languages, to Vespuccius — as far as I can judge on good grounds — he nevertheless holds that the direct source of its unknown author must have been a letter of Vespuccius to Pier Francesco de Medici²⁾. We are thus brought back to a voyage of Vespuccius; but the date, 1496 to 99, in our Latin version must certainly be inaccurate.

Some scattered details in the *Mundus novus* — which I give in Appendix II — shew a striking resemblance with our three texts. It seems characteristic that most particulars, only found in one of the three, go back to the *Mundus novus*. On the whole, very few details do not occur there, as for example that the fields are not delimited by boundaries, and that the people are good swimmers and adorn

¹⁾ The first dated Latin edition of the *Mundus Novus* was printed at Augsburg in 1504. Wilberforce Eames, op. cit. p. 759 and Schuller, op. cit. p. 23 s. also have pointed out the resemblance of the German cannibal-broadsheet text with the *Mundus Novus*.

²⁾ Magnaghi, op. cit. p. 20 ss. and 33 ss. This letter of Vespuccius, the so-called Lettera Bartolozzi, is given by Vignaud, op. cit. 409—412.

themselves with feathers. This last peculiarity, mentioned in the three texts, may have been orally reported to the author (or to the woodcutter) by a person having taken part in a voyage to America. Or perhaps it was taken from another popular story, whether rightly ascribed to Vespuccius or no, the *Lettera delle isole nuovamente trovate*, where we find that "tutti eron dipincti ecorpi loro di diversi colori, & impiumati con penne" ¹⁾. We also read there about the swimming: "nuotano fuora dogni credere, & miglior le donne che gli huomini" ²⁾.

Have the three texts (*g. e. l*) been borrowed independently of each other from the *Mundus novus*? It does not seem probable. For it would be a hardly credible coincidence that all of the three had separately chosen out of the ample story a handful of the same details — leaving slight differences out of account — while they might have picked out so many others. It may be that a common lost link at one time existed between the *Mundus novus* and the three versions known ³⁾. Another conjec-

¹⁾ Vignaud, op. cit. p. 323. The first ed. of this Lettera appeared s.n.l. a. [Florence, 1505—06].

²⁾ Vignaud, op. cit. p. 316.

³⁾ The unique broadsheet with woodcut and German text, beginning "Das sind die new gefunden menschen oder volcker", described by W. Ruge, *Aelteres kartographisches Material in deutschen Bibliotheken in Nachrichten von der Kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philol.-hist. Klasse* (Berl. 1916), Beiheft, p. 79, no. 45, which I suspected of being this missing link, proved of no further importance in regard to our subject. A photograph of it, taken for me in the Her-

ture may be even more probable. The four lines of German text, drawn from the *Mundus novus*, a German edition of which appeared as early as 1508, may have been the direct source of the English and Dutch versions, which again enlarged their story by new borrowings from this work. The fact that the same printer, Jan van Doesborch, had published a Dutch edition of the *Mundus novus*, entitled *Van der nieuwer Werelt*¹⁾, made borrowing the more easy.

About the chronology of the three I only reluctantly dare to advance some suggestions. The German cut with text had formerly been dated rather early (1497—1504), afterwards on better grounds "not before 1505". So long as nothing definite about the place of printing or the printer has been fixed, all dating seems to be haphazard and dangerous. We must hope that German bibliographers will try to solve this problem: my personal impression, expressed with great diffidence, is that it was printed some time after 1505 and before 1520, preceding the English and Latin versions, which I date about 1520.

B. We now come to the second part of our text, beginning "Novam portugalezem navigationem", where we are dealing with real facts to a much greater extent than in

zog-August-Bibliothek at Wolfenbüttel showed that it has no closer connexion with our three texts than any other *Mundus novus* version.

¹⁾ Without year of printing; dated by Proctor, op. cit. no. 3: [c. 1507?].

the first part. It is an account of the voyage to the Indies, made by order of the King of Portugal, under command of Francisco d'Almeida, during the years 1505—06. In this expedition the Germans always have felt warmly interested and with good reason, as a German, Balthasar Sprenger, agent of the Fuggers, Welsers, Hochstetters and other large trading houses, was a member of it on board the "Lionarda" and wrote an account of it ¹⁾. Several versions are known of this, partly Sprenger's own work, partly second-hand information borrowed from him.

First of all two German versions:

1°. A text accompanying a set of woodcuts by Hans Burgkmair, Augsburg, 1508, and copies of the same by Georg Glockendon, Nuremberg 1509 and 1511 ²⁾.

2°. A more detailed account, *Die Merfart unn erfahrung*

¹⁾ About this expedition cf. among many other references: F. Kunstmann, *Die Fahrt der ersten Deutschen nach dem portugiesischen Indien* (Münch. 1861); K. Haebler, *Die überseeischen Unternehmungen der Welser und ihrer Gesellschafter* (Leipz. 1903); Hümmerich and F. Hümmerich, *Die erste deutsche Handelsfahrt nach Indien 1505/06* (Münch.-Berl. 1922).

²⁾ The text has been reprinted by Hümmerich, p. 13—18; cf. for descriptions and copies p. 51—58. Reproductions of the woodcuts in *Holzschnitte alter deutscher Meister in den Original-Platten gesammelt von H. A. von Derschau, herausgeg. von R. Z. Becker II* (Gotha 1810), B 25—B 26. Fragments of the original cuts of 1508 in the Familienarchiv der Freiherren von Welser and in the British Museum; parts of the copies in the Kupferstichkabinett at Berlin and at Dresden and in the Museum des herzogl. Hauses at Gotha. Cf. W. Ruge, op. cit., Beiheft, p. 88—90.

nüwer Schiffung und Wege zu viln onerkanten Inseln, dated 1509, which has sometimes been ascribed to an Augsburg or Nuremberg printing office, but according to Hümmerich may rather have been printed at Strassburg, Mainz or Cologne ¹).

Then we have:

3°. A Dutch version, *Die reyse van Lissebone*. Antwerp, Jan van Doesborch, Dec. 1508, which Coote erroneously ascribed to Vespuccius ²).

4°. A Latin version, *Relatio Balthasaris Spinger* (sic), which was printed in the 18th century from a manuscript, then at Liège, afterwards believed lost, but rediscovered by Schulze in the University Library of Giessen ³).

¹) Cf. Hümmerich, p. 44—45. Four copies, differing slightly, are known: at Vienna Staatsbibl., Copenhagen Kgl. Bibl.; Munich Staatsbibl. and Frankfurt Stadtbibl. A facsimile ed. in the series *Drucke u. Holzschnitte des XV. u. XVI. Jahrhunderts in getreuer Nachbildung*, No. VIII (Strassb., Heitz 1902), entitled: *Balthasar Springers Indienfahrt 1505/06. Wissenschaftliche Würdigung der Reiseberichte Springers zur Einführung in den Neudruck seiner "Meerfahrt" vom Jahre 1509 von Franz Schulze* (quoted hereafter: Schulze). Reprint of the text, Hümmerich, p. 104—126; for severe criticism of Schulze's facsimile see Hümmerich's study, p. 49—51.

²) Two copies, differing slightly, are known to exist, London Brit. Museum and Providence John Carter Brown Libr. Descriptions Proctor, op. cit. no. 4 and Nijhoff-Kronenberg, op. cit. no. 1800. Coote's edition, ascribing it to Vespuccius, was severely criticised by H. Harisse, *Americus Vespuccius, A critical and documentary review of two recent English books concerning that navigator* (Lond. 1895).

³) Printed in *Voyage littéraire de deux religieux bénédictins* [Martène et Durand] de la congrégation de S. Maur II (Paris 1724), p. 361—378; cf. also Schulze, p. 8.

5°. An English version in the collection of tracts, mentioned above ¹⁾, *Of the newe landes* (Antwerp), Jan van Doesborch, (c. 1520), where it follows directly after the description of the South Americans (beginning on fol. 3a).

6°. The Latin version of our Rostock broadsheet, issued by Jan van Doesborch (c. 1520), differing entirely from the other Latin account, mentioned under 4°.

As to the relation between the different versions, Walther Ruge, in his review of Schulze's *Merfart* edition ²⁾, has made some excellent suggestions. After him Hümmerich has treated the subject in a way only to be fully characterized by the German word "erschöpfend", so that little need be said on this matter.

None of the six versions is alike: they may be said even to differ greatly. The closest connexion seems to exist between the Dutch and the English. Only the two German versions are Sprenger's own work; the rest made use of them, but were composed by other persons. The name of Sprenger is mentioned in the two German versions and in the Latin *Relatio*, while the three publications of Jan van Doesborch, deliberately, as it seems, do not even name him.

Our Latin text contains only the first part of the *Relatio* and the English and Dutch texts; the second part of

¹⁾ Cf. A. 2°.

²⁾ In *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* XXIV (Leipz. 1903), 359—360.

these, beginning in the *Relatio* "Hic plenior facit narrationem de mirabilibus visis"¹⁾ has been omitted. In this respect it is most closely related to the first German text, accompanying the cuts of Burgkmair, which indeed, so far as the composition of the text is concerned, may have been its immediate model²⁾.

Is it possible that Jan van Doesborch himself was the composer of the Latin text of our broadsheet? We have no evidence left of the literary abilities of the Antwerp printer, but many of his colleagues were good scholars, and the somewhat unusual expression at the bottom of the page "Actum antwerpiae per me Iohannem de doesborch", where one would expect "Impressum" or "Excusum", makes me suggest the possibility.

Whosoever the author was, we may justly term him a poor classical scholar, expressing himself in a Latin of inferior quality. On the whole his work was much in need of a good corrector: a certain number of misprints and the double printing of a line are mistakes which may be forgiven, but to invert the last two paragraphs and so to spoil the good order of the tale seems hardly excusable. That the printer, although Sprenger's work had been amply used, made no acknowledgement to him in any of his three editions, not mentioning his name, but actually

¹⁾ Voyage littéraire etc. II. p. 365.

²⁾ For the peculiarities of our Latin text cf. also Hümmerich, p. 31—35.

replacing it by the more renowned name of Vespuccius in the English and Dutch versions, is according to our present views almost a piece of forgery, and Hümmerich in irritation repeatedly speaks of "die vlämische Fälschung". But those who know how little literary property was respected in those days and how frequently manuscripts and printed works were ascribed to wrong authors, often only by way of advertisement, will consider such proceedings less as a piece of knavery than as an example of a different standard of morals and practice.

The fact that Jan van Doesborch issued three different versions of Sprenger's voyage is remarkable, and proves how great already in the Netherlands was the interest in these adventurous enterprises. Antwerp especially, the town whence Sprenger first sailed to Lisbon in January 1505 on board the Lionarda, and where many of the great German houses had their agencies, must have felt warm interest in this expedition. Besides these particular reasons for interest, accounts of sea-voyages have, generally speaking, always appealed to the sea-faring nation of the Netherlands.

This broadsheet with woodcuts, a free adaptation of a German original, must certainly have been popular in the Low Countries. We may feel satisfaction that one copy at any rate of this publication, which is of a kind easily lost or damaged, has found a safe hiding-place in a German library.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

The broadsheet, now preserved in the University Library of Rostock, was once in the library of Magister Egbert (van) Haerlem, a Dutchman, professor at Rostock (c. 1509—c. 1539) and was pasted inside the binding of a copy of *Opera Hieronymi*, Part 5—6 (Bas. 1516) ¹).

The reproduction is an exact facsimile of the broadsheet, which only has been slightly restored in one place. The original paper being torn at the bottom, so that the large woodcut below is damaged, the gap has been filled by a reproduction of a sound copy of the same cut (taken from *Reyse van Lissebone*). The size of the original sheet is 398 × 276 mm.

The reverse side of the Rostock copy represents a remarkable Dutch woodcut, a woman drawing up her lover to her window; he sits on a small board, round which a rope is fixed. On the left side is a tree in a garden, on the right the lower storey of a tower with a porch.

¹) Cf. *Mundus novus*. Ein Bericht Amerigo Vespucci's an Lorenzo de Medici über seine Reise nach Brasilien in den Jahren 1501/02, etc. In Faks. u. mit Einleit. herausgegeben von E. Sarnow u. K. Trübenbach (Strassb. 1903), p. 10 and W. Ruge, op. cit. (in *Nachrichten Göttingen* 1916), Beiheft, p. 91—92.

This part of the picture is in a circular frame of three-line fillets. At the top on a scroll are the words (abbreviations expanded): Nonum preceptum Non con // cupisces vxorem proximi tui. In the corners at the foot are the moon and the sun and in the middle, on another scroll: Nona plaga Pustule in // corpore ulcerum incendia. The whole picture with the scrolls is framed by a fillet. At the foot of it the legend: In isto precepto prohibetur omnis concupiscencia carnis-prohibentur eciam oscula inho // nesti tactus. voluntas peccandi consensus in tentationes inconsideratus visus ac im // pudicus pr[ecipue?] inter personas legi subiectas, with a border beneath ¹⁾.

We may conjecture that this cut forms part of a series of ten, representing the ten commandments, just as the Amsterdam printer Doen Pietersz. issued about the same time a set of the twelve articles of faith and another of the seven virtues and the seven sins. But in spite of diligent researches in many of the great European centres of woodcut collections, no similar cuts of the other commandments have as yet been traced.

The suggestion has been made that the Rostock sheet was only by accident printed on both sides, as a kind of proof-sheet, and that if other copies are found they will

¹⁾ Part of this border is reproduced in W. Nijhoff, *L'art typographique dans les Pays-Bas II* (La Haye 1926), Anvers, Jan v. Doesborch, pl. V. 10 (side-borders).

contain either the woodcut of the ninth commandment¹⁾ or the text *De novo mondo*. We must hope that a later discovery will settle the question. My personal impression is that it was the printer's original purpose to fill up the blank page at the back of the text with a picture, for which he chose the ninth commandment, which is always applicable to frail human nature.

While this cut is of a good quality, being without doubt original Dutch work made by a wood-engraver of some skill, the seven small cuts illustrating the text are poor imitations of German originals. The first, which the printer also used in *Of the newe landes*, is composed of fragments taken from the large German cut on the broadsheet described above²⁾, with the text beginning: *Dise figur anzaigt vns*, etc. In particular, the group of the woman with the children and the parts of a human body hanging in the smoke, bear a close resemblance to it; the attitude of the man differs slightly, but the way his primitive dress of feathers is arranged follows the model exactly. The six other cuts belong to a set, and were also used by van Doesborch to illustrate the same voyage in the Dutch and English versions (*Reyse van Lissebone* and *Of the newe landes*). Comparing them with the large woodcuts of Burgkmair, one sees immediately that the Dutch-

¹⁾ The ninth commandment according to Roman Catholic distribution; most of the Protestant churches take it as part of the tenth.

²⁾ Cf. A. 1°.

man took his whole set from details in the German original. Even the inscriptions are the same.

A close comparison of the cuts on our facsimile with the same cuts in the two books printed by van Doesborch (both preserved in the British Museum) proved to me that the blocks of those in the *Reyse van Lissebone* of 1508 are the least damaged. The cuts of the Rostock sheet and *Of the newe landes* present an almost similar appearance, the frames being mostly broken at the same places. On closer inspection however I should rather vote for the priority of the latter. Thus for instance the frame-line of the last cut on the left side of our sheet does is cracked, but this is not so in the English version. The differences after all are very small, and we may assume with some certainty that the two were printed about the same time. As an approximate date of our broadsheet I would suggest 1520, the large cut on the reverse pointing to the same period.

The types also present a curious point. The text type, the so-called Lettersnijder-type (M 75/98), is that generally used by Jan van Doesborch, perhaps the most common type of those days in the Netherlands. For the last paragraph however he used a smaller type, which was unknown to Proctor and is up to now the only specimen found in any of van Doesborch's publications. It is the M 75/76—77 type, the usual partner of the former type. Lombardic initials, 8—9 mm. high, and a grotesque F, about 29 in height, are also used.

That Jan van Doesborch must have had more letter-types in his stock than the two Proctor knew of¹⁾, is also proved by the verso of the broadsheet. The legends on the scrolls and at the bottom of the cut are printed in a large type, 20 lines of which measure c. 130 mm., which is the first instance known to us of his possessing it. The sheet thus also typographically proves to be of some interest.

¹⁾ Proctor, *op. cit.* p. 9.

APPENDIX I ¹⁾

Dise figur anzaigt vns das volck vnd insel die gefunden ist durch den cristenlichen künig zů Portigal oder von seinen vnderthonen. Die leüt sind also nackent hübsch. braun wolgestalt von leib. ir heübter // halsz. arm. scham. fűsz. frawen vnd mann ain wenig mit federn bedeckt. Auch haben die mann in iren angesichten vnd brust vil edel gestain. Es hat auch nyemantz nichts sunder sind alle ding gemain. // Vnd die mann habendt weyber welche in gefallen. es sey mütter. schwester oder freündt. darjnn haben sy nit vnderschayd. Sy streyten auch mit ainander. Sy essen auch ainander selbs die erschlagen // werden vnd hencken das selbig fleisch in den rauch. Sy werden alt hundert vnd fünfftzig iar. Vnd haben kain regiment.

APPENDIX II ²⁾

Omnes vtriusque sexus incedunt nudi. . . . Corpora enim habent magna quadrata bene disposita ac proportionata. & colore declinantia ad rubedinem. . . . Perforant enim sibi genas & labra et nares & aures. . . . Obturant sibi hec foramina cum petris ceruleis, marmoreis, cristallinis & ex alabastro pulcherrimis. . . . & hic mos solus est virorum. . . . nec habent bona propria, sed om-

¹⁾ Cf. A. 1°; the text of the Munich copy is here given.

²⁾ Quoted according to the text of the *Mundus Novus*, reprinted by Vignaud, op. cit.; this part ib. p. 307—309.

nia communia sunt, vivunt simul sine rege. sine imperio. . . . Tot vxores ducunt quot volunt: et filius coit cum matre et frater cum sorore. & primus cum prima. & obuius cum sibi obuia. . . . Preterea nullum habent templum et nullam tenent legem, neque sunt idolatre. . . . Populi inter se bella gerunt sine arte, sine ordine. Seniores suis quibusdam concionibus iuuenes flectunt ad id quod volunt, et ad bella incendunt, in quibus crudeliter se mutuo interficiunt, et quos ex bello captiuos ducunt non eorum vite, sed sui victus causa occidendos servant, nam alij alios, et victores victos comedunt, & inter carnes humana est eis communis in cibis. Hujus autem rei certior sis quia jam visum est patrem comedisse filios & uxorem. . . . Et item steti vigintiseptem diebus in vrbe quadam, vbi vidi per domos humanam carnem salsam contiguationibus suspensam, vti apud nos moris est lardum suspendere & carnem suillam. . . . Mulieres (vt dixi). . . . libidinosissime sint. . . . Vivunt annis centumquingenta & raro egrotant, & si quam adversam valitudinem incurrunt, seipsos cum quibusdam herbarum radicibus sanant. . . . Sunt studiosi piscature. . . . Si singula que ibi sunt commemorare. et de numerosis animalium generibus eorumque multitudine scribere vellem res esset omnino proluxa. . . .

TRANSCRIPTION OF THE LATIN TEXT¹⁾

DE NOVO MONDO

Figura degentium in Armenica mire (scilicet non omnino cognite) magnitudinis insula Geminis navigationi[bus occi]dentali oceano ab anno domini. M.cccc.xcvi. usque ad M.cccc.xcix. decursis per magni et excellentis ²⁾ virum Albericum vesputium iussu et mandato incliti regis lusitanie (que regio nunc portugalia dicitur) circiter xv. gradus qualium est magnus circulus.ccc.l.x. magis ad oceanum quam sit meridianus per insulas fortunatas, subtorrida quidem zona maiore sui parte inventa. ¶ Homines perhibentur, barbari beluinis voluptatibus dediti nude prorsus incedentes nisi quod tam mulieres quam viri capitibus, collis, brachiis, verendis et pedibus pennas habent alligatas, quod aiunt ad decorem fieri. Nec signare nec partiri limite campum apud eos consuetudo est: sed omnia habentur communia. Adeo ut viri quibuscunque mulieribus, etiam matribus, sororibus, filiabus, et cognatis suis utantur pro libitu. Diglutiantur mutuo usque ad interniciem corporis occisi fumosi (nam fumo appenditur) manducare non abhorrentes. Regem non habent; supra communem hominum etatem sesquicentesimum annum vivendo superant.

¹⁾ Abbreviations have been expanded, the defective punctuation corrected and supplied; u has been changed into v, v into u, ij into ii, where ordinary Latin usage demands it.

²⁾ Instead of: per magnum et excellentem virum, etc.

DE GENEÆ

Novam portugalem navigationem a civitate lisibona perfecimus cum investigando terras incognitas varias insulas et regiones quas navigando preteribamus Calicutiam ultra per regnum gosci (nunc Gutschin appellatum []) ad insulam usque Nanguariam que Indiam claudit. Et exeuntes de principali urbe portugalie Lisibona die quoque Martii xxv oram solvimus Anno domini. M.cccc.v. Et ad Canariam Insulam ducti pervenimus unam ex fortunatis ut aiunt, distantem a lisibona cc.l miliaria. Interiacentibus duabus insulis quarum una populosa et bene munita. In qua conficitur plurimus caseus ex lacte caprarum maiorum, mirabilis forme ubi magne mercantie piscium et sachari. Altera insularum fere inhabitabilis est in qua pauci homines et hi quidem abhorrentes familiaritatem adventantium. Ad latus Barbariam regionem relinquunt et ab hinc. cc.l. miliaria pervenimus ad Geneam regionem ethiopum nigrorum quos mauros vocant. In cuius quidem regionis contermino situm est promontorium ethiopum quod Caboverda dicitur; civitatem bisagitsch vidimus a lisibona. v^c. miliaria distantem. Reperiuntur ibi cete innumerales, pisces volantes, Cati marini, Aliud genus animalium admirandorum. At ex opposito bisagitsch. cc.l. miliaria traiecimus viam solarem secus continentem usque adeo ut polus articus visui nostro occultaretur et antarticus mox sese offerebat. Et prefata Genea ethyopum regio continet M:v^c. miliaria et est verus mundi terminus ac finis terre. Dives opum et auro habundans, cuius incole nudi incedunt ex materno quasi utero venientes. Annulos seu circulos magnos ex auro brachiis et pedibus manibusque appendunt. Domos non habent nisi subterraneas. Iuxta Canariam miliaria quasi sex alia quedam insula sita est nomine Ilamandera. In qua bona vina dulcia dena liei dacca-

rum ¹⁾ varia pomorum genera altis arboribus crescentia. In quas inscindunt gradus quibus ascendendo fructus colligant.

DE ALLAGO

Post hec devenimus ad Allago conterminam Arabie. cc.l. miliaria fere. In qua est regnum Safale, ubi populus incedit modo assignato pro indumenta corporis tergora animalium habens. Viri pharetris ligneis, femine vero pelliceis crinitis genitalia contegunt. Capitibus suis superimponentes ovium pelles aliorumque animalium adinstar pepli. Iuvenibus suis virgam virilem corpori alligant. Ex viris sunt qui capita et crines picatos habent veluti naves. Habitacio eorum consimiliter est sub terris. Sunt inibi tauri vacce boves et oves ingentis magnitudinis, et alia quedam formosa animalia. Regio est amena optimis aquis irrigua, aere sana herbis odorifera; lingua eorum balbutiens et blesa. Pecuniis caret ex auro et argento factis sed dumtaxat ferro contentatur, quod precium mercis existit; baculos albos portant. Arma eorum oblonge haste. Sunt et lapides quibus mirum in modum emittendo ledunt. Terra arenosa in tantum ut pedibus suis discos latos alligare coguntur, ne incedendo cadant. Ad quorum exemplar conerne figuram.

DE ARABIA

Venientibus nobis in Arabia vidimus eos vestitos in modum figuratum. At ex regno Safale erat unus magorum sive trium re-

¹⁾ dena liei daccarum; probably a corruption of dona liei [= Lyaei, Bacchi] baccarum. I owe the suggestion to Mr. Victor Scholderer. The riddle is not solved by the other versions, as none of them has this detail.

gum qui Christum dominum salutaverunt. Inibi tauris et vaccis cornua circundant auro Arabico et crura eorum circulis sive annulis exornant; pro auro eiusmodi sericum ac bombicinum pannum, etiam ex lino recipiunt a mercatoribus. Ad eum locum rex portugalie arcem munitam edificavit; post hoc reperiuntur insule quinque, quarum prima mon sabic dicitur, ubi naves recipiebant aquam dulcem. Exinde. lx. miliaria a Safale sita est civitas Quiloo quam vi sepimus ¹⁾ et multos gentilium occidimus. Bona quoque eorum abstulimus. Ubi rex similiter arcem edificare fecit nominans illam sancti Iacobi. Et centum bone fidei viros reliquit inibi pro custodia. Sed a quiloo lxx. miliaria sita est insula in qua est civitas nomine bombasa pulchra nimis ex lapidibus structa, quam igne et vulcano absumsimus et occidimus quasi D. homines, bona quoque loci illius deportavimus magno fenore. Ab hinc xxiiij. miliaria alia quedam civitas magna sita est nomine melinda, qui nostri erant amici in qua multi sunt ex slavonia et servi venditi ex Genea predicta. Ex melinda in persiam usque traiecimus aquam nomine Golffen et numerantur .ix.^{c.} miliaria a civitate Megen usque ad insulam auxendinam ²⁾ ex qua similiter unus erat trium magorum ubi rex prefatus arcem edificarat. Ab hinc xl miliaria sunt ad regnum Cananor ubi aromatice species incipiunt primum pullulare. Et deinde ad maiorem indiam devenimus.

MAIOR INDIA

Tandem ad regnum gosci sive gutschin ut recentioribus cosmographis placet pervenimus. In quo regno rex portugalensis nomine

¹⁾ Instead of cepimus; the German version (with the woodcuts) has: die gewonnen wir. . . ., the other Latin version: Hanc civitatem invasimus & spoliavimus,

²⁾ Read: auxendiuam (auxendivam).

Emanuel duas munitissimas arces extrui fecit. Ex eo tercius magorum sive trium regum erat oriundus. In ea regione piper copiose admodum crescit et est supernus gradus. ab hinc xxiiii. miliaria [*sic*] aliud regnum reperitur nomine Colun in quo multi sunt cristiani, Elephantes magni sine numero, et alia magna monstruosa animalia terre narratu difficiliam ¹⁾. Omnes fructus maioris quantitatis sunt ibi quam in nostro territorio seu tertia orbis parte Europa scilicet. Inde miliaria quasi sex vel octo ²⁾ regio quedam est melaqua nomine in qua multe species aromaticae et preciosa quedam concrescunt ³⁾. Exinde insule due reperiuntur quarum una dicitur bandam in qua nil nisi gariofili sunt. Altera dicitur Tanagara sive nagaria. In qua preter Sandalum rubeum sive album nichil crescit. Cadunt et inibi margarite preciose. In hoc regno Gosci sive Gutschin interdum regem et principem eorum portant in modum figuratum. Cuius curiales sunt armati ut videre licet. Subditi et obedientes valde quibus iusticiam ministrat equa lance; non enim acceptor est personarum ⁴⁾ proinde ab omnibus summe colitur et quasi deus adoratur.

INDIA SEU REGNUM GUTSCHI

Ex regno Cananor devenimus ad indiam maiorem in qua nudi incedunt omnino: colorem fuscum nigro permixtum corporibus suis presentantes. Crines eorum oblongi et nigri uti figura mon-

¹⁾ The abbreviation expanded gives: difficiliam; read: difficilia.

²⁾ The C. for centum has been left out. The Dutch version names the distance of 800 miles.

³⁾ In the original the line: Inde miliaria-concrescunt, has been erroneously printed twice with a variant setting-up (the second time with the wrong reading multi for multe).

⁴⁾ acceptor personarum, cf. Acta apost. X. 34, "non est personarum acceptor deus".

strat. Viri et mulieres verenda sua linteis contegunt; regio preciosa et nobilis nam inibi reperitur zinziber piper gariofili Cinnamon et relique species aromaticae. Gemme lapilli preciosi parvo precio comparantur. Fructus habet mirabiles, ficos in longitudine .vij digitorum et latitudine trium boni saporis. Sunt ibi bubali et vaccae que ab eis non occiduntur. Vinum bonum et suaves pisces. Mel risus frumentum multum desideranda: ex quo panis bonus et albus optimi cibi conficitur; in ea regione civitas est nomine banderana ex qua septem miliaria computatur usque in calicuntia et durat xl. miliaria Ex ea parte indie omnes species aromaticae Venetos usque venire per terras et maria et per mare rubrum usque in Alexandriam. Nunc autem inventa est via melior per mare navigando sine additorio venetorum. In Calicuntia multi sunt homines utriusque sexus ex regione sancti thome qui christianam fidem confitentur. Sunt et aliarum nationum diversis ex regionibus confluentes; etiam infinitam virorum et mulierum gentem a longe in littore conspeximus parvulos suos cum suppellectili secum vehentem. Tandem ad regnum gosi seu gutscyn feliciter perducti sumus.

Actum antwerpie per me Iohannem de doesborch.

TRANSLATION OF THE LATIN TEXT

OF THE NEW WORLD

A picture of the people living in Armenica [America] ¹⁾, the isle of wonderful, and indeed not yet totally known size, that has been discovered after two voyages on the Western ocean from 1496 to 1499 by the great and excellent man, Albericus Vespucius, by order and command of the illustrious King of Lusitania (the country now called Portugal), about 15 degrees (360 of which form the great circle round the globe) more towards the ocean than the meridian crossing the Fortunate [Canary] Islands and for the greater part situated in the subtorrid zone. We are told that the men, barbarians, given over to bestial pleasures, go about naked, except that women as well as men wear feathers bound to their heads, necks, arms, natural parts and feet, which they say is done for beauty's sake. It is their custom not to delimit or mark out their fields by a boundary-line; but all things are held in common. So that the men have conversation with all women whosoever and use even their mothers, sisters, daughters and kindred to their pleasure. They devour each other, going so far as to kill for the purpose and then not abhorring to eat the body smoked (for they hang it up in the smoke) ²⁾. They have no king and surpass the common age of men by living 150 years.

¹⁾ Armenica for America also in Jan van Doesborch's English version, *Of the newe landes*.

²⁾ The Latin is rather obscure and perhaps a word or more is omitted.

GUINEA

We performed a new Portuguese navigation, starting from the city of Lisbon to investigate unknown countries, various islands and regions, which we passed sailing beyond Calicut through the state of Gosci (now called Cochin) as far as the isle of Naguaria ¹⁾, that is the further limit of India. Sailing from the principal town of Portugal, Lisbon, we weighed anchor on the 25th of March 1505 and came in our voyage to Gran Canaria, one of the Fortunate Islands, as they are called, distant from Lisbon 250 miles; before you come to it are two islands ²⁾, the one populous and well provided, where a great quantity of cheese is made of a wonderful shape, from the milk of large goats, and there is much trade there in fish and sugar. The other of the islands is hardly habitable and only a few people live there, and they abhor any intercourse with visitors. They leave [We left?] the land of Barbary aside and we reached, 250 miles [from Lisbon], Guinea, the country of the black Ethiopians, called Moors. In the neighbourhood of this country the promontory of the Ethiopians, named Cape Verde, is situated. We saw the town of Bezeguiche, ³⁾ distant from Lisbon

¹⁾ About Naguaria see note 1, p. 35.

²⁾ This seems the right interpretation of the Latin text. The German text, with the woodcuts of Burgkmair, has: ... und kamen in die insel Caneriu CCl meil. Da zwischen seind zwo insel in dar einn seind leüt unn wol besetzt, etc., by which islands Madeira and Palma must be meant. The other Latin version differs somewhat, having: pervenimus in insulam Canariam, . . . & haec insula est posita inter duas alias, etc. Schulze, p. 32 identifies these two islands with Tenerife and Fuerteventura. Cf. Hümmerich, p. 20 s. for these differences in the various versions.

³⁾ I here follow Hümmerich (p. 67—71), who does not identify Bisagitsch with the Bissagos Islands, but with Bezeguiche, part of the coast quite near to Cape Verde.

500 miles. There are to be found in this part innumerable whales, flying fish and „sea-cats” ¹⁾ and other kinds of marvellous animals. On the other side of Bezeguiche we sailed 250 miles continuously under the ecliptic, so far that the North Star was hidden from us and the Southern star could now be seen ²⁾. And Guinea, the aforesaid country of the Ethiopians, has a surface of 1500 miles and is actually the terminus of the world and the end of the earth. It is full of riches and abundant in gold; the inhabitants go about naked, as they came out of their mother's womb. They hang rings or large circles of gold on their arms, feet and hands. They only have underground houses. Near to Gran Canaria, at a distance of about six miles, another island is lying, called Madeira, where there are good wines, Bacchus' sweet gifts, and various kinds of berries [olives?] and [other] fruits growing on high trees ³⁾; on these they cut steps, by ascending which they gather the fruits.

ALGOA BAY ⁴⁾

After this we sailed to Algoa, nearly 250 miles large, and conti-

¹⁾ Catti marini: a kind of cuttlefish.

²⁾ Dutch text: ij. C.l. milen seyltmen onder der sonnen soe verde dat men die noorde seylsterre oft polum articum oft den wagen geheten niet meer sien en mach Mair polum articum [for: antarticum] oft die suyden leytsterre sagen wi ter stont. . . .

³⁾ The translation is based on the suggested emendation of the Latin text, which even then is not absolutely clear.

⁴⁾ In not identifying Allago with Delagoa Bay, as others have done, but with the more southerly situated Algoa Bay (S. E. coast of Africa), I follow Schulze, p. 40—42. Hümmerich after a long dissertation (p. 71—77), more learned than clear, comes to the conclusion, that Labay de Allagow, as Sprenger's *Merfart* calls it, ought rather to be identified with S. Francis Bay, situated still more to the south.

guous to Arabia ¹⁾. In which lies the Kingdom of Sofala, where the people go about as is shown, wearing skins of animals by way of clothes. The men cover their genitals with a sheath of wood, the women with hairy furs. On their heads they put the skins of sheep and of other animals, like clothes. They bind the natural part of their young men against the body. Some of the men wear head and hair pitched like ships. Their houses are equally underground. They have bulls, cows, oxen and sheep of huge size and some other fine animals. The country is charming, irrigated by good rivers, the air healthy and smelling sweet of herbs. Their language sounds stammering and lisping. This people has no money made from gold or silver, but is content with iron, which takes the place of currency; they carry white staves. Their arms consist of long spears and they also use stones, which they hurl in a marvellous manner and inflict severe wounds. The country is so very sandy, that they are obliged to bind broad disks under their feet in order not to fall when walking. For an example of these examine the picture.

ARABIA

Arriving at Arabia we saw the people dressed in the way shown

¹⁾ Arabia stands here — the later part of the text also proves this — not for the present country, but for the south and middle part of the east coast of Africa, where many Arabian factories, i.e. Sofala, Mozambique, Quiloa, etc. were established; cf. Schulze, p. 48—49. — For the translation of this difficult Latin sentence, the German text with the cuts, the other Latin and the Dutch text have been consulted. They read: Darnach füren wir in das land Allago das geet bysz an den anstosz Arabie, CCCCC unn 1 meyllen, etc. Post haec navigamus in regnum Allago dictum, quod DL. miliaribus extenditur usque ad fines Arabiae, etc. Daerna voeren wi int lant van Allago, dat tot aent beginsel van Arabien gaet ende is v. C. ende. 1. milen groot, etc.

in the picture. From the kingdom of Sofala came one of the three magi or kings, who paid homage to the Lord Christ. The people there surround the horns of their bulls and cows with Arabian gold and adorn their legs with circles or rings; in exchange for this kind of gold they receive silk and fustian, and even linen cloth, from the merchants. On that place the King of Portugal built a fortress. Farther on there are five islands, the first of which is called Mozambique, where the ships took in fresh water. 60 miles from Sofala the town of Quiloa is situated, which we took by force, killing many of the natives. We also carried off their property. The King equally erected a fortress there and named it Santiago ¹⁾ and he left a hundred trustworthy men behind as a guard. 70 miles from Quiloa there is lying an island, wherein is a town named Mombasa, very fine, built of stone, which we destroyed by fire and gunpowder and killed nearly 500 men, taking also the goods of that place with great gain. 24 miles further lies another large town, called Melinde; these people were our friends and there are many persons from Slavonia and slaves, sold from the above-named Guinea. From Melinde to Persia we passed along a sea called the Gulf and it is 900 miles from the town of Megen [Mekka] ²⁾ to the isle of Anchedita, wherefrom another of the

¹⁾ For Santiago cf. Coote, p. 51, note 3.

²⁾ Coote, p. 10—11 identifies Megen (Megha in the Dutch version) with Magadoxo (Magdischu), on the E. coast of Africa. Comparison with the other versions proves however, that Mekka was meant. Sprenger does not seem to have been aware of the inland situation of this town. The name „Gulf of Mekka”, used in those days for the Northern part of the Indian Ocean between Africa and India, is probably the origin of the mistake. Our Latin version is here most like the German text with the woodcuts: *da füren wir über den grossen golffen von der stat megen bisz in ain innsel haiszt Auxendiva*, etc. The other Latin text adds some more details about Mekka: *Ab hac igitur navi-*

three magi came, and on which place the King built a fortress. From here it is 40 miles to the kingdom of Cananor, where the first spices begin to abound. And thence we came to Great India.

GREAT INDIA ¹⁾

From the kingdom of Cananor we came to Great India, where people go about quite naked, their body showing a dark brown colour mixed with black. They have long, black hair, as the picture shews. Men and women cover their natural parts with linen cloths; the kingdom is valuable and noble, for there is to be found ginger, pepper, cloves, cinnamon and other aromatic spices. Gems and precious stones may be bought at a low price. There are wonderful fruits, figs, 7 fingers long and 3 broad, of good flavour. They have buffaloes, and cows, which they do not kill. The wine is good and sweet: and there are other desirable things, fish, honey, rice, corn, out of which good white bread is made of excellent food value. In that region there is a town named Banderana ²⁾ and from there you count 7 miles unto Calicut. And it takes 40 miles from thence to the part of India whence all the aromatic spices are brought by the Venetians by land and sea, and through the Red Sea to Alexandria. But now there has been found a better way,

gamus per magnum mare juxta civitatem Mecha, ubi Mohometes ossa in magna reverentia à Sarracenis & Turcis habentur, usque in insulam quae dicitur Auxendiva. Cf. also Hümmerich, p. 24, p. 115, note 108 and p. 123, note 205.

¹⁾ From here the right order of the text, which the other versions have, is restored. In our Latin text the final and penultimate paragraphs, except their headings, ought to change places.

²⁾ On the place, where the town of Banderana once was situated, a small village Pantalānī is now to be found; cf. Hümmerich, p. 124, note 211.

sailing over sea without the Venetians' extra charge [on the spices]¹⁾. In Calicut there are many people of both sexes from the land of S. Thomas, who profess the Christian religion, as well as of other nations, flowing together from different countries. In the distance we saw a great multitude of men and women on the shore, carrying their little children and their furniture with them. At last we came happily to the kingdom of Cochin.

INDIA OR THE KINGDOM OF COCHIN

At last we came to the kingdom of Gosci or Gutschim (Cochin), as it pleases the recent cosmographers to say, where the King of Portugal, named Emanuel, had two strongly furnished fortresses built. Hence the third of the magi or three kings was sprung. In that land pepper grows very abundantly and of a superior quality. 24 miles further on another kingdom is found, called Kollam [Quilon], where there are many Christians, innumerable great elephants and other huge monstrous animals of the earth, difficult to describe. All the fruits there are in greater quantity than in our continent (or third part of the world) Europe. About 6[00] or 8[00] miles from thence a kingdom named Malakka is lying, where grow many aromatic and precious spices. Then there are two islands, one of which is named Bandam and here nothing

¹⁾ For the approximate rendering of our Latin text, rather obscure in this place and probably corrupt, we have been helped by the other versions, especially the Latin one: *Ab hinc (= Calicut) sunt XL. miliaria usque ad emporium, unde comparantur omnes species, ad quod etiam adhuc Veneti tendunt, ut navigiis per mare rubrum per Alexandriam ad Europam vehantur species. Sed postquam inventa est haec nova & longa via ab Ulixbona per oceanum in Calecoet pro speciebus grave dispendium mercatores Veneti ab Hispanis & Teutonibus praeventi patiuntur.*

grows but cloves. The other is called Tanagara or Nagaria ¹⁾, where only red and white sandal-wood grows. Precious pearls are also to be found there. In this kingdom of Cochin they sometimes carry their king and prince in the way represented. His courtiers are armed, as you can see. They are deferent and obedient to him, who administers justice with equal balance; for he is no acceptor of persons and therefore he is honoured highly by all and adored almost like a god.

Done at Antwerp by me Iohannes de Doesborch.

¹⁾ Both the names Bandam and Tanagara or Nagaria (Naguaria) have been difficult problems for the geographers. The fact is, that the Lionarda, on board of which Sprenger made the voyage, did not go farther than Cochin, so that the rest of his description is based on second-hand information and is so less trustworthy than the beginning. Schulze, p. 64 identifies Bandam with the Banda-isles in the Banda-sea (W. of New-Guinea); Coote, p. 51 takes it for Bantam (which is not an island!) in Java. — Tanagara or Nagaria (Naguaria) is another puzzle. Schulze, p. 64 is rather doubtful about it and suggests that it might be Neucuram or Noceuamor, a name found for an island on old maps and perhaps to be identified with the present Soemba or Tjendana. Coote, p. 51, more confident, explains it as the town Nagore in the kingdom of Tanjore (E. coast of India, Madras Presidency; again not an island!). The question is complicated by the fact that Negara or Negeri (= town) is rather a common name in the Indies. Cf. Hümerich, p. 126, note 223, who is also unable to identify these names.



De nouo mendo
 Figura degeſſiſſi Armenica mire ſuo ſumo cogitate magnitudinis inſula ſeminis nauigatioſi
 detrah oceanos ab a. dñi. m. ccc. r. p. v. q. ad m. ccc. r. p. v. q. decurſus p magni et excellētis viri ſuſſerici
 veſpitiſſi iuſſu et mābato iſtū regis luſitanie q̄ regionū portugalia dicitur (circuſu. q̄dus quatuor ē mag
 n. circuli. cc. lx. magis ad oceanū q̄ ſit meridian. per iſulas fortunatas ſubtorrida quideſona ma
 iore ſup̄ iueta. Hoies phibē barbari beluini voluptatib. dediti nude pilis icedētes niſi q̄ tā mū
 lieres q̄ viri capiti. coll. brachio vered. i pedib. pēnas hñe alligatas q̄d aiūt ad decorū fieri. Perſignare nec piri
 limite capum apud eos coſuetudo eſt. ſia habētur cōmunia. Adeo ut viri quibuſcūq. mulierib. etiā maritus
 ſororib. ſiliab. i cognatis ſuis vtant p libitu Digluſiā mutuo vſq. ad incēſiē corpis occiſi ſumoli nā ſumo appē
 dit manducare nō abhorrentes. Regē nō habēt ſup̄a cōmunē hor. etatē ſeliquitē ſelū annuū vinēdo ſuperat

De Seneca
 Quam portugalēſe nauigatioē a mūre iſtū pſecim. cū iueſtigādo t̄as icogitas
 varias iſulas i regiones quas nauigādo p̄teriba. Calicutiā vlt̄a p̄ regnū goſci nōt. Guſſch in appellat
 ad in ſulā vſq. Paquariaz q̄ Indiaz dandit. Et exiſtes de p̄cipaliori vbe portugalie iſtū die quoq. Martij p̄
 oram ſolu. Anno dñi. m. ccc. v. Et ad Canariā i ſulā dūcitur p̄uim. vñ ex fortunat. ut aiūt diſtante a iſtū a. l
 miliaria iñciatēb. duabus i ſulis q̄rū vñ a populū. i bñ munita. In qua cōficiē plurim. caſeus ex lacte caprarū
 maior mirabilis forme ubi magne mercantie piſcū i ſachari. Altera iſularū fere in habitabil. ē i q̄ pauca hoies. In
 q̄dē abhorētēs familiaritātē aduētannū. Ad lat. Barbariā reg. onē reliquū i ab hñ. cc. l. miliaria p̄uim. ad Se
 neā regionē ethiopū nigroz quos mauros vocant. In cuius quideſ regionis cōtēmino ſitū eſt p̄mōzoni ethiopū q̄d
 Cabouerda dicitur ciuitatē biſagitiſch vidi. a iſtū bona. v. miliaria diſtante reperitū ibi cete innumerabiles piſces v
 lantes. Cati mari. Alud gen. aialuz admirādoz. Mer oppo ſito biſagitiſch. cc. l. miliaria traiecit. vñ ſolare ſet. cō
 tinēt vſq. adeo ut pol. artie. viſitūſo occultatē i anaric. mox ſeſe offerebat. Et p̄ſata. Seneca ethiopū regio
 cōtinet. m. v. miliaria i ē ver. mōdi minus ac ſinis ēre. Diues opū. i auro habūdans cū iſcole mudi icedunt ex
 materno quaſi viros veniētes. Annulos leucirulos magnos ex auro brachio i pedib. manibusq. appēdunt. Do
 mos nō habēt niſi ſubterraneas. Iuxta Canariā miliaria q̄ ſiſer alia q̄d iſula ſita ē noie. Namādera. In q̄ boā vna
 dulcia dena lei dactay varia pomoz gēra alt. arborib. creſcētia. In q̄s iſcidiū grad. q̄b. aſcēt. ſedo fruct. colligāt
 Poſt her deuē. ad Allago cōtēminā. Arabie. cc. l. miliaria fere. In qua eſt regnū Saſale vbi. (De Allago)
 pplus icedit mō assignato p idumēta corpis tergoz aialuz hñs. Vri pharetris lignis. femine vero pel
 lices c̄m̄itis genitalia cōregunt. Capribus ſuis ſup̄ iponētēs ouū pelles alioz. aialuz admittat pep̄li. Iuueib.
 ſuis vñ virilē corpi aligant. Ex viris ſunt q̄ capita et crines picatos habēt veluti naues. Habitatio eoz cōſimilitē
 eſt ſub tris. Sunt ubi tauri vacce boues et oues i gētis magnitudinis i alia quedā formoſa aialia. Regio eſt amena
 optimis aquis irrigua. aere ſana herb. odorifera ligua eoz balbutiēs i bleſa. pecunijs caret ex auro i argēto ſaci
 ſed dūm exat ferro cōtēat. q̄d p̄cium meris exiſtit. baculos albos poſtat. Arma eoz oblonge haſte. Sūt et lapides
 quib. mūti imodum emittēdo ledunt. Terra arenola i ſatū ut pedibus ſuis diſcos latos alligare cogunt. ne icedē
 docadant. Ad quoz exēplar cōtēne figuram.

De Arabia
 Eniētibz nobi i Arabia vidim. eos veſtitos i modum figuratum. Et ex regno Saſale erat vnus magorum
 ſue triū regum q̄ Chriſtum dñm ſalutauerunt. Inibi tauris i vaccis cornua circūdant auro i arabico i cru
 ra eoz circulis ſue annulis exornant. pro auro eiſi nōi ſerici ac bōbiciū p̄anum. etiā ex lino recipiūt a mercatoribus.
 Ad eum locū rex portugalie arcē munitam edificauit poſt h̄ reperitū i ſule quūq. quarū p̄ma mō ſabit dicit. ubi
 naues recipiebant aqua dulce. Ex iñ. lx. miliaria a Saſale ſita ē ciuitas. Quiloa quam vi ſepi. i multos gētiū occi
 dimus. Sona quoq. eoz abſtulimus. Vbi rex ſiliter arcē edificat. fecit noīnās illam ſancti Jacobi. Et cētum bone ſi
 dei viros reliquit i ibi p̄cuſtodia. S. a quiloa lx. m. aialia ſita eſt iſula i qua ē ciuitas noie bōbaſa pulch. a nimis ex
 lapidib. ſtructa. quā igne i vulcano abſumſim. i occidimus quaſi D. hoies. bona quoq. loci illius de poſtatūm.
 magno ſenore. Ab hñ. xlii. miliaria alia quedā ciuitas magna ſita eſt noie melinda. qui n̄ierant amici i q̄ multi
 ſunt ex ſlaonia et ſerui vediti. Seneca p̄dicta. Ex melinda i p̄ſia vſq. traiecit aqua noie. Solſen et numerat.
 iñ. miliaria a ciuitate. Megē vſq. ad iſulā auxēdinā. ex qua ſiſit vñ. erat triū magoz vbi rex p̄ſat. arcē edificat.
 Ab hñ. xl. miliaria ſit ad regnū Cananor. vbi aromatici ſpēs icipiūt p̄mū pullulāt. Et deī ad maiorē idia deuē.
 Andē ad regnū goſci ſue guſſchi vñ recēſiorib. cōſinograp̄. placet peruenimus. In q̄. (Maioz. In aia
 regno rex portugalēſis noie Emanuel duas munitiſſiās artes ex tui fecit. Ex eo tertius magoz ſue triū
 regum erat oriūduſ. In ea regione piper copioſe ad modum creſcit i ē ſup̄nus grad. ab hñ. xlii. miliaria ad d̄o
 gnu. reperit noie Colui i q̄ mſti ſunt c̄ſtiani. Elephātes magni ſi numero. et alia magna mōſtruoſa aialia c̄
 nariati difficilia. Omnes fructus maioris quātitat. ſunt ibi quā i n̄o territorio ſeu tertia orbis p̄te Europa ſilicet
 In miliaria quaſi ſex vel octo regio q̄dam eſt meliqua noie in qua multe ſpecies aromatici i p̄cioſe q̄d cōreſcūt
 Inde miliaria q̄ ſex vel octo regio quedā. Meliqua noie in qua multi ſpecies aromatici i p̄cioſe q̄d cōreſcūt
 Exiñ iſule due reperitū q̄rū vñ dicitur bandam i q̄ mſti garioſi ſunt. Altera dicitur Tanagara ſue naga
 ria. In qua p̄ter Sandaluz rubeum ſue albū nichil creſcit. Cadunt i ubi magaric p̄cioſe. In h̄ regno. Goſci ſue
 Guſſchin interdū regē i p̄ncipē eoz poſtat i modū figuratū. Cuius curiales ſunt armati ut vidē licet. Subditi ei
 obediētes valde q̄bus iſticia mſtr acēq. lace nō emi acceptor. ē p̄onay proū ab oib. ſūme colē et q̄dē adorat.

De regno Cananor deuē
 ad idia maiorē i q̄ n̄o icedit dñm. colorē ſuū i negro p̄mixtum. India ſeu regnum Guſſchi
 componit. ſuis p̄ſentātes. Crines eoz oblongi et nigri. vñ gura mōſtrāt. Viri et mulieres v̄tēda ſua ſuſtēis cōregūt. regio p̄cioſa
 et nobilis nā mibi reperitū. iſber piper garioſi. Cinamomū et relique. ſpēs aromatici. Gēme lapilli p̄cioſi quo p̄no cōparat.
 Fruct. habermirabiles. ficcoſi logiti
 die. vñ digitor. i latitudine triū boni
 ſapous. Sūt ibi bubali i vacce q̄ ab ei
 nō oredūt. Vinū bonū i ſuane piſces
 Meliſſus ſumētū multū deſideran
 ba. ex quo paus bon. i ab. op̄imi
 cū cōficiē in ea regione ciuitas ē no
 mine bāderana. ex q̄ ſep̄te miliaria cō
 putat vſq. i Calicutia. i durat. i mili
 aria. Crea p̄te indie oēs ſpēs aroma
 tice. Venetos vſq. venere p̄t̄as. i ma
 ria i p̄mare rubrū vſq. in Melādnā
 p̄line aut i uēta ē via melior. p̄mare
 nauigādo ſine additōno venetoz. In
 Calicutia multi ſunt hoies v̄tūſq.
 ſer. ex regione ſacti thome q̄ chriſtia
 nā fide cōfite. Sūt i aliaz nariou.
 diuerſis ex regioib. cōfluētes etiā iſi
 ni tā viroz i mulier gentē a longe i
 litorē cōſpexim. paruos ſuos cū
 ſup̄pellectib. ſerū vehēt. Tādē ad reg
 nū goſci ſeu guſſchi ſelicit p̄duci ſum.

Actum Antwerpie p̄me Johanne
 de doelbouch







