

Pereira of the Bibliotheca Nacional for valuable information, but none bearing upon Behaim's scientific labours.

It seems that the only official document discovered up till now which contains the name of Behaim is a Letter of Pardon—Carta de Perdão—of November 16, 1501, which King Manuel addressed to Fernão d'Evora, whom Joz d'Utra, jun., the Captain donatory, had sent in chains to Lisbon because he had "found him with one of his sisters, the wife of one Martin de Boeme."<sup>1</sup>

It is of course quite possible that documents referring to Martin Behaim may have existed formerly in the 'Casa da Mina e India,' but like other documents of even greater interest they were either destroyed by fire or during the great earthquake of 1755, a loss now quite irreparable.

Not a single contemporary Portuguese writer mentions the name of Martin Behaim, not even Ruy de Pina<sup>2</sup> or Garcia de Resende, the authors of 'Chronicas' of João II., who must have known him personally, if not intimately, if he really was such a *persona grata* with the King as is claimed on his behalf by all his biographers and by members of his own family.<sup>3</sup>

Valentin Fernandes, or Ferdinand,<sup>4</sup> the German printer, who settled at Lisbon before 1490, and acted as interpreter to Hieronymus Monetarius during his visit to Portugal in 1494, must have had personal knowledge of his countryman Martin Behaim, and heard about his African voyage and his supposed scientific attainments. Yet in the valuable accounts of Portuguese explorations which he collected up to the year 1540, the name of Behaim is not to be found.

Duarte Pacheco Pereira,<sup>5</sup> another contemporary, the "Achilles Lusitano" of Camoens (Canto x., 12), and author of an 'Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis,' a sailing directory for the coast of Africa as far as the Rio de Infante, occasionally refers to Cão and other explorers, but not once mentions the name of Behaim.

As to Behaim's "correspondence with numerous men of learning," it only existed in the imagination of Carlo Amoretti,<sup>6</sup> the editor of Pigafetta's account of Magelhães' voyage. Some of these letters would surely have come to light had they ever been in existence.

Joachim Lelewel, one of the foremost authorities on the history of maps, would have us believe that "Behaim's renown was great in Germany, even in his lifetime," and that, though ignored in Portugal, "his name, in Germany, was in every mouth, occupied numerous pens, and the echoes of his glory resounded in Italy and in Spain."<sup>7</sup> These assumptions are not supported by a single fact. Except in Schedel's 'Chronicle,' already referred to, his name will be sought in vain in the writings of his contemporaries. Conrad Celtes,<sup>8</sup> who visited Nuremberg repeatedly between 1490 and 1498, that is during Behaim's stay in his native town, in his delightful book describing the Imperial city and its inhabitants, makes no reference either to the now famous globe or its author.

Even Dr. Hieronymus Muntzer or Monetarius, who gave Behaim a letter of recommendation to King John, in 1498, and who during a visit to Lisbon in 1494 was actually the guest of Behaim's father-in-law, does not mention the name of his old acquaintance, either in his 'Itinerarium' or in his 'De inventione Africac.'<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Published by E. do Canto, 'Arch. dos Açores,' IX., p. 195.

<sup>2</sup> Ruy de Pina's 'Chronica do Rey D. Joham II.' was first published in the 'Collecção de Livros ineditos,' t. II. (Lisbon, 1792). The author was Chronista mór of Portugal and Chief Keeper of the Torre do Tombo. He enjoyed the confidence of Kings John II., Manuel and John III., and died 1521. Garcia de Resende's 'Chronica do Rey Dom Ioam o II.' was printed at Evora in 1554. Both chroniclers were present at the King's death.

<sup>3</sup> His brother Michael wrote to J. Poek on November 12, 1518, that Martin Behaim, "when young, was much liked by the old King (John II.), but how his affairs ended when he grew old you may know better than I" (Ghillany, p. 112).

<sup>4</sup> Valentin Ferdinand was at first associated with Nicholas of Saxony. Among other works he printed a 'Livro das Viagens de Marco Polo' (1502). His accounts of Portuguese explorations are now in the Royal Library of Munich (Cod. Hisp. Cl. I., 27). The more interesting of the accounts referred to have been published by J. A. Schmeller, F. Kunstmann, Gabriel Pereira, and S. Ruge ('Abh. d. phil. Cl. d. Akad. d. Wiss., Munich, IV., VIII., IX. ; 'Bol. da Soc. de Geographia,' Lisbon, XVII. ; 'Revista Portug. Col. e Maritima,' Lisbon, 1900, Nos. 32-36 ; '27 Jahresh. d. Vereins f. Erdk.,' Dresden, 1901). A letter, describing a rhinoceros which Garcia de Noronha had brought from India in 1513, was written by Ferdinand to his "friends" at Nuremberg and is published by Count Angelo de Gubernatis ('Storia dei Viaggiatori Italiani,' Livorno, 1875, p. 389). An engraving of this rhinoceros by Albert Dürer is to be found at the British Museum (Add. MSS. 5220, f. 19). Ferdinand was a squire (escudeiro) of Queen Leonor and (since 1503) official broker (corrector) of the German merchants.

<sup>5</sup> Duarte Pacheco Pereira was born at Lisbon in 1450, served on the Guinea coast, 1482-83, went out to India with Cabral in 1500, and again with Afonso de Albuquerque in 1503 ; returned to Lisbon in July, 1505 ; was governor of S. Jorge da Mina, 1520-22, and died 1533. He wrote his 'Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis' after 1505. It was published only in 1892 with an introduction by Raphael Eduardo de Azevedo Basto, Keeper of Records at the Torre do Tombo.

<sup>6</sup> Carlo Amoretti, a learned priest, was born at Oneglia in 1741, was appointed head of the Ambrosian Library at Milan, and died in 1816. The 'Primo viaggio intorno al globo terraqueo' was published in 1800.

<sup>7</sup> 'Géographie du moyen âge,' t. II., p. 137 (Brussels, 1852). Lelewel was born at Warsaw in 1786, had to fly Poland after the insurrection of 1830, and died in Paris in 1864.

<sup>8</sup> Conrad Celtes, or Pöckel, a peasant's son, was born at Wipfeld in 1459, won fame as a poet, patriot, geographer, and champion of Humanism. He died 1508. His 'De origine, situ, moribus et institutis Norimbergae libellus' (1495) was dedicated to the City Council, who awarded him 8 gulden (£4) as an honorarium, which he returned in disgust, whereupon the Council in 1502 sent him 20 gulden. On Celtes see B. Hartmann, 'Konrad Celtes in Nürnberg' (Nürnb., 1889), and L. Gallois, 'Les Géographes allemands de la Renaissance' (Paris, 1890), pp. 173-180, where his merits as a geographer are dealt with.

<sup>9</sup> Hieronymus Muntzer was a native of Feldkirch in Vorarlberg, studied medicine at Pavia, and settled at Nuremberg in 1478. When Nuremberg was invaded by the plague in August, 1494, he fled the town and started upon a tour which, in November, brought him to Portugal. At Evora (November 16-26) he was introduced to King John and died

Ravenstein, 1907.

Behaim